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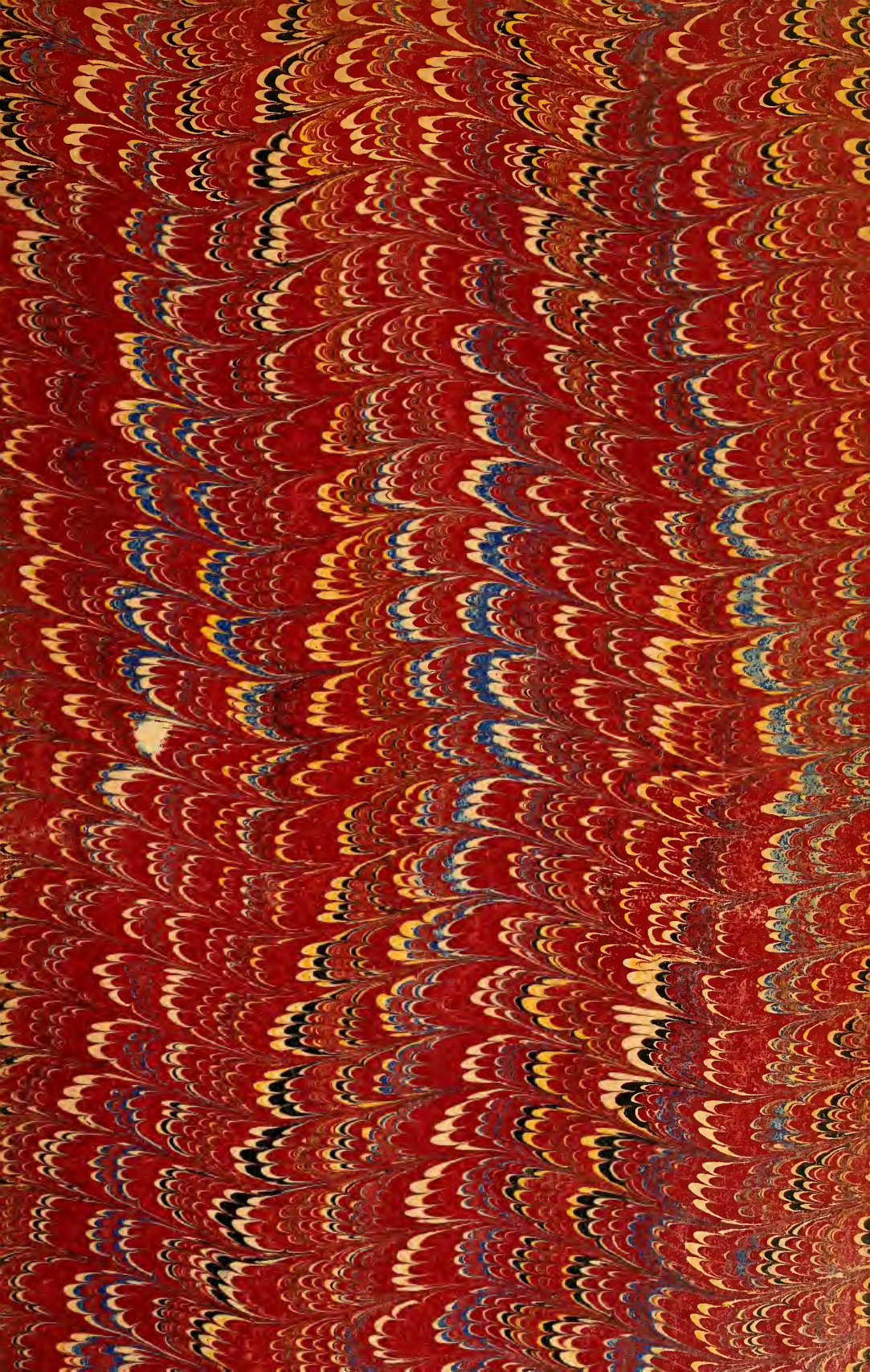


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No 30568

Worcester, Mass.







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STUDENT.

WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph. D., Editor.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT.

VOL. III.

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NO. 1.

TRACES OF THE VERNACULAR TONGUE IN THE GOSPELS.

By PROFESSOR FRANZ DELITZSCH.

Leipzig, Germany.

III.*

In the language of the Mishna the baker is called נַחְתָּם; in Targumic and Syriac with the postpositive article, נַחְתּוּכָא, נַחְתּוּכָא. Prof. J. Levy in both his Dictionaries derives this word from the Aramaic verb נַחַת *to descend*, Aphel אַחַת, *to bring down*, which in one passage of the Pesikta occurs of the baker who brings down the bread baked from the oven.

But this derivation is very unlikely. This Aphel אַחַת can be said of every one bringing down something; it denotes nothing in any way characteristic of the baker. And indeed it is possible that נַחְתּוּם is formed from נַחַת with postfixed *om* like פְּרִים *ῥῆσπος*; but with the same right the final letter can be considered as a radical. The form can be the same as נַפְתּוּלִי *struggles*, Gen. xxx., 8, and נַחְשׁוּלִי *tempest*, a frequent word in the literature of the Talmudic age.

The name of the baker נַחְתּוּם was so common in Palestine that in the Palestinian Talmud *Baba bathra* II., 3 a noun נַחְתּוּמָא is formed, which signifies a baker's shop. The termination might seem to be Persian, but I am persuaded that it is Roman as *armamentarium*, *columbarium*, and such like. Just as instead of *columbarium* also a shorter form *columbar* was in use, *nachthomar* instead of *nachthomarium* (a mixed word, half Hebrew, half Latin) the work-shop or sale-shop of a baker.

Now I direct the attention of the reader to a remarkable passage of St. John's Gospel, VI., 27: Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endures unto everlasting life, which the Son

* Number 1. of this series appeared in Vol. II., No. 3; Number II. in Vol. II., No. 1.

of man shall give unto you; *for him hath God the Father sealed* (τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός). The use of σφραγίζω III., 33 does not surprise us; it signifies there, *to confirm*, but the train of thought which has led the Lord to employ here the verb σφραγίζω is difficult to understand.

One of my Jewish friends who studies very earnestly our New Testament, Mr. Moses Reichersohn at Wilna, known as the author of two grammatical works, suggested to me in reference to this difficulty an idea which I think ought not to be suppressed. My Hebrew translation has כִּי בּוֹ חֶתֶם חוֹתְמוֹ אָבִיו הָאֱלֹהִים. Hereto Mr. Reichersohn in one of his letters remarks: מִזֶּה נִרְאָה כִּי הַנְּחָתָם בַּחֹתֶם הָאֵב הוּא הַבֵּן אֲךָ צָרִיךְ עֵינַי כִּי יִתְכַן אִשֶּׁר אֹלֵי בְנוֹף הַסֶּפֶר הַרְאִישׁוֹן הִיָּה הַחֹתֶם מִוֹסֵב עַל הַלֶּחֶם וְכֵן נִקְרָא הָאוֹפֶה בְּלִישׁוֹן הַתְּלִמּוֹד בִּשְׁם נְחָתָם וְנ"ל מִזֶּה נִרְאָה לִּי שֶׁהוּא מְנִיחַ חוֹתְמוֹ עַל הַכֶּבֶר that is, "thence it seems that the sealed by the seal of the Father is the Son, but it ought to be queried whether perhaps in the original text the seal referred to the meat (bread), for in the Talmudic language the baker bears the name נְחָתָם, and it seems to me (וְנִרְאָה לִּי = וְנ"ל) that he is named thus because he impresses his seal on the bread." Besides he calls to mind that the consecrated wafers in the Lord's supper are wont to be marked with certain signs as INRI (the inscription over the cross).

The supposition that the pronoun *him* (αὐτός) originally did not relate to the speaker, but to the meat (מֵאֵכֶל), is quite unnecessary. The Lord compares himself to a heavenly meat and as such he is, as he says, sealed by the Father. Really it is conceivable that he, saying so, has in mind the custom of bakers which is expressed by their name, or of which their name is certainly a reminder.

THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF AMOS.

BY TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D. D.

New York City.

As long ago as the days of Jerome this prophet was spoken of as *imperitum sermone, sed non scientia*. An echo of this thoughtless utterance is found in a recent clever American volume,* the author of which regards Amos as one "who had not received the slightest education." The assertion in either case is due to a complete misconception of the purport of the prophet's account of himself (vii. 14). Amaziah the priest, offended at the severe utterances of Amos against Israel, bade him return to Judah and there in safety earn his

* The Outermost Rim and Beyond, by Ch. Van Norden.

livelihood by discharging prophetic functions. To this Amos answered, "I was no prophet neither was I a prophet's son, but I was a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: and the Lord took me from behind the flock and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophecy to my people Israel." Obviously there is here no reference to the degree or the kind of the prophet's culture. The point of the statement is that Amos was neither by profession nor by descent a prophet, but a man of secular pursuits from which he was diverted only by the immediate call of Jehovah. He was therefore in no sense dependent upon the prophetic office for his support, and the suggestion of Amaziah had no bearing in his case. This is all that is meant by Amos's mention of his original occupation. And that that occupation did not interfere with a certain intellectual culture is shown by the parallel case of David. He was taken from following the flocks of his father when called to the service of Saul, nor are we told of any educational opportunities which he enjoyed. Yet he became the sweet singer of Israel and in early life put together such immortal poems as "O LORD our Lord, how excellent is thy name etc.," "The LORD is my shepherd etc." What David's literary advantages may have been it is not easy to say, but one may fairly infer that the same, whatever they were, were open to the herdsman of Tekoah, who therefore could not have been an uneducated man.

And this view is confirmed by the entire character of his utterances. None of them indicate the crudeness or infelicity of an unlettered man. On the contrary there is much which shows that the author was concerned not only about his thought, but about the precise and forcible expression of it. A signal instance is found in the opening chapters which display a rhetoric as careful and finished as is to be found anywhere else in the Old Testament. First, the prophet announces the source and the object of his inspiration, the former coming from the seat of the Theocracy, Jerusalem, and the latter being the Northern kingdom, represented by its bold headland, Carmel. Jehovah has a message of wrath against Israel. But mark the deliberate way in which this utterance is approached. At first view, Amos seems to go far away from his aim; but it is only in appearance. He takes up in turn seven of the surrounding peoples, Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab and Judah, and in a series of predictions, all constructed after the same pattern, sets forth their sins and their doom. Each has been guilty of three transgressions and of four, i. e., an indefinite number, and in the case of each fire is to fall upon its wall and devour its palaces. But this is only to introduce the case of Israel. In nature we see the lightning's flash and then hear the roar in the skies, but

here we have the reverberation of the thunder before the bolt falls. It tells us that sin is everywhere the object of God's wrath, but especially when it is found among his own people. And the solemn rhythmical prelude respecting the judgment upon the heathen and Judah gives a fearful impressiveness to the lengthened denunciation against Israel. It was not an unskilled writer that conceived this highly wrought picture.

So the three successive chapters that follow this weighty introduction, each beginning with a "Hear this word," are careful enlargements of a single portion of the one great theme, and show the hand of a man who knew just what he wanted to say and chose the most fitting form to say it. See, for example, the succession of striking metaphors in chap. iii. by which the authority of the prophet is exhibited; and the list of divine judgments in chap. iv., each one in turn followed by the solemn refrain, "Yet ye have not returned unto me, said the Lord," and the whole wound up with the lofty description of Jehovah, God of hosts, as he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind and declareth unto man what is his thought. Surely if untaught herdsmen of Judah could talk and write after this fashion, they were different from all other herdsmen of whom we have knowledge.

The same features appear in the series of brief symbolic visions mentioned in the last three chapters. First, is the representation of Israel's overthrow under the form of an invasion of grasshoppers cutting off the entire second crop of the grass and therefore leaving no hope of revival, but at the prophet's intercession the destruction is averted. Secondly, devouring fire seizes all the sea and a part of the land, but once more Amos intercedes and the decree is revoked. Thirdly, Jehovah is seen standing upon a wall with a plumb-line in his hand, not however to complete the building but to see that it is systematically and thoroughly destroyed. The intercession is not repeated, but the priest of Bethel seeks to frighten the prophet away. The only result of this interposition is a denunciation of the priest's own doom, and a new symbol of the people's ruin, viz., a basket of summer fruit, the Hebrew word for which has also the sense of *end*, and the obvious meaning of the vision is that there is an end once for all to Israel. The sun is to go down at noon, feasts are turned into mourning and songs into lamentations, and the worshippers of idols shall fall never again to rise. To complete the picture of this final remediless overthrow, a concluding vision is set forth in the opening of the ninth chapter. The prophet sees the Lord standing upon the altar, not to welcome the worshippers, but here in the holy place itself to give the signal of destruction and send the whole edifice crashing upon the heads of the

people. So complete is the ruin that none escape. Neither heaven above nor Sheol beneath, neither the top of Carmel nor the bottom of the sea, shall prove a refuge for the fugitive. The land itself is submerged like Egypt, and Israel perishes just as if they were uncircumcised heathen.

But the prophecy closes with a bright vision of hope. A day will come when the fallen tabernacle shall be restored and all its breaches repaired. The blessing shall take in not only the covenant people, but all the heathen upon whom God's name is called. The kingdom which is to fall to pieces like a dismantled hut, will be re-established as in the splendid days of David's reign, but will far surpass even his extended boundaries since it will take possession of all the nations. Then all nature shall smile. The plowing lasts unto the harvest and the vintage to the sowing time. The mountains drop new wine and the hills melt into streams of milk. And upon the whole is placed the stamp of perpetuity: "they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them."

It is undoubtedly true that Amos's language and imagery indicate a country life on his part but not in the sense of rudeness for, as Ewald justly says, his rustic images are stamped with originality and vividness. The country seat and the vineyard, the cart full of sheaves, the plowing among rocks, the devastation of the locust, the sadness of a drought, were suggestions from his own personal observation. The same may be said of his references to wild animals, the roar of the lion, the rescue of a mere fragment of his victims, the biting of a serpent, the snaring of birds and the encounter of a bear, all reminiscences of what he had seen or felt. Still more evident is this in his descriptions of the mighty workings of God. Here he dwells by preference upon celestial phenomena, since the contemplation of the starry heavens belongs characteristically to a shepherd living in the open air. Jehovah represents himself to him as the former of the mountains and the creator of the wind, the maker of the Seven Stars and Orion, the Being who turns the shadow of death into morning, or on the other hand causes the sun to go down at noon and darkens the earth in clear day. Every where nature appears as the creature of God, absolutely subject to his will, and subservient to his purposes. If the Ephraimites explained their worship of the golden calf as terminating not in the mere image but in the reproductive power of nature as thus symbolized, he exalted the Jehovah as the God of hosts, who controls heaven above and Sheol beneath as well as all that lies between them, who touches the earth and it melts, who gives or withholds the rain, who sends and recalls the destructive flood, and who

therefore admits of no rivalry either with graven images or that which they symbolize. If Amos therefore moved only in the simple circle of country life, he did it to purpose, and made most effective use of all natural phenomena, common or uncommon, small or great.

In conclusion, Dr. Pusey justly suggests the wondrous rigor of the sudden summons (iv., 12): "Because I will do *this* unto thee [the silence as to what *this* is, is more thrilling than words], prepare to meet thy God, O Israel!" Or the extreme pathos with which the picture of the luxurious rich is closed (vi., 6) when having said how they heaped luxuries one upon another, he ends with what they did *not* do: "they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph."

THE BATTLE ADDRESS OF ABIJAH.

2 Chronicles XIII., 4—12.

BY REV. JAMES L. BIGGER, M. A., B. D.,

Lisburn, Ireland.

Is this speech of Abijah an historical fiction? Are the references to Levitical ordinances as gross anachronisms as Shakspere's "shipman's card" or "cannon" in the time of Macbeth? Is it as impossible that the Jewish king could have spoken as is represented, as it is that the words of the play could have been uttered in the days of the Scottish monarch?

These questions are suggested by the following note in Dr. Robertson Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 421. "The speeches in Chronicles are not literal reports. They are freely composed without strict reference to the exact historical situation" . . . "Thus in Abijah's speech on the field of battle (2 Chron. XIII., 4 sq.) the king is made to say that Jeroboam's [rebellion took place when Rehoboam was a mere lad and tender-hearted, and had not courage to withstand the rebels. The mere lad (נער) according to 1 Kings XIV., 21 was forty-one years old. Abijah then proceeds to boast of the regular temple service conducted according to Levitical law. But the service described is that of the Second Temple, for the king speaks of the golden candlestick as one of its elements. In Solomon's Temple there stood not one golden candlestick in the holy place in front of the *adyton* (רֹבֵיץ, oracle, i. e., Holy of Holies) but ten (1 Kings VII., 49). Again the morning and evening burnt-offerings are mentioned. But there is a great concurrence of evidence that the evening offering was purely cereal in the First Temple, or indeed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (1 Kings XVIII., 36, *Hebrew*; 2 Kings XVI., 15; Ezra IX., 4, *Hebrew*). Compare Kuenen's *Religion of Israel*, chap. 14, note 1. This speech is one of the clearest proofs that the Chronicler's descriptions of ordinances are taken from the usages of his own time."

Three arguments are here expressed or implied: 1. The word נער signifies "a mere lad," and could not under any circumstances be applied to a man forty-one years of age. 2. The golden candlestick, as distinguished from ten golden candlesticks, was not an element of the Temple till the Second Temple was built. 3. No

stated burnt-offering (עֹלָה) was presented evening by evening in the time of the First Temple, nor indeed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, but only a meat-offering (מִנְחָה), which is to be interpreted as an exclusively cereal offering. The conclusion to be drawn is that there is here "one of the clearest proofs" that the Chronicler ascribes to earlier ages the usages and ordinances of his own time. An examination of these arguments cannot be uninteresting or unprofitable.

1. The exact signification of the word נֶעַר and its limitations can be ascertained only by an accurate examination of the passages where it is employed. It is applied to Moses when an infant of three months¹, to the weaned child Samuel², to a boy of about fifteen³, to Joseph, when he was seventeen years of age⁴, and to a young man of marriageable age⁵. If the usage of the word were confined to such instances, it might be interpreted, "a mere lad." But Benjamin is repeatedly called a נֶעַר⁶, when Joseph was thirty-nine years of age, and twenty-two years in Egypt, consequently when Benjamin was at least twenty-three, Professor Delitzsch⁷ says, "at least twenty-four." Eli's sons are spoken of under this name in 1 Sam. ii., 17. Assuming the Levitical legislation to have been in force, they cannot have been less than twenty-five years old at the time⁸. It is difficult in any case, in the light of the history, to believe that they had not reached this age. Certainly they were not "mere lads." Solomon, again, not only is called a נֶעַר by his father in the Book of Chronicles⁹, where Wellhausen and his followers would say it was untrustworthy, but also, as is recorded in the Book of Kings, calls himself by the name, and even adds to it the epithet "little."¹⁰ At this time Solomon had been married to the mother of Rehoboam at least two years¹¹. Equally evident is it that the word in dispute is applied to another son of David, long after he had passed the age of boyhood. Absalom had his own house and was assuredly not "a mere lad," when Tamar confided to him the story of her wrong. He waited afterwards "two full years"¹² before he avenged his sister at his sheepshearing. While the "young men" (נְעָרִים), the king's sons, fled, Absalom betook himself to Geshur "and was there three years."¹³ On his return he dwelt "two full years"¹⁴ in Jerusalem. Then after maturing his rebellion for "four years,"¹⁵ if the reading of the Syriac and Vulgate be adopted, he was at last slain in the battle of the wood of Ephraim. Thus eleven full years elapsed between Amnon's sin and Absalom's death. It is impossible to conceive of Absalom, the father of four children¹⁶, as less than thirty years of age at the time of his death. Yet he is called at that time "a young man" (נֶעַר)¹⁷. Some indeed are of opinion, on the ground of the existing text of 2 Sam. xv., 7, that he lived forty years. Others understand the number "forty" to refer to the years of David's reign, in which case Absalom would have been at his decease between thirty-three and forty years of age.¹⁸ The application of the term נֶעַר to Joshua¹⁹ will be a last example. There is a fairly general concurrence of opinion that Joshua ruled, after the death of Moses, twenty-five or twenty-seven years. Josephus²⁰ witnesses to the former number, and Ewald and Fuerst are prepared to accept it. Clemens of Alexandria²¹ supports the latter. Africanus in his

¹ Ex. ii., 6. ² 1 Sam. i., 24. ³ Gen. xxi., 17 ff. ⁴ Gen. xxxvii., 2. ⁵ Gen. xxxiv., 19. ⁶ Gen. xlv., 30 ff. ⁷ On Gen. xxxv., 16-20. - Cf. Num. viii., 24 and iv., 3. ⁸ 1 Chron. xxix., 1. ⁹ 1 Kgs. iii., 7. ¹⁰ Cf. 1 Kgs. xi., 42 and xiv., 21. ¹¹ 2 Sam. xiii., 23. ¹² Verse 38. ¹³ 2 Sam. xiv., 28. ¹⁴ 2 Sam. xv., 7. ¹⁵ 2 Sam. xiv., 27. ¹⁶ 2 Sam. xviii., 5, 32. ¹⁷ Cf. 2 Sam. iii., 3 and 1 Kgs. ii., 11. ¹⁸ Ex. xxxviii., 11. ¹⁹ Ant. V. i., 29. ²⁰ Strom. I., p. 384. Ed. Potter.

Chronica gives both numbers²². Joshua "died being one hundred years old."²³ It follows that at the beginning of the forty years wandering in the wilderness he was forty-three or forty-five years of age. And the fact that Caleb was thirty-eight years old at the Exodus²⁴ gives a general corroboration to these figures. To complete the argument, it is only necessary to remind the reader that, after the Exodus, this Joshua is called a נער²⁵.

Where, now, is there room for the critic's cavil against the words of Abijah? If Solomon, the king of Israel, if Absalom, the almost successful rebel, if Joshua, the victorious general against the Amalekites, could each of them be called a נער why might not Abijah, whose interest it was to make as little as possible of his father's defeat, designate by the same name the rash and puerile Rehoboam, who was, as a matter of fact, "tender-hearted and had not courage to withstand the rebels"?

2. The book of Kings gives the historical fact that Solomon had made ten candlesticks of gold.²⁶ Abijah, it is assumed, comes into collision with this when he speaks of "the candlestick of gold." Now the contradiction, if there be a contradiction, is equally against the statements of the Chronicler himself. In two passages, 1 Chronicles xxviii., 15, and 2 Chronicles iv., 7, he narrates how "candlesticks" were made for the Temple. It must, therefore, be supposed that two inconsistent methods were adopted by the writer. In one passage he describes the service of the Second Temple, and speaks of a single candlestick: in other passages he accepts the true account given in Kings and mentions candlesticks.

The fallacy of this reasoning may be seen best from a parallel example. The Chronicler records that Abijah boasts in this same speech²⁷ of the shewbread table, not of tables. This harmonizes with his subsequent allusion to a single shewbread table in the time of Hezekiah²⁸. It agrees, too, with the account given of Solomon's work in the book of Kings. "He made the table of gold whereupon the shewbread was."²⁹ It is perfectly certain that one table was assigned to the shewbread in the time of Solomon. But the same Chronicler narrates, in these different passages, that there were "tables" for the shewbread in Solomon's Temple.³⁰ How is it to be accounted for, that he who is charged with adapting his narrative to the ordinances of the Second Temple, here departs from these ordinances in so marked a manner? It cannot be said that the record of tables is untrue. For if it be not true, whence did the Chronicler assume the fact? Not from the usage of the Second Temple for it is not its usage. Not from the book of Kings, for that book mentions only a single table. He must have written of several tables because, in truth, Solomon had made ten.

Now, if Abijah could speak correctly of the table of shewbread, though Solomon had made ten, might he not perhaps speak with equal right of one candlestick, though there were ten in the temple of Solomon? Must there not have been some reason for the special designation of one table and of one candlestick of the ten, as the table and the candlestick? What is that reason? The critic who has relegated the Levitical legislation to post-exilic times cannot reply. But he who still holds the traditional view of its Mosaic origin is at no loss for an answer. With unerring finger he can point to the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus.

²² See Routh, *Rel. Sac.* Vol. II., pp. 274, 283, 431-2. ²³ Josh. xxiv., 29. ²⁴ Cf. Josh. xiv., 10. ²⁵ Ex. xxxiii., 11. ²⁶ 1 Kgs. vii., 49. ²⁷ 2 Chron. xlii., 11. ²⁸ 2 Chron. xxix., 18. ²⁹ 1 Kgs. vii., 48. ³⁰ See 1 Chron. xxviii., 16; 2 Chron. iv. 8, 19.

There one candlestick was appointed, which through all time, even though ten were made, would still hold its pre-eminence. There, and there positively alone in the Bible, could Abijah have heard of a "pure table."³¹ Refuse to accept the pre-existence of the Mosaic legislation, and it is impossible to account for the manufacture by Solomon of "a table" as is related in Kings, and yet of "tables" as Chronicles describes. Assume the pre-existence, and it is equally easy to see how one table could be singled out for special prominence, and to believe that Abijah might speak of "the candlestick of the ten."

3. The priests of Baal prophesied after noon till "the offering up of the offering" (מִנְחָה):³² "At the time of the offering up of the offering" (מִנְחָה):³³ Elijah stepped forward and vindicated his God. King Ahaz commanded Urijah to offer upon the great altar "the evening offering" (מִנְחָה):³⁴ Ezra in his humiliation rose "at the evening offering" (מִנְחָה):³⁵ It is indubitable that a stated offering (מִנְחָה) was presented in the evening. Professor Smith asserts that there was no other stated evening sacrifice, especially no burnt-offering (עֹלָה). It is, he maintains, altogether inaccurate to ascribe to Abijah his boast of "burnt-offerings," evening by evening. The argument is not directed against the morning burnt-offering, but it holds equally well, or equally ill, if so applied. Add 2 Kings III. 20 to the verses cited above, and this becomes evident. There it is said that water came from the way of Edom "in the morning at the time of the offering up of the offering" (מִנְחָה). It is an exact parallel to the passage 1 Kgs. XVIII. 36. If from the latter it is argued that the evening sacrifice was only a meat-offering (מִנְחָה), from the former the same must be argued of the morning sacrifice. It is impossible to escape this conclusion. If the reasoning be good in one instance, it is good in the other, and if bad, bad. Now it is evident from the charge of Ahaz to Urijah,³⁶ already referred to, that it is thoroughly bad in reference to the morning offering. The king commanded the priest to burn on the great altar, the "morning burnt-offering" (עֹלָה). There is a morning burnt-offering as well as a morning meat-offering. Here are passages, taken be it observed, from the Second Book of Kings, not from the so-called anachronous record of the Chronicler, in which these two are mentioned. It would be meretricious to ignore the sixteenth chapter, and to argue from the third chapter that a "meat-offering" alone was presented in the morning. The meat-offering (מִנְחָה) and the burnt-offering (עֹלָה) were at that hour offered side by side. May this not have been the case in the evening? If the argument here advanced against the morning burnt-offering, does not prove its non-existence, why should a train of reasoning, similar in every particular, prove the non-existence of the evening burnt-offering. Is it an impossible supposition that the evening meat-offering (מִנְחָה) and the evening burnt-offering (עֹלָה) were both offered to Jehovah? It is not, however, a mere supposition. In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the critic confidently declares, no stated burnt-offering had been introduced. And yet in the time of Zerubbabel, seventy-eight years before Ezra reached Palestine, ninety-one years before the arrival of Nehemiah they offered, it is distinctly affirmed,³⁷ burnt-offerings morning and evening. Professor Smith says there was no evening burnt-offering

³¹ The peculiar phrase, הַשְּׁלֶחֶן הַטָּהוֹר, occurs only in Lev. XXIV., 6 and 2 Chron. XIII., 11. ³² 1 Kgs. XVII., 29. ³³ Verse 36. ³⁴ 2 Kgs. XVI., 15. ³⁵ Ezra IX., 4, 5. ³⁶ 2 Kgs. XVI., 15. ³⁷ Ezra III., 3.

(עֹלָה); the record tells clearly that there was. A more deliberate contradiction cannot be imagined. It is manifest that the evening meat-offering (מִנְחָה) and the evening burnt-offering (עֹלָה) existed together.

The book of Kings assigns a morning burnt-offering (עֹלָה) and a morning meat-offering (מִנְחָה) to the regal period in exactest agreement with the requirements of the law.³⁸ In Ezra the same two offerings in the evening are equally in accord with Mosaic legislation.³⁹ Do not these facts meet and confute Professor Smith and the school of critics to which he belongs? They feel themselves compelled to date the Levitical ordinances in post-exilic times, because the history ignores or contradicts them. Are they not now bound, on the same principles, to accept an early date for the authorship of those portions of the Priest's Book which treats of the sacrifices in question? They, at least, are part of the ritual with which the historian is familiar.

Accept the earlier composition of these parts of the Pentateuch, and it becomes easy to explain the allusions. In the Law the continual burnt-offering and the continual meat-offering are alike emphasized.⁴⁰ Is it not perfectly natural that the whole stated service is called now by one emphatic part of it, now by the other? One speaks of it as the meat-offering (מִנְחָה), all the more readily since this word had not altogether lost its early signification of an offering in general.⁴¹ It was not confined, (though Professor Smith implies that it was), exclusively to cereal offerings, but was also applied to offerings of flesh.⁴² Another characterizes, as Abijah does, the whole by the most important part of it, and speaks of the burnt-offering (עֹלָה). In this there is the most perfect harmony if the Levitical legislation be assumed to exist. If its existence be denied, there is, no doubt confusion thrice confounded.

Professor Smith must assuredly be a Scotchman of a peculiar type. Painstaking investigation and excessive caution are proverbially associated with Scotland. In him they are conspicuous only by their absence. He is rash in the extreme and most positive when he is most illogical. To him the statement that Solomon offered burnt-offerings⁴³ "can hardly bear any other sense than that the king officiated at the altar *in person!*"⁴⁴ When it is said that the people had not dwelt in booths at the feast of tabernacles "since the days of Joshua the son of Nun,"⁴⁵ he interprets it to mean, in spite of Ezra iii., 4, that "the feast of tabernacles had never been observed according to the Law, from the time that the Israelites occupied Canaan under Joshua,—that is of course never at all!"⁴⁶ He asserts that the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the pillars, and sea, and vases⁴⁷ is "not only false but palpably absurd," because forsooth they "could not have been transported *entire!*"⁴⁸ Where is it said that they would remain unbroken? Of reckless assertion and hasty generalization the note on Abijah's battle address is not the least notable example.

³⁸ Ex. xxix., 39, 40; Num. xxviii., 45. ³⁹ Ex. xxix., 39, 41; Num. xxviii., 4, 8. ⁴⁰ Num. iv., 16; Ex. xxix., 42; Num. xxix., 11. ⁴¹ Abel's sacrifice of a lamb is called a מִנְחָה, Gen. iv., 4. ⁴² See 1 Sam. ii., 17. ⁴³ 1 Kgs. ix., 25. ⁴⁴ "O. T. in the Jewish Church," p. 248. Cf. Professor Green's "Moses and the Prophets," p. 106. ⁴⁵ Neh. viii., 17. ⁴⁶ Page 56. ⁴⁷ Jer. xxvii., 19-22. ⁴⁸ Page 116.

ISAIAH AND THE NEW CRITICISM.

BY REV. C. N. PATERSON,

St. Paul, Minn.

When modern iconoclasm directed its shafts against the Bible, the book of Isaiah by no means escaped. These attacks began about 100 years ago, with the German critics; and every new assailant seems bent on surpassing his predecessor in destructiveness.

The main question at issue is regarding the last 27 chapters of this prophecy. There are some who dissect the entire book, and find as many as ten different authors and periods, but the majority of critics satisfy themselves with denying that Isaiah wrote chapters 40-66 of the prophecy commonly assigned to him. The second part of the book is supposed to come from another author at a later date. This second prophet has been styled the "Deutero-Isaiah," or the "Babylonian Isaiah," assuming that he lived and wrote during the exile. Ewald has introduced him as the "The Great unnamed," and Prof. Robertson Smith calls his work "The chief example of an anonymous prophecy."

The first suggestion of a duality or plurality of authors came from Koppe, who has been followed by the greater number of German critics, including, among others, DeWette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Umbreit, Ewald, and, of the latest writers, Kuenen and Wellhausen. In fact, there remain but few German scholars of eminence, who have not been more or less influenced by this tendency, consciously or unconsciously. One or two examples, from the conservative school will serve to illustrate this fact.

Dr. Naeglesbach, in the Lange series, devotes considerable space to arguments in favor of the authenticity and integrity of the book of Isaiah; yet his arguments lose much of their force when we find him saying with reference to certain passages in the disputed portion, "I have distinctly declared these to be interpolations; I confess, however, that I hold these to be only the ones most plainly recognizable as such."

Dr. Franz Delitzsch is so conservative an exegete that his commentaries have been spoken of with contempt by rationalistic critics like Ewald. Speaking of the New Criticism Delitzsch says, "This criticism denies miracle; denies prophecy, denies revelation, * * * and the results are, in the main points, ready before all investigation." Notwithstanding this, we find him quoting from the "Babylonian Isaiah."

These two instances show something of the extent to which the influence of this criticism is reaching.

The most extreme and rapidly growing school may be represented by Julius Wellhausen, who with Kuenen, has carried out the principles of criticism adopted by so many of the German writers in discussing the Pentateuch. His attitude towards the Scriptures is explained by Dr. Howard Osgood in these words, "The Old Testament is to him a corpse, the corpse of a criminal laid on his dissecting-table for the skill of his hand with knife and pincers, and the joy he derives from it is in discovering a new ganglion of contradictions." We cannot expect that such an one would have tolerance for the last 27 chapters of Isaiah. He says, "Ezekiel covers iniquity with a moral cloak. The author of Isaiah 40-66 much

more deserves to be called a prophet, but he will not be; his plainly intended anonymousness leaves us in no doubt about this fact. He is really rather a theologian."

Of English writers, Rev. T. K. Cheyne has announced himself as holding to the idea of more than one author. In the same trend of thought comes Robertson Smith. In his "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," he is not ready to venture an opinion as to whether the disputed chapters are the work of Isaiah, or whether they come from a later prophet. He approaches the subject, makes an insinuation, and then, like a school boy who has found another too large for him to whip, turns away allowing himself the benefit of the doubt. However, before writing his "Prophets of Israel," he seems to have gathered sufficient courage from the writings of Wellhausen to reassure him, and in this volume he is ready to accept the views of the new school, acknowledging his special indebtedness to his friend Prof. Wellhausen. He also highly commends the work of Mr. Cheyne.

The array of talent here presented on the side of the attack, is imposing enough to occasion considerable alarm, till we examine more carefully the basis and the results of their reasoning. On examination, we discover the truth of the words already quoted, viz.: "The results of this criticism are, in the main points, ready before all investigation." In other words, the majority of these critics start out with the assumption that there is no such thing as predictive prophecy, and therefore, as the so-called Isaiah speaks of the delivery under Cyrus, he must have lived at that date himself.

When we understand that the spirit which underlies this kind of criticism is a disbelief in the doctrine of Inspiration, we do not give much weight to the logical deductions from such a premise. We may perhaps be surprised that Wellhausen, of whom Dr. Cunningham Geikie says "he makes the Bible a mere trickle of history through a meadow of fable," should have been chosen to write the article on "Israel," in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but we are not surprised that critics in Great Britain and the continent should reject portions of Isaiah and other books. We have an Ingersoll in this country who rejects the whole Bible, and the Idea of God, besides.

As to the argument that whereas Isaiah lived more than 100 years before the exile, the author of chapters 40-66 must have lived during the exile, we do not see why it is not as reasonable and logical to go farther, and to say, Chapters 40-66 contain predictions of the character, sufferings, death and glorification of Christ. Therefore, the writers of these chapters must have been at the cross, and have witnessed the ushering in of the new dispensation. Or, let us suppose that the author of the last 27 chapters was a contemporary of Cyrus. If the events narrated had already occurred, or were then present, how ridiculous and blasphemous for him to speak of them as a divine revelation about to occur!

A student of the New Testament would refer the objector to the case of the Eunuch who believed when Philip explained to him a passage from Isaiah 53, beginning, "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter." The example of Christ affords still greater authority, or else, carrying out the spirit of adverse criticism, he made a great mistake in the Synagogue at Nazareth when he preached from Is. LXI., 1-2. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me," and declared, furthermore, that these words had reference to himself.

In justice to the more conservative critics it should be said that they do not maintain that the question of authorship affects the authenticity of the latter part

of Isaiah, but, by the majority, the argument from the New Testament is disposed of as it is by Kuenen, in his "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel." He says, "We must either cast aside as worthless our dearly bought scientific method, or must forever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament, in the domain of the exegesis of the Old; without hesitation we choose the latter alternative."

When the question thus comes to be dependent on a choice between the New Testament and scientific methods, the Christian world asks no better evidence of an untenable hypothesis. Any theory that would explain prophecy in direct opposition to the teaching of Christ, must be regarded as one that will not stand in the judgment.

Thus far the line of argument, while sufficiently conclusive to the Christian world, has no particular weight with the anti-Christian, or with the purely scientific mind.

There is another argument independent of doctrinal assumption, which seems to indicate clearly that the 66 books in question belong to a single age, and a single author. It has been asserted that the last part differs from the first in religious views, peculiar style, and *usus loquendi*.

Just here a sentence quoted in Smith's Bible Dictionary from the accomplished critic Ewald, is pertinent. He says, speaking of the genuine Isaiah, "He is not the especially lyrical prophet, or the especially elegiacal prophet, or the especially oratorical and hortatory prophet, as we should describe a Joel, a Hosea, a Micah, with whom there is a greater prevalence of some particular color; but just as the subject requires he has readily at command every several kind of style, and every several change of delineation; and it is precisely this, that, in point of language, establishes his greatness, as well as, in general, forms one of his most towering points of excellence."

The special pertinence of these words from one of the critics, is readily seen from the fact that a careful reader will find no great trouble in discovering evidences of the same versatile genius in the second part of Isaiah that Ewald finds in the first.

As Keil has so ably shown, there are no differences which are inconsistent with unity of authorship. Especially is this seen when we consider the fact that in the later portion of his work the prophet was writing, in retirement, and not simply recording spoken discourses; and furthermore, that his prophecies extended over a period of at least 50 years.

The argument from style, in favor of unity of authorship, is greatly augmented by a comparison of the vocabulary of Isaiah A with that of Isaiah B. However, the results of this work were so recently shown by Rev. W. H. Cobb, in the columns of THE HEBREW STUDENT, that it is needless to repeat them here, though the argument is incomplete without at least a reference to this kind of evidence.

The words of Prof. D. S. Talcott form a fitting conclusion for this phase of the discussion. He says, "Probably there is not one of all the languages of the globe, whether living or dead, possessing any considerable literature, which does not exhibit instances of greater change in the style of an author, writing at different periods of his life, than appears upon a comparison of the later prophecies of Isaiah with the earlier."

The arguments here considered, by no means cover the whole field of the controversy; yet it seems as if other objections must stand or fall with what has already been presented.

It is of comparatively recent date that American scholarship has been called out

on this question, but in view of the fact that the hypotheses from which these adverse conclusions come must be built on the ruins of Inspiration, of a supernatural revelation, of even the teachings of Christ himself, and when we consider that the New Testament must be exchanged for scientific methods, the ministry, at least, should not be in doubt concerning which side it belongs to in the so-called New Criticism.

THE OLD HEBREW THEOLOGY.*

BY REV. NATHANIEL WEST.

MORRISTOWN, N. J.

There is something very tender in the fact that the volume, whose title is given below, is, on the part of Dr. Delitzsch and his assistant, a work of love, in memory of a faithful servant of God, gone to his rest, and whose interest in Israel, and Israel's relation to the Great Salvation, and the world's Final Glory, led him to devote the literary part of his life to the study of the Hebrew faith. The dying request of the gifted author, committing his labor to the hands of Dr. Delitzsch, has been religiously regarded. The volume bears the imprimatur of the great Hebraist, and his assistant, who assure us that all the quotations have been "verified," and express their sense of its high scientific value, and commend it as the best extant work, in all the centuries, on the Old Palestinian Theology.

The bitter conflict of the Roman church with Judaism, and the severe persecutions of the Jews by Christian nations, called forth many defenses of the Jewish faith on the part of the Hebrews, with corresponding assaults on the Christian religion. The list of works written, and catalogued by Fuerst, Graetz, Jost, and Etheridge, is amazing.—among them the defenses by Saadias, Judah Hallevi, Albo, and Maimon. Of all, however, none exercised a greater influence than the elegantly printed volume, סֵפֶר חוּזֵק אֱמוּנָה, *Book of the Rampart of the Faith*, by Rabbi Isaac ben Abraham, published at Amsterdam, 1705, intended as a demonstration of Judaism against Christianity, and, if we are to believe Voltaire, the chief armory of the Freethinkers of the eighteenth century, in their attacks upon the Roman church and Christianity in general. In reply, from the Christian side, came a host of productions, replete with high scholarship, yet no less replete with the necessary polemic spirit of the times. The titles of some of them indicate at just what point the thermometer stood.—"Pugio Fidei" by Martini, "Systema Controversiarum" by Helvicus, "Tela Ignea Satanae" by Wagenseil, "Flagellum Judaeorum" by Fini, besides the not less learned, though less polemic works of Eisenmenger and Pfeiffer. Two of these we have studied carefully, Eisenmenger and Martini, and the rest looked into, and, for a while, have felt somewhat as the ardent Luther did, when he said that the Jew is so "stock-stein-teufel-hart." there is no use in translating πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται in any other

* System der altsynagogalischen palaestinishen Theologie, aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud dargestellt von Dr. Ferdinand Weber, Pfarrer in Pölsingen. Nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Franz Delitzsch und Georg Schnedermann. Leipzig: Doerffling & Franke, 1880.—System of the Old Synagogue Palestinian Theology exhibited from the Targum, Midrash and Talmud, by Dr. Ferdinand Weber, Pastor in Pölsingen. Edited, after the author's death, by Franz Delitzsch and George Schnedermann. Leipzig: Doerffling & Franke. 1880.

sense than of the final salvation of the elect, especially the Gentiles!—a view, however, of which the great Mountain subsequently repented, when apologizing for the little avalanche he shook from his locks, in a moment of anger. Bodenschatz's "Modern Judaism," about the middle of the 18th century, was irenic in its tone. Wonderful has been the activity of scholars in the Jewish field. Not to dwell upon the works of Buxtorf, Cappelus, Selden, Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Bertholdt, Gfroerer, and Hilgenfeld, the press of later date continues to pour upon the market a flood of literature concerning the Hebrew faith, hope, and customs, and their relation to Christianity, surpassing in volume all before it. Never was research more assiduous. The work of Castelli, "*Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*" (1874), of Siegfried, "*Analecta Rabbinica to the New Testament, and Church Fathers*" (1875), Wuensche's "*New Contributions to the Explanation of the four Gospels*" (1876), the work of Solowyczyg on "*The Bible, Talmud, and Gospels*" (1877), Schneider's "*Principles of Judaism compared with those of Christianity*" (1877), Drummond's "*Jewish Messiah*" (1877), Duschak on the "*Morality of the Gospels and the Talmud*" (1879), Hamburger's "*Encyclopaedia for the Talmud and the Bible*" (1880), besides the multiplied translations of the most important Jewish works into the different European languages, reveal a condition of things intensely significant. The labors of men like Delitzsch and Fuerst are all well known. The decrease of a bitter polemic spirit between Jews and Christians is a marked feature of our age, notwithstanding the Semitic question in politics, as is illustrated in the kind personal relations which such men as Philippon, Jacobson, and Adler, sustain to Christian scholars equally accomplished, and seems to augur something of deep importance for the future. Involuntarily we think of the budding of Israel again, and Ezekiel's Valley of Vision.

Dr. Weber's Book, entirely independent of all previous ones, except to correct their errors, draws directly from the original sources, the Targum, Midrash, and Talmud, disregarding the later Sohar and Cabbala, and pours a stream of Old Palestinian Theology upon the mind of the student, such as is believed to have come down from the men of the Great Synagogue,—the traditional faith of God's ancient people, from Ezra's time. It purports to be the sum of what descended from the old Soferim, the official expounders of the Torah, to Maccabean times, was gathered up by the great schools of Hillel and Shammai, and finally developed in the Talmud. It is not designed as a formal *Glaubenslehre*, or *Dogmatik*, but as a faithful representation, in systematic arrangement, of the Jewish doctrine, free, to a great extent, from the frivolities and fancies with which the Jews themselves have encumbered it. Not that the reader will not meet with many curious things, but that here he will find the very crown of Hebrew wisdom set with many a pearl and gem of Hebrew genius, and most of all a body of doctrine and faith, the knowledge of which makes the reading of the Scriptures shine with a new light. It is no ordinary privilege to be thus brought in direct contact with the men and writings of the old Legal church, and be able not merely to see, but *feel*, the eternal difference there is between *Grace and Law*, as also realize how grand was the preparation for the Gospel of Christ, and how supremely superior is Christ to Moses.

The book is divided into two chief parts, viz., I. The Principles; II. The Particular Doctrines; each part subdivided into General Divisions, six chapters in the first, and four in the second. In the First Division, First Part, we have "*The*

Material Principle, Nomism, or Legalism. Under this in Chapter I. "The Historic Implanting of the Nomocracy in the New Jewish Commonwealth." And here, § 1, is the Activity of Ezra for the new community; § 2, the Growth of Jewish Legalism over against Hellenism; § 3, the Definite Victory of the Nomocracy, i. e., the outcome of the Maccabean struggle. The rubric of Chap. II. is, "The Torah the Revelation of God;" and under this, § 4, "The eternal existence of the Torah, before God, as the image of His Essence;" § 5, "The Torah the only saving revelation of God;" § 6, "The Torah the Source of all Salvation, and of the Highest Good." The rubric of Chap. III. is, "Legality the Essence of Religion." Under this, we have § 7, "Piety is Love for the Torah;" § 8, "The Proof of Love for the Torah;" § 9, "Legality the sole form of Religion for all times;" § 10, "The relation of the Religious Consciousness to the Sacrificial Service;" § 11, "The esoteric character of the Jewish Religiosity,"—an eye-opener on the Pharisaic "Stand aside for I am holier than thou!" The rubric of Chap. IV. is, "Jehovah's fellowship with Israel conditioned alone by the Torah," and the sections here are, § 12, "Jehovah's Presence in Israel is connected with the study and practice of the Torah;" § 13, "God's Conduct toward men is conditioned alone by their relation to the Torah." The rubric of Chap. V. is the grand one, "Israel the People of the Torah among the Nations," and here, § 14, "Israel the People of the Torah is God's People;" § 15, "The People of God in Contrast with the Heathen World;" § 16, "Israel in Exile,"—banished of God. The rubric of Chap. VI. is, "The Religious Character and the Destiny of the Heathen World;" § 17, "The Heathen World outside the Kingdom of God;" § 18, "The Worthlessness of the Heathen World before God and Israel;" § 19, "The Continuance of the Heathen World and its Power over Israel,"—Why? And so ends the First Division of Part First.

Of special interest to the student is this part of Dr. Weber's work, chiefly in its relations to Pentateuchal criticism. It confirms the position taken by conservative, and impossible to be refuted by radical, scholarship, viz., that, by the term "*Torah*" in the mouth of the Jew, was meant not alone the preceptive part of the Pentateuch, or formal legality, nor alone some special code, nor merely a solitary prescription, but *the whole body and fulness of Pentateuchal instruction of whatever kind*; in other words, the "*Five Books of Moses*,"—a position triumphantly proved by Bredenkamp, lately, in his *Gesetz und Propheten*, as against Wellhausen's school, and in harmony with Professor Strack's own statement, in Zoekler's recent *Handbuch*, viz., that the five-fold division remounts beyond the time of the Septuagint translation, dating even from Ezra's day. The inner reason of this division, of the Mosaic Books, is illustrated by a variety of striking analogies, and some remarkable and beautiful Jewish conceits.

The Second Division of the First Part, gives, as the governing rubric, "*The Formal Principle of Legalism*." And here we come to Chap. VII. whose title is, "The Written Word;" under which, § 20, is "The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures;" § 21, "The Attributes of the Holy Scriptures,"—sacred, authoritative, pleromatic; § 22, "The Holy Scriptures and the Church,"—demanding an official and well trained ministry. Chap. VIII., "The Oral Tradition," under which § 23, is "The Authentic Exposition of the Scriptures,"—Halakah and Haggada; § 24, "The Relation of Tradition to Scripture;" § 25, "Scripture and Tradition in Practice,"—the triumph of Rabbinism, or of the Doctors, over the Word of God; theological dogmatism; the Scriptures are salt, the Mishna pepper, the Gemara wine; orthodoxy is church dogmatics. Chap. IX., "The Scripture Proof," under which,

§ 26, are "The Thirteen Rules," or *Middoth*, all hermeneutical; § 27, "The Proof through Intimation," found in the signs, letters, particles, position of words, and context. Chap. x., "The Rabbinical Authority," under which we have § 28, "The Order of *Wise Men*."—the Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Rabbis and Elders, clothed with divine honor and dignity, as he officially constituted expounders of the Torah; § 29, "The Threefold Power of the Wise Men,"—a power legislative, judicial, instructive, imposed by ordination, all congregations, colleges, academies, and schools of prophets, under the direct control of one Supreme Court, the Sanhedrin. And thus ends the Second Division of Part First,—the one division setting forth the *Material Principle*, the other the *Formal Principle*, of Judaism; the one *Legality*, the other the *Torah*.

In the *Second Part, First Division*, we have the general title, "*The Circle of Theological Doctrine*." Under this comes Chap. xi., "The Jewish Conception of God," § 30, "The Result of Legalism for the Comprehension of the Idea of God;" § 31, "The Unity and Sublimity of God;" § 32, "The Judaizing of the Idea of God." Chap. xii., "The Heavenly World;" § 33, "The Habitation of God and His Glory;" § 34, "The Heavenly Spirit-World;" § 35, "The Relation of the Spirit-World to God." Chap. xiii. treats of "Mediatorial Hypostases;" § 36, "Preliminary Remark and Sketch;" § 37, "The Metatrôn;" § 38, "The Memra of Jehovah;" § 39, "The Shekinah of God;" § 40, "The Holy Ghost and Bath Kôl."

This brings us to the *Second Division of Part Second*, whose general rubric is, "*The Circle of Cosmological and Anthropological Doctrine*," in which, Chap. xiv., with its title, "The Creation and Preservation of the World," gives us, § 41, "Preliminary Remark;" § 42, "The Divine Purpose of Creation;" § 43, "The Creation of the World;" § 44, "The Relation of Heaven to Earth;" § 45, "The Preservation of the World." Chap. xv., "The Creation and Fall of Man," gives us, § 46, "The Creation and Primitive Condition of Man;" § 47, "The Moral Condition of Man;" § 48, "The Fall of Man into Sin;"—through Free-Will. Then comes, in logical order, Chap. xvi., "The Condition of Sinful Man;" § 49, "The Origin and Nature of Sinful Man;" § 50, "The Freedom of Choice, and Universal Sinfulness;" § 51, "Sin and Guilt." To this stands closely related Chap. xvii., "The Penal Consequences of Sin," under which we have, § 52, "Sin and Evil;" § 53, "Sin and Death;" § 54, "Sin and Demons."

Then comes the *Third Division*, here with its general title "*The Circle of Soteriological Doctrine*," under which we have first, Chap. xviii., "The Revelation and the History of Salvation," giving § 55, "God's Plan of Salvation"; § 56, "The History Prior to the Sinaitic Revelation"; § 57, "The Giving of the Law on Sinai"; § 58, "Israel's Apostasy and its Consequences." Chap. xix., "The Righteousness before God, and Merit." Here we come into the very adytum of Jewish Soteriology; § 59, "The Conception of Righteousness"; § 60, "The Righteousness by the Fulfilling of the Law"; § 61, "The Righteousness by Good Works"; § 62, "The Different Relations of Individual Men to God"; § 63, "The Representative Righteousness of the Fathers",—their vast merit made available for their posterity, in times of self-examination, prayer, death, and judgment. "We have Abraham!"; § 64, "The Merit of the Saints"; § 65, "The Reward of Works"; § 66, "Merit as a historical Motive of Salvation." Chap. xx., "The Atonement", gives us, § 67, "The Conception of the Atonement";—it is not only a covering of sin from God's eyes, but a restoration of the sinner to the legal and ceremonial standing he had before the transgression, making the sin as though it

never had existed, cancelling its guilt and removing its consequences. § 68, "Repentance and the Day of Atonement"; § 69, "Suffering and Death as a Means of Atonement"; § 70, "The Representative Sufferings of the Righteous",—they bear the guilt of others, and, for their sakes, since Israel is an Organism, the punishment due is often restrained; § 71, "Atonement through Good Works"; § 72, "Results of the Doctrine of Justification and Atonement."

The *Fourth Division*, here, presents its general title as "*The Circle of Eschatological Doctrine*," under which we have, Chap. XXI., "The Consummation of the Individual;" § 73, "Death and the Condition of Death;" § 74, "The Abode of Souls in Gehinnom;" § 75, "The Lot of the Blessed in Gan-Eden," i. e., Paradise. It is of prime importance to note that, under Jewish *Eschatology*, comes the Doctrine of *Messiah*, our whole New Testament time being one organic eschatological period, called the "Last Days." Hence, in the Midrash-Talmud doctrine of the Last Things, we find, Chap. XXI., "The Redemption of Israel through the Messiah;" § 76, "The Messiah;" § 77, "Elias, the Forerunner of Messiah;" § 78, "The Entrance of Messiah into the World;" § 79, "The Hidden Growing and Activity of Messiah;" § 80, "The Messiah, Son of Joseph;" § 81, "The Redemption of Israel and the First Resurrection." Then comes Chap. XXIII., concerning "The Kingdom of Messiah;" giving us § 82, "The Messianic Age;" § 83, "The Building of Jerusalem and the Sanctuary;" § 84, "The Temple-Service and the Law, in the Messianic Age."—the Jewish doctrine not recognizing that Messiah's Sufferings would put an end to all "*Legality*," nor recognizing any, save *one Advent of Messiah*, and His coming to "abide;" § 85, "The Righteousness and Blessed Condition of the Community;" § 86, "The Sovereignty of Messiah over the Nations;" § 87, "Gog and Magog, and the End of the Messianic Age." The closing Chapter in this Circle of Eschatological ideas, and last in the book, is Chap. XXIV., whose title is "The Final Consummation," under which we have, § 88, "The (last) Resurrection and Judgment of the World;" § 89, "The New Heaven, the New Earth, and the New Humanity;" § 90, "*Olam Habba*," or "Coming World,"—first, in Messianic Glory on Earth (there being but *one Advent*), second, in Eternal Blessedness and Glory, in a world without end. In all, 24 chapters, 90 sections, and, with table of contents and minute index, 399 pages, 8vo. A marvelous work,—a work of twenty years' constant labor,—reminding one of Cudworth's "*Intellectual System of the Universe*."

No one can rise from the reading of Dr. Weber's book without feelings of the profoundest gratitude to God, through Christ, for redemption, not only from Sin and Death, but from "*Legality*." It shines with sunlight clearness, that the *whole* difference between the Christian and Jewish Soteriology is that between Grace and Law. And, in the sphere of Anthropology, how deep Israel's apostasy has been, and how hopeless the condition of fallen man, in spite of all his works, no uninspired pages prove more eloquently than do these. As to Theology proper, if, on the one hand, a strict Monotheism ran into a Monism which precluded any possibility of trine activity within the divine essence, on the other hand, the Sublimity of God was held so firmly as to be a barrier to His loss of Personality, and to any pantheistic mixture with His works. As to the Torah in its perceptive part while it was regarded as no less than God's objective Self, the fatal Judaistic error deemed it as the sole, the last, and absolute revelation of God, to be fulfilled by man, precisely in the form it wears. And yet, what grand conceptions of its purity, divinity, authority, eternity! only lost by deep apostasy. As

to the circle of Eschatology, no reader of the book will fail to see how much there is in common with the prophets, as to Messiah's Kingdom, Power, and Glory, on the Earth; Israel's Redemption, the Resurrection of the just, the Golden Age, the Final Resurrection and the Judgment of the World, followed by the endless state. If later Judaism corrupted these by carnal fancies, yet the main outlines of the Jewish doctrine are precisely those of the prophets; and, abating the corruptions, as also making allowance for the fact that only one Advent of Messiah seemed to be predicted, and only Jewish-Gentiles share the final glory, their outlook is just what we see in John's Apocalypse. It is impossible not to realize the fact that the Eschatology of the Jewish Church passed, in its purest form, through Christ and His Apostles, into the Christian Church of early times, and was then corrupted, as was all other truth, and that the New Testament prophetic outlook cannot be interpreted aright, apart from the recognition of those great leading lines, and that order of events, common to the prophets and the ancient Jewish faith. If the Christians are not always right, the Jews are not always wrong. The Church has much to learn from the Synagogue, as well as the Synagogue much to learn from the Church. Dr. Weber's investigations on She'ol seem to justify our New Testament translation of "Hades" by "Hell," in the authorized version, and prove that in the purer Jewish faith, the souls of the righteous passed immediately *to the Throne of God*; beholding, *there*, His glory. His discussion of "*Olam Habba*," the Coming Age, *αιων ο μελλων*, "the World to Come," makes the Epistles to the Hebrews glow with light, as Wuenesche's on the "*End*" clears up the darkness in the Olivet-Discourse. One cannot but wish that day were near, when Jew and Gentile might see eye to eye in the Kingdom of God. To quote from Dr. Weber, in a brief review, was impossible. The rubrics are enough to show the greatness and the value of the work.

▷GENERAL NOTES.◁

A Kid in its Mother's Milk.—The passage "*Thou shalt not scethe a kid in its mother's milk*," is thrice repeated in the Mosaic law. The Jews here explain the expression גֵּרִי בַחֲלֵב אִמּוֹ to mean a sucking kid, but when asked what is the meaning of the passage, they explain it as a prohibition of cooking a kid, or any other "butcher's meat" in "semen," i. e. the melted and clarified butter with which Orientals mostly do their cooking.

I will give you instead the interpretation of my servant [who is an Egyptian "Fellah," quite innocent of reading and writing in either Hebrew or Arabic, and who, I am quite sure, has never heard the passage read or explained. Of a certain act of cruelty he said—"That would be as bad as cooking a kid in his mother's milk." (Gidi be-leben imu). He thus used the exact Hebrew expression with the simple substitution of "leben" for חֲלֵב. (The Syrians call sweet milk "halub," and sour milk "leben." The Egyptians call sweet milk "leben," and sometimes add the other word, and call it "leben halub.") I asked him what he meant by "Gidi be-leben imu," to which he answered, "A sucking kid." This shows what was among the Hebrews is still here the proverb for cruelty to animals, and any one who has heard the almost frantic bleating, and piteous moaning of a goat deprived of her

suckling, will understand the naturalness of the proverb. The spirit of the precept is therefore that of the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and with this naturally fall in the passages which we find in Ex. xxii., 29; Lev. xxii., 27, 28, and Deut. xxii., 6, 7.

G. LANSING.

The Study of Palestinian Life.—Well has it been said, "Immutability is the most striking law of Eastern life." This unchangeableness gives immense weight to all researches into the present condition of Palestine. We have had of late much very important work done by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The *land* has been surveyed throughout by able men with most valuable and interesting results. But far more valuable and interesting discoveries are to be made in an exploration of its *life*. Not only are many questions of topography of comparatively minor value to the Biblical student, even when perfectly clear, but such is the state of emptiness, ignorance, wasting and general decay into which the country has fallen for upwards of a thousand years that a perfect identification of most Scriptural sites is scarcely possible. But in the case of the manners, customs, productions, great natural features, and a large part of the language of the people, these through ages of convulsion have survived unaltered, and may be seen and heard to-day in Emmanuel's Land the same in all essentials as they were seen and heard by David three thousand years ago. Ruin has been able to make but little havoc in these living, divinely-preserved commentaries on the Written Word. And more than this, the simple, everyday features of Palestine life, when once recognised, throw in very many instances, a broad flood of light across the pages of the Bible. The identification of the site of a city may serve to explain one or two important narratives, but the discovery of an ancient custom, a regular atmospherical phenomenon, or a technical expression still on the lips of the people, may give a new force—ay, perhaps a new meaning—to a hundred passages.—*Jas. Neil, in Palestine Explored.*

Camp-fires in the Holy Land.—The lighting of camp-fires is a constant and very noticeable feature of journeys in the Holy Land. Fuel for this purpose is afforded by the low, woody, herbaceous growth, partaking largely of a thorny nature, which abounds in the deserts, and is to be met with by the wayside in most parts of the country. The "fire of thorns" is often alluded to in the Old Testament, and every resident in Palestine has reason to know what a familiar sight it is.¹ Easterns, who have a great dread of darkness and a passionate fondness for light, seem to rejoice to seize every opportunity of making these bonfires, and continuing them far into the night. They particularly delight in the crackling and the bright flames which thorn bushes specially throw out. They kindle these fires, however, as much for protection as for pleasure. The lurid light thus given serves to scare away the wild beasts which come out at night in many lonely places, and also to show to those on the watch the approach of thieves and robbers. When traveling under the escort of *Bedaween* Arabs in certain dangerous parts of the desert, travelers have observed that their wild escort keep up watch-

¹ Psalm cxviii., 12; Isaiah xxxiii., 12. Sometimes the mention of fire in connection with thorns refers to large conflagrations kindled in autumn. These extensive fires are lighted to clear the stubble lands of their wild growth, amongst which thorny plants of many kinds are very numerous (Exodus xxii., 6; 2 Samuel xxiii., 6, 7; Nahum i., 10). The context generally shows which kind of fire is meant.

fires round the camp all night, while the "keepers," or guards, shout out at intervals to render the protection more complete. On one occasion, while traveling through the waterless desert leading to Palmyra, when within a short distance of its ruins, I had to pass a large camp of the 'Anazeh tribe of *Bedaween*. I was traveling all night, accompanied by a friend and a government escort of soldiers. For an hour before we drew near to them, we saw large bright fires encircling the encampment, and we had to ride far out of our way in order to avoid them. The flames of these fires were kept up till daybreak.

There would seem to be a plain allusion to this practice in the promise of Jehovah's safeguard over Jerusalem in millennial times. "Jerusalem shall abide as the country parts, for the multitude of men and cattle therein. And I, saith Jehovah, will be unto her a wall of fire round about."¹ All Eastern cities to this day are surrounded with high massive walls and stout iron-plated and iron-barred gates. The security, wealth, and safety of Israel during the fulness of Messiah's kingdom is shown in this representation by its walls being thrown down, its boundaries immensely enlarged, and its being inhabited like a vast camp over which the Lord Himself continually watches.

Still clearer is the reference to these camp-fires kindled for protection, in a passage in Isaiah. The prophet, after administering comfort to the faithful in Israel, proceeds to warn the faithless and self-righteous of the utter futility of their carnal efforts to seek salvation. To all who fear Jehovah he says—

"Let him that walketh in darkness,
and hath no light,
Trust in the name of Jehovah,
And stay himself upon his God."²

But to the unbelievers he cries, in the next verse,

"Behold, all ye that kindle a fire,
That gird you about with flames!
Walk in the light of your fire,
And in the flames ye have lighted:
This shall ye have from my hand;
Ye shall lie down in sorrow."

Here the girding about with flames, evidently as a means of protection in the darkness, is connected with lying down to sleep. Yet their rest shall be broken by trouble and sorrow, notwithstanding all the flames of the watch-fires with which they are surrounded.—*Jas. Neil, in Palestine Explored.*

Influence of the Jews in the History of Mankind.—Never at any time, except it be quite lately, have the Jews numbered more than six or seven millions: throughout their whole history, they have been a people despised and hated of all nations, and yet there is no doubt that, notwithstanding all this, they have exerted, and in one way and another, are still exerting, a transforming and determining influence upon human life, beyond that of any nation that has ever lived upon the earth. This is the more remarkable that whereas, in the case of other nations, as, for example, Greece and Rome, their day of greatest influence was the day of their greatest national prosperity, and that influence waned with their declining fortune, with Israel, the reverse has been the case. With the accession of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, the Jewish state began a course of steady decay, but throughout this period, from soon after its beginning for several hundred years, were pro-

¹ Zechariah ii., 4, 5. ² Isaiah l., 10.

duced one after another, those wonderful writings of the Jewish prophets, which to this day so move the heart and so influence the life of Christendom. And then as the consummating fact of all, we cannot forget that after all the prophets had come and gone, and Judea had sunk to be an insignificant province of the Roman empire, out of this same people arose the Jesus of Nazareth, whose short life of no more than three and thirty years, has undeniably proved, however any may explain it, to have been the turning point in human history, the most decisive and far-reaching crisis hitherto in the history of mankind. There is not a single people of any note for active and widespread influence in the world to-day, which does not signify its appreciation of this fact by reckoning all its history with reference to the year in which that Jewish carpenter was born.

As to the nature and extent of the influence of the Jewish nation, much more might be said and will be in the sequel. For the present let it suffice to note a single point. All the monotheism in the world to-day, Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan, has its source in the Jewish nation. So far as we can see, then, except for them, the world would have been to-day without a faith—at least in any organized form as a religion—in the being of one personal God, the Creator and Governor of the world. Whatever, therefore, of influence the belief in the existence and government of such a Being has had on the history and destiny of man, it is strictly correct to say that is the measure of the influence of the Jewish nation. And so, again, it is plain that as regards influence upon the practical life and speculative thought of men, as in other respects noted, Israel holds a position, as compared with other nations, absolutely solitary, unapproached by any of the greatest and mightiest races of mankind!

This fact, in itself so remarkable, is the more so, that it was not to have been anticipated from anything in the Israelitish stock itself or in its early history. It cannot be ascribed to superior intellectual power; for, while we fully recognize the naturally high endowments of the Jewish race in this respect, there is no reason to believe in this regard they were or are superior to other races that might be named. It can hardly be attributed to a deeper spirituality, as a characteristic of the race, leading them more than others to seek after God. In this respect, again, it may be more than doubted whether they have been on the whole naturally superior to other races, such as the Hindoos, for example, or the ancient Persians. Without joining at all with many "anti-Semites" in Europe and elsewhere, in indiscriminate abuse of the Jews, as if all alike were usurers and extortioners, we shall not be held uncharitable in saying that the Jews certainly never have been nor are now noted for an unworldly spirit. It would probably be hard to find a race more eager in the pursuit of worldly wealth and all that wealth can give, than are the Jews. Neither can we, with Renan, attribute this conquering Jewish monotheism to a "monotheistic genius" in the race. Their early history, as we learn it both from their own records and from other ancient testimonies, goes to prove the exact opposite of this theory. It has been clearly demonstrated, that the early Semites, so far from being distinguished for their opposition to the idolatry and polytheism which already, with the first dawn of monumental history, we find prevailing in the Euphrates valley, were distinguished rather in this, that they, as compared with other neighboring races, more swiftly descended to a more cruel and revolting idolatry than any other race or people of whom history has left a record. Prof. Ebrard, of Erlangen, has fitly described the state of the case in the following words: "Those Euphrates-Semites must have been given over to a

spirit of confusion out of the abyss, as they declared everything which the conscience forbids and condemns as infamous and horrible, to be precisely that which belonged to the service of the Godhead." And again, "It was no gradual declension from a purer knowledge of God to a knowledge less clear, as with the Persians, Indians, Greeks and Egyptians. The rise of *this* religion—the primitive Semitic heathenism—presupposes a wilful repetition of the original fall, a fall out of a state of simple sinfulness into a diabolical and demoniac hardness of heart, an accursed revolt against both God and the conscience." To the same effect Prof. Zoekler tells us, "History teaches us with the utmost plainness that the Semitic peoples—Israel not excepted—were rather distinguished by a natural inclination to a gross, sensual, idolatrous superstition, and a strong tendency to polytheism, instead of the monotheistic instinct which is claimed for them."

In full accord with all this, is the testimony of the books of the Old Testament. They uniformly represent the nation as, quite until the captivity, despite all the faithful instructions and warnings of the prophets who from time to time arose among them, again and again returning to the revolting cruelties of the worship of Moloch and the unnatural obscenities of the cult of Astarte, the "queen of heaven." And this, according to their own historians, was their character as a nation during the whole thirteen hundred years from the call of Abraham to the Babylonian captivity. Herein, assuredly, was no clear evidence of a "monotheistic genius." Not so can we account for the undoubted fact that the existing monotheistic religions all have their origin in Israel. On the contrary, that from a nation with such historical antecedents, such almost ineradicable tendencies to the grossest forms of idolatry and moral debasement, should have come all the monotheistic faith that there is in the world to-day, is a phenomenon so extraordinary that it may well command the attention of every thoughtful man.—*Samuel Kellogg, in The Jews; or, Prediction and Fulfilment.*

Shapira's MSS.—One of the best departments of *The Independent*, is that of *Biblical Research*. Every number of the paper contains from one to two columns of matter of the most interesting nature. In the issue of August 30th, there appeared the version of the Decalogue as given in Mr. Shapira's parchments. For the benefit of our readers we give the version as there printed, together with the translation, and the remarks which accompanied it:

אנך . אלהם . אלהך . אישר . החרתך . מארן . מערם . מבת . עברם .
לא יהיה . לכם . אלהם . אחרם . לא תעשה . לכם . פסל . וכל . תמנה .
אישר . בשמם . ממעל . ואישר . בארן . מתחת . ואישר . במים . מתחת .
לארן . לא תשתחו . להם . ולא תעברם . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
קדש ית . ימם . עשת . את השמם . ואת הארן . וכל .
אישר . במ . וישבת . ביום . השבעי . על . כן . תישבת . גם . אתה . ובהמתך .
וכל . אישר . לך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
כבר . את אנך . ואת אמך . למען . יארכן . ימך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
לא . תרצח . את נפשי . אחך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
לא תנאף . את אישת . רעך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
לא תגנב . ארת הן . אחך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .

לא תשבע . בשמי . לישקר . כי . אנך . אקנא . את . עון . אבת . על . שלשים .
ועל . רבעם . לנישא . שמי . לישקר . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
לא תענו . באחך . ערת . שקר . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
לא תחמד . אשת עברו . ואמתו . וכל . אישר . לו . אנך . אלהם .
אלהך .
לא תשנא . את . אחך . בלובבך . אנך . אלהם . אלהך .
. . . . את . עשרת . הדברים . האלה . דבר . אלהם .

I am God, thy God, who made thee a freeman out of the land of Egypt, from the house of servants.

1. Ye shall have no other gods. Thou shalt not make for yourselves [a possible Hebrew construction, in which the nation is considered both collectively and distributively] an image, or any likeness of anything that is in the heavens above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, and thou shalt not serve them. I am God, thy God.

2. Sanctify . . . six days I made the heavens and the earth and all which is in them, and rested on the seventh day. Therefore thou also shalt rest; thou and thy cattle, and all which is thine. I am God, thy God.

3. Honor thy father and thy mother, in order that thy days may be long. I am God, thy God.

4. Thou shalt not kill the lives of thy brother [a strange construction and a strange order of the Hebrew words]. I am God, thy God.

5. Thou shalt not commit adultery with the wife of thy neighbor. I am God, thy God.

6. Thou shalt not steal the property of thy brother. I am God, thy God.

7. Thou shalt not swear by my name to a falsehood; for I will be jealous of the sin of the fathers unto the third and fourth generation, to him who taketh my name to a falsehood. I am God, thy God.

8. Thou shalt not bear false testimony against thy brother. I am God, thy God.

9. Thou shalt not covet the wife of . . . his man-servant, or his maid-servant, or anything which is his. I am God, thy God.

10. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart. I am God, thy God.

These ten words God spake. . . .

It seems that there are two or three copies of the Decalogue in Shapira's parchments which slightly differ. Among the noticeable peculiarities we will mention the suppression of "*plene*" forms except in **יום**; the point after each word in the Decalogue portion (not elsewhere, the preface being regarded as part of the Decalogue), as in the Moabite inscription, except **לא** and **את**; the curious order of the commandments, the first and second being united, as in the Catholic style, the third being put before the ninth, and so altered as to be scarce more than another form of the ninth, and the number being filled out by adding the command "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart"; the addition of the formula "I am God, thy God," to each commandment; the awkward transfer of the sentence about God's visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the sons from the second to the third commandment (Shapira's seventh); the weak dilation of the sixth, seventh and eighth commandments: the mixing of "thou" and "ye" at the beginning of the commandments and the use of some peculiar forms, as the verb **החרתך** (to be free) for **הוצאתך** in the introduction, of **שת** for **שישת**, apparently the use of the old final **ו** for **ה** in **תענו**, the use of **קנא** (to be jealous) for **פקד** (visit). Dr. Ginsburg says that the words "that thy days may be long" are omitted in one duplicate, that the copies show traces of two different scribes, that one

copy has the regular plural אָנֹכִים for אָנֹכִי (fathers), so that the expression "God, thy God," does not appear in the Old Testament. The form of the letters being closely copied from the Moabite inscription, it is probably difficult to use them to prove the forgery, and a *facsimile* has not reached us. Internal evidence has to be relied on. Apart from general considerations, some of the minuter points which strike one may be mentioned. One is the use of the expression "made thee a freeman," which is incongruous with "land of Egypt." The expression "I am God, thy God," is extremely unlikely, and would be tautological. "Jehovah, thy God," or "Chemosh, thy God," would have a meaning; but this is meaningless. The use of the Hebrew word meaning "testimony" instead of that meaning *a witness*, in Shapira's eighth, implies a false idea of the verb. The use of "neighbor" in the fifth for the usual *brother* is dictated by something else than Oriental delicacy. The last commandment is quite too subjective to be genuine.

➤ EDITORIAL NOTES. ◀

A New Volume.—The name OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT has been substituted for *Hebrew Student* because the latter term seemed to convey to the minds of many a wrong idea of the aim and contents of the Journal. As is known to those who are acquainted with it, the Journal is not intended solely for students of the Hebrew language. Hebrew is studied for the sake of the additional light upon Old Testament subjects which a knowledge of it gives to the student. While, therefore, it would be extremely desirable for all students of the Old Testament to be students also of Hebrew, such a thing is clearly impossible. The great mass of those who ought to be Old Testament students are so situated as not to be able to become students of Hebrew. This fact makes it all the more important that they should avail themselves of such aids as it is possible for them to obtain. Our Journal, from the beginning, has been adapted to the wants of this class of readers. It is a time when laymen as well as clergymen desire to study, when Old Testament subjects demand the attention of all Christian men and women. THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT will aim to furnish its readers with fresh and reliable discussions of those Old Testament topics, which, to-day, engross the attention of scholars and thinkers. It will give the latest information touching the work of Old Testament specialists and investigators. It will endeavor to keep its readers informed as to the literature of this department of study. It will, in short, aim to present in the smallest possible space, just what every student of the Old Testament desires to know.—just what he *ought* to know, in order that he may keep abreast of the times; for in no other field of investigation are the results more numerous, more interesting, or more important.

While, however, the needs of *Old Testament* students are specially kept in view, the Journal, it is hoped, will be found of equal interest and profit to those who are able to prosecute their studies in the original languages. No effort will be spared to improve the general character of the various departments. As heretofore, the Journal will receive the support of the best talent. Plans are already in process of consummation, by which it will be made more valuable and attractive. Feeling that success in this undertaking is dependent, largely, upon the assistance obtained from those who are interested in it, we venture at this time, to remind our

readers of the valuable aid, which, with even a slight effort on their part, they might render this work.

New Hebrew Professors.—During the summer months, many vacancies in our theological seminaries have been filled. Among others it is our privilege to notice the appointment of Rev. H. G. T. Mitchell, to the Professorship of Hebrew in the Theological Department of Boston University (Meth.), of Rev. Charles R. Brown, to the Associate Professorship of Hebrew in Newton Theological Institution (Bapt.), and of Rev. W. W. Moore, to the same position in Hampden Sidney College (Pres.), Va. These professors are all young men. They enter upon their work this month, after a long and careful preparation for it under able teachers in this country and in Germany. It is unnecessary to say that they have undertaken the work of that chair, which is, in many respects, the most difficult in the theological seminary. It is certainly more difficult to interest students in this department than in any other; the work of the first year, and, indeed, of the whole course is, for the most part, drudgery. What ought to have been learned in college, must now be learned under circumstances the most disadvantageous. There is a large amount of truth in what an Eastern Professor has said: "Among the noble army of martyrs, the glory and crown of the Christian Church, surely none will more richly deserve the eternal rewards promised to that patience which is proper to saints, than the Professors of Hebrew in our Theological Seminaries." But this is not the only difficulty attending the work of a professor of Hebrew. His position is an extremely delicate one. His opinions as to the questions of the hour are sought after alike by friend and foe. He cannot dogmatize if he is a true investigator, for he knows, if others do not, that however positive the traditionalist may be, however confident the higher critic may be, there are but few questions which, as yet, are settled absolutely. Yet he must assert an opinion; otherwise, either his scholarship or his orthodoxy will be doubted. It is safe to affirm that the young Hebrew professor occupies to-day a position at once trying and delicate. He, of all others, stands in need of forbearance, and of the moral support of his students and his colleagues. He must not be pressed for dogmatic assertions upon this or that subject. He who makes such assertions, unless indeed, he has for decades been engaged in investigation, may be set down as "full of conceit," and unsafe to follow.

July Hebrew Study.—At the School of Hebrew, held at Morgan Park, July 1–29, there were in attendance six instructors, seven lecturers, and eighty-five students. The numerous notices of the School, which have appeared in the various religious papers, have been seen by our readers. But it will be proper here to note one or two of the characteristic features of the School. Most striking of all was the sturdy determination to learn the language, exhibited by every student. The average age was about thirty-eight. Men of this age would certainly not leave home and church, give up recreation and rest, spend time and money to prosecute a study unless, in their very soul, they believed the prosecution of that study to be a duty, and unless, as a consequence of this belief, they were resolved to do all that was possible to be done in the given time. And so, hour after hour, day after day, and week after week, they bent themselves to the self-allotted task, inspired by their determination, and incited by the example of others. Is it at all surprising that such men, with such surroundings, should do a large amount of work, in a comparatively short time?

Another feature, worthy of mention, was the large number of denominations and widely-scattered localities represented. Members of eleven different Christian bodies, and residents of twenty-one different states and countries were present. Men of so varied religious beliefs, and of so different local interests could not mingle with each other in class-room, at table, and in social intercourse, without great profit. For the time being, all else was laid aside; a common motive prompted their work; a common end bound them together; and the good influence of this Christian fellowship was not the least valuable result of the School.

But what does it all mean? Will these men go to their homes, put aside their Hebrew books, forget what they may have learned, and be no better off than before they determined to undertake the study? This, no doubt, is an opinion entertained by many. That it is erroneous, every man who participated in the work will testify. An impetus, not merely to the study of Hebrew, but to all study, was received, the force of which will long be felt. No discipline, however excellent, is equal to that of the class-room. Nor will these men now throw aside the study of the Hebrew. Some of them carry it on in the theological seminary. Others join together, and by helping each other, help themselves. The majority continue their study in accordance with a regular systematic plan, by which sure and steady progress will be made, even amidst the cares and interruptions of a pastoral life. Not a man among them *stops*. Is this not a matter worthy of consideration? Is it not a straw indicating, in its small way, a tendency of the times? Is it true, as many assert, that there *is to be* more interest in these studies than there *has been*?

➤BOOKS : NOTICES.◀

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

THE BOOK OF JOB.*

Rosenmueller (1824) enumerates in his *Elenchus Interpretum* one hundred and twenty commentaries on the Book of Job. This volume, however, aims only to be a literal and easily accessible translation of the Massoretic text. The translator seeks to bring out as vividly as possible the idea of the original. No notes or comments are appended. We commend most highly one feature of the translation, viz., the retention of such Hebrew words as *El, Elohim, Eloah, Shaddai, Adhonai, Goel, Sheol, Abaddon*, for which the English language has no exact correlatives. The translator believes that there is no satisfactory ground for the opinions that the Book of Job belongs to the patriarchal age, but although he is not inclined to dogmatize upon the subject, is inclined to assign it to a period between Solomon's reign and the Exile. He understands the great lesson of the Book to be "that God is omniscient, omnipotent and inscrutable; and that as He gives to no man an account of His matters, man must acquiesce where he cannot

* *The Book of Job*. Translated from the Hebrew by J. M. RODWELL, M. A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Rector of St. Ethelburga, London. Third Edition. London: F. Norwiche, 7, King Street, Covent Garden. U. S.: *Old Testament Book Exchange*, Morgan Park, Ill. 12mo. Pp. 89. Price, 85 cents.

understand, and walk by faith, not by sight." The translator has accomplished well his immediate object, to bring out as vividly as possible the vigor and strength of the original. A common fault of translation is the endeavor to supply everything which the fancy of the translator sees in the text. We have not space to criticize his translations of special texts. The verses given below (III., 3-10) will give the reader a general idea of the style and character of the work attempted.

Perish *the* day in which I was born,
 And the night that said, "A man-child is conceived!"
 That day! let it be darkness!
 Eloah regard it not from above!
 Nor let light shine upon it!
 Let darkness and death-shade reclaim it!
 Let cloud abide upon it!
 Let obscurations of *the* day affright it!
 That night! deep darkness take it away!
 Let it not be united with *the* days of *the* year!
 Let it not come among the number of *the* months!
 Lo, that night! be it barren!
 May no cry of joy enter it!
 Let those who curse days, lay their ban upon it,
 Those who are of skill to rouse up Leviathan!
 Darkened be *the* stars of its twilight!
 Let it wait for light and there be none!
 Norlet it behold *the* eyelashes of *the* dawn!
 For it shut not up *the* doors of my *mother's* belly,
 Nor hid trouble from mine eyes.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.*

This translation, by the same author as that mentioned above, is similar in plan, and equally good in execution. Nowhere have we seen so clear a statement of the difficulties of translating correctly the prophetic portions of Scripture, as is contained in the preface to this volume. Not all students of prophecy will adopt the canon of interpretation here laid down. It is, however, the regulating principle of most commentators, and being such, is worthy of close study. This statement is as follows:

A translation will naturally take much of its color from the views which the translator himself may happen to hold of prophecy in general, and of the extent to which he regards the writings of any particular prophet, as penetrated by the Messianic idea. But not only will a translator be liable to translate according to some preconceived theory or bias, and often to stamp his theology on the very front of his version, but the translator of a prophet like Isaiah, whose utterances have a distinct and vivid reference to events taking place when they were spoken, and at the same time look forward to and comprise a distant future, finds himself burdened with the difficulty of doing justice to this twofold aspect of the author whom he endeavors to represent, and in danger of bringing either the present or the future into undue prominence by his choice of words and renderings.

A translator, for instance, may see in the Prophecies of Isaiah nothing more than the utterances of a pure patriotism, vague but lofty hopes of a brighter future, interspersed with dark pictures of the sufferings to which the faithful servants of God, whether as individuals, or as a prophetic order, or as a faithful remnant among the people, might be subjected. He might see in them merely a

* *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. Translated from the Hebrew, by J. M. RODWELL, M. A. London: F. Norgate, 7, King Street, Covent Garden. U. S.: *Old Testament Book Exchange*, Morgan Park, Ill. 12mo. Pp. 171. Price, \$1.25.

reflection of the stormy times which ushered in and caused the decadence of the Jewish nation, and the rejection of an unwelcome message, which drew down upon the prophet the bitterest persecution. To such a translator, Isaiah would be little more than the patriot statesman, or the stern moralist filled with a boldness which enabled him to rebuke the sinful, whether princes or people, to strengthen the vacillating and encourage the faint-hearted. He will see in him one of those who stood against their age and the spirit of the world—never despairing of better times—a devout adorer of the God of his Fathers, and full of faith in that divine superintendence which looked throughout all the clouds that obscured the present to a bright but unknown future. Such a translator would of course translate in accordance with his literalistic views.

But though these views are true enough as far as they go, they do not satisfy the requirements of the problem to be solved, and are wholly irreconcilable with the idea of a progressive revelation culminating in Christianity. We are rather to suppose that while the prophecies, down to the minutest particular, have immediate reference to *passing* events, they also contain implied references and a capability of application to *coming* events in the history of the Jewish people and humanity at large—that whatever was spoken by Isaiah of Jerusalem, of the *righteousness* or righteous and faithful dealings of God with Israel, of their *salvation* or deliverance from Babylon, of *Cyrus* as its instrument, or of the *servant*, or servants of God, as its prophetic announcers, not only admit of a facile application to the Church and to the world, to the Messiah and his kingdom, but were so intended in the scheme of an over-ruling Providence. For the Prophet Isaiah does not stand alone. He is one of a long series of prophets, each of whom has a message pointing more or less distinctly to the central hope of man's salvation, and stands in connection with that long series of types and ordinances as well as typical characters, which all point in the same direction, and furnish the true and only key to the latent meaning of the prophetic word. To say the least, there is an extraordinary correspondence between the words of prophecy and the facts of the life of the founder of Christianity. But it is this which increases a translator's difficulty, that words which to Isaiah himself were probably little more than a dim intuition, only when taken in connection with their harmony with Gospel History, assume the proportions of divine enlightenment.

THE HEBREW NEW TESTAMENT.*

A debt of gratitude is due Professor Franz Delitzsch for the conscientious and painstaking labor, the result of which is seen in his Hebrew New Testament. The pamphlet before us, written in English, is intended (1) "to afford a glimpse into the work, of which the Hebrew New Testament is the fruit, and (2) to show what instructive results have proceeded therefrom for Hebrew grammar, especially syntax." The beginning of the work was made in 1838, when he translated 1 Cor. XIII. This was followed in 1870, by the translation of the Epistle to the Romans. In 1877, by the assistance of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the whole New Testament was issued. In this, the first edition, the text adopted was that of the Sinaitic Codex, the chief variations of the Textus Receptus being placed in brackets. The second edition appeared in 1878, based upon the Receptus. The third edition was issued in 1880. This edition was soon exhausted, and in October of the same year, with the assistance of Rev. Palmer Davies, the fourth, electrotyped, edition was published. And finally, after a careful revision of the text, a fifth edition has been published. It is exceedingly interesting to note some of the

* *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* A contribution to Hebrew Philology by Prof. FRANZ DELITZSCH. Leipzig: *Dreyfling and Franke*; U. S.: *Old Testament Book Exchange*, Morgan Park, Ill. 12mo. Pp. 38. Price, 50 cents.

changes, with the reasons therefor, which the translator, after the most exhaustive study, deemed it wise to make, e. g.

Matt. IX., 21 *כִּי אָמְרָה בְּקִרְבָּהּ* for *she said within herself* is changed to *כִּי אָמְרָה בְּלִבָּהּ*, because *אָמַר בְּקִרְבֵּי* has no support in biblical Hebrew. 2 Cor. VIII., 22 *פְּעָמִים רַבּוֹת* *oftentimes* is changed to *פְּעָמִים רַבּוֹת*

1 Pet. I., 13 *וְקוֹי קוֹי* and *hope perfectly* is changed to *וְקוֹי קוֹי*, because as he affirms, the intensive Inf. when combined with an Imv., always follows it.

Aside from the correction of typographical errors, the author notes fifty-six such changes as those given above. Every instance involves an important principle as to the usage of a word or construction.

Among other points, the author calls attention to the difficulty found in translating the Greek expressions of *doubting*, and to the canon of translation, "that when the context and meaning are similar" the same Greek word ought to be rendered by the same Hebrew word. It was found necessary, however, to introduce some variations: e. g.: *χάρις* is rendered *חֶסֶד* (John I., 17), *חֵן* (Luke I., 30), *תּוֹדָה* (Rom. VI., 17). *λείπεται* is rendered *עֲבָרָה* (Luke I., 23), but *יְשׁוּרָה* in Heb. VIII. Professor Delitzsch accepts frequently, though not always, the criticisms of S. R. Driver. We commend the pamphlet to every student of Hebrew. It is full of rich suggestions, the fruit of a long and laborious life devoted to the study of the subject, and, in this connection, we would remind the student of the New Testament, that much assistance may be obtained from a study of the New Testament in the Hebrew dress.

➤ REVIEW NOTICES. ◀

Recent numbers of the various religious journals have not been rich in articles dealing with subjects relating to the Old Testament. *The Bibliotheca Sacra* (July, 1883) it is true, devotes two of its seven articles to discussions of the early Hebrew traditions. Prof. Dillmann (pp. 433-449) endeavors "to refute the proposition that the whole primitive history of the Hebrew books was borrowed from Babylonia," as the advanced school of criticism now assert. He suggests, first, that *a priori* the hypothesis is untenable, because the Jews would be slow to adopt the religious traditions of their oppressors, that in fact they appropriated indifferent things as names of months only very reluctantly and after a long period, that the polytheistic forms of Babylonian traditions could not have been reconstructed into an account of such monotheistic simplicity and beauty by the degenerate Jews of that day. But the larger part of his discussion is occupied with an examination of the actual facts, a comparison of the traditions, to discover the points of identity and dissimilarity. Four leading characteristics of the Hebrew tradition come in for examination, (1) A primeval chaos. (2) Paradise. (3) Primitive genealogies. (4) The flood. Comparing the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts in each one of these particulars, he discovers among some coincidences a greater number of divergencies. The conclusion arrived at is that "all wherein the Hebrew primitive history has points of contact with the Babylonian is also common property of other nations. The utmost imaginable would be that the late Jewish composers

might have, with reference to what they had heard in Babylonia, altered or interpolated the accounts of their native books; but this conjecture is not necessary, and is unsupported by farther literary facts."

To be read in close connection with the preceding article, in the same journal, is a *Symposium on the Antediluvian Narratives*, prepared by Prof. Curtiss, in which Prof. Dillmann again appears along with Lenormant, Delitzsch (Fdr.), and Haupt, in a discussion of this same general subject. It is, indeed, merely a synopsis of various works of these authors, Lenormant's "Beginnings of History," recently noted in this Journal, Friedrich Delitzsch's "Wo Lag das Paradies?," Haupt's lecture on "The Babylonian Account of the Deluge," and Dillmann's lecture reproduced in the same number in English, being summarized by the writer. Prof. Curtiss concludes with Dillmann that "this derivation of the Jehovistic as well as the Elohistie narratives from Babylon during the Exile is one of the most startling vagaries of modern research, and is a complete *reductio ad absurdum*."

In the *Modern Review*, (July, 1883) the series of articles from the standpoint of the Advanced School, is represented by an examination of the Book of Judges from the pen of Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter. The hypothesis being taken for granted that it was written late in the Jewish history, the principle on which it was compiled is as follows: "The Prophet who beheld his people frequenting the licentious orgies of the Baals had no hesitation in announcing that disaster was at hand; and the historian had simply to invert the order, and from the record of defeat to infer the antecedent sin. From the conquest to the fall of Jerusalem the editors gathered the national traditions and reversed the national annals under the focus of this central idea. . . . No book shows plainer evidence of having undergone this prophetic reconstruction than the Book of Judges." The component parts of the Book are, chap. I., Introduction; a short fragment II., 1-5; the real Judges-Book, II., 6-XVI., 31; two episodes appended, (1) XVII., XVIII., (2) XIX.-XXI. In the examination of the Book, the writer finds (1) Great modifications of the traditions in the light of later ideas; (2) Unreal character of the conquest given in the Book of Joshua. In that Book, it is represented as "the triumphant action of an entire nation, marching in united hosts from city to city, and leaving behind them nothing but blazing homes and slaughtered people. The war was a war of extermination. No one was left to tempt or seduce them. The Sanctuary was set up in the centre of the land. In full possession of the Law, they were undisturbed in the discharge of its injunctions. Their apostacy was willful." Closer investigation reveals the unreal character of this representation. The first chapter of Judges, together with other scattered hints of popular tradition and of later fact, enables us to correct the Book of Joshua. The attack was made not by a single people, but by detachments. No cities fell by trumpet blast. The defence was stubborn. The Canaanites were not exterminated nor were they ejected. The settlement of the tribes may have been effected by peaceable extension. But by this dispersion, the unity of Israel was broken up. To blend the new elements with it, and evolve a higher unity was the work of centuries. The Book of Judges contains the record of tentative efforts in this direction. It tells (a) of the necessity of numerous places of worship and their establishment all over the land; (b) of the adoption, as was natural in the absence of any external unity, of the Canaanitish religion; (c) of the reaction against Baalism of the old Yahveh ideas in the revolt of Deborah and Barak. The conclusion is that the time of the Judges was a time of transition. The rude tribes of the desert are settling down

into an agricultural life. Conflicting impulses struggle for the mastery. Its crimes outrage our ideas of propriety and civilization. But new forces are being stored. They result in the next age in the Monarchy and the Prophetic order.

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IS THE BOOK OF JONAH HISTORICAL?

BY THE EDITOR.

The book of Jonah contains an account of certain events which are commonly supposed to have taken place in the life and experience of a prophet called Jonah. This prophet, if we are to regard him as an historical personage, lived during the reign of the second Jeroboam (824-793). Whether the book receives its name because this prophet was the author of it, or because it treated of events in his life is a question of no importance for our present purpose. Nor does it at all concern us whether the book contains all those marks which are understood to be characteristic of historical style, except in so far as the lack of such characteristics may be assumed as an argument against the reality of the facts which it presents. We do not ask, *Is the book of Jonah history*, but *Is the book of Jonah historical?* It may not have been inserted in the canon merely as history, and yet be historical. That is, the book may be a true record of certain facts and yet not have been made a part of Scripture *simply* in order to make known these facts. The question we ask is, therefore, did these events ever actually take place, or is this story a myth, a fiction, a parable?

What is to be said may conveniently be classified under three heads. These will be considered briefly in successive numbers of the STUDENT. At this time we may notice some of the hypotheses which have been offered in order to explain the book on other than historical grounds. After this, the arguments presented against the historical character of the book will be taken up and considered, and then, the arguments which may be urged in favor of the historical character of the book. These papers will be followed by others on (1) the purpose of the book, and (2) the author of the book.

I. SOME OF THE HYPOTHESES PROPOSED IN EXPLANATION
OF THE BOOK OF JONAH.

The space at our command will allow us neither to consider all the views that have been propounded concerning this book, nor to elaborate those which are selected for consideration. In reference to no other book of the Old Testament have learned men differed more widely or written more extravagantly. The book, moreover, has been, through all the ages, the butt of ridicule on the part of skeptics, while by most believers it has been, and is yet, treated "as one of those things of which the less said the better." The various views as to the book, whether influenced by skepticism or by shyness, are worthy of our attention.

1. That a close connection exists between the story of Jonah and the myths of Hercules and Hesione, Perseus and Andromeda is assumed by many interpreters.¹ The former of these myths stated briefly is this: Laomedon, king of Troy, in order to deliver himself and his country from the ravages of a sea-monster sent by Neptune, exposes his daughter Hesione as a prey to the monster. Hercules, returning from one of his expeditions, sees the maiden fastened to the rock. He slays the monster and frees the maiden.

With this, the earlier form of the myth, it is difficult to connect the story of Jonah; but, about 200 A. D.² this version was amended to the effect that in this encounter Hercules was swallowed; while by writers living still later,³ it is related that, being swallowed, he remained three days in the bowels of the monster, and came forth unharmed with only the loss of his hair.

The second myth runs thus: Cepheus, in order to save the neighborhood of Joppa from the ravages of a sea-monster sent by Neptune, secures his daughter Andromeda to a rock, that she may become the monster's prey. Perseus, returning from the conquest of the Gorgons, sees the maiden and is captivated by her beauty. The monster, being shown by him the head of Medusa, is changed to stone and the maiden is liberated. In reference to these myths, it may be said (1) that the former, in its latest shape, is an embellishment of the story of Jonah, and not *vice versa*, (2) that the latter, except so far as concerns the location, has no conceivable connection with our story, and (3) that nothing could have been more inconsistent with the Jewish tendency

¹ Rosenmueller, p. 354; Friedrichsen, Krit. Ueberblick der merkwuerdigsten ansichten d. B. Jon. 1817, 8vo. 219 sqq., 238 sqq.; Forbiger, Comment. de Lycophron. Cassand. verses 31-37; cum Epimetro de Jona, Lips. 1827.

² This is the date assigned by Niebuhr to Lycophron's Cassandra.

³ See Bleek's Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol. II., p. 187.

of mind than the adoption and embellishment of a foreign myth. Yet Edward B. Tylor in *Primitive Culture*⁴ says:

“This singular story (i. e., the later form of the myth of Hercules and Hesione), probably in part of Semitic origin, combines the ordinary myth of Hesione or Andromeda with the story of Jonah’s fish, for which indeed the Greek sculpture of Andromeda’s monster served as the model in early Christian art, while Joppa was the place where vestiges of Andromeda’s chains on a rock in front of the town were exhibited in Pliny’s time, and whence the bones of a whale were carried to Rome as relics of Andromeda’s monster. To recognize the place which the nature-myth of the Man swallowed by the Monster occupies in mythology, among remote and savage races and onward among higher nations affects the argument on a point of Biblical criticism. It strengthens the position of critics who, seeing that the book of Jonah consists of two wonder-episodes adapted to enforce two great religious lessons, no longer suppose intention of literal narrative in what they may fairly consider as the most elaborate parable of the Old Testament. Had the book of Jonah happened to be lost in old times and only recently recovered, it is indeed hardly likely that any other opinion of it than this would find acceptance among scholars.”

2. That the story of Jonah is connected with, and indeed derived from, the Assyrico-Babylonian myth of the sea-monster Oannes, was maintained by F. v. Baur.⁵ Oannes was a fish-god, or fish-man. The sculpture of it appears upon monuments of every size. Berosus, a Babylonian priest of the fourth century B. C., describes it as the body of a fish; while “under the head of the fish is the head of a man, and added to its tail were the feet of a woman.” According to the tradition he was sent to that country by the gods to give instruction of various kinds to the inhabitants. He always came from the sea, teaching in the day time and returning in the evening to the sea.

Now, it is a principle that there is always an historical basis, however meagre, for every myth. It is a fact that these traditions, with other related traditions which might be mentioned, have their origin in the same region of country. Shall we, therefore, conclude that the “historical basis is found in the existence, from the most ancient times, of the dreaded man-eating monsters in the Mediterranean,—in incidents of actual occurrence in connection with them—and especially in the old narratives of what befel the Hebrew prophet, when he attempted to evade the execution of his commission against the Ninevites?” Such a conclusion would be in direct opposition to the view of Baur. One of four views must be adopted; either (1) these myths and the story

⁴ Vol. I., p. 339.

⁵ The Prophet Jonas an Assyrico-Babylonian Symbol, in *Illgen's Zeitschrift* for 1837, p. 101, sqq.

⁶ *Layard*, Vol. II., p. 466.

⁷ C. E. Stowe, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. X., p. 747.

of Jonah come from the same source; (2) the myths come from the story of Jonah; (3) the story of Jonah comes from the myths, or (4) the myths and the story of Jonah have no connection with or relation to each other. In consideration of the utter lack of support which exists for the first, second or third view, and of the strong evidence which may be produced in favor of the historical character of the book, it seems wise to adopt the fourth view.

3. That the narrative of Jonah is not true history, and yet that, on the other hand, it is not pure fiction is maintained by De Wette.⁸ He asserts emphatically that in antiquity such narratives were *never* pure inventions. In his opinion, the material of the story was picked up from the traditions that were current among the people and the prophets; but we need not hope to discover, either in the hymn, or in the Tobit XIV., 4, or in any dissection of the materials, any satisfactory information as to the "real facts, and what ones out of the life of Jonah lie at the foundation of the book." Substantially this view was held by Bleek,⁹ according to whom it is necessary to suppose, if the book had any historical aim, that it could not have been written down till later, and then "from some inaccurate and partly distorted tradition as to the actual course of facts." This writer, however, goes no farther than to maintain the historical character of Jonah, and to say that "although the matter—the historical *substratum* of this book may really have been partly derived from some other sources, it must be supposed that the author remodeled what he met with in an unfettered way." Here, too, may be classified Kalisch,¹⁰ who makes the book a romance founded, perhaps, on fact; and Davidson,¹¹ who says: "It is possible that a true prophetic tradition may lie at the foundation of the book. Jonah may have prophesied to the Ninevites, and various particulars respecting his mission may either have been written by himself or handed down orally. . . . We consider the much greater part of the book fictitious. An historical germ formed the foundation on which the writer worked."

4. That the only genuine part of the book is the song; that this was composed by the prophet upon escaping from drowning at sea; and that, the meaning of the song being misunderstood, the story, as we have it, grew out of this mistaken interpretation is advanced by Bunsen;¹² and upon the basis of the song this writer endeavors to restore the actual facts in the case.

⁸ *De Wette-Schrader*, p. 462.

⁹ *Bleek*, Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol. II., pp. 184, 185.

¹⁰ *Bible Studies*, Vol. II., p. 122.

¹¹ Introduction, Vol. III., pp. 279, 289.

¹² *Einleitung*, pp. 569-579.

5. Dr. Koehler¹³ understands the book to have formed a part of a book of prophetic narrations, but that, in its present form, it is full of interpolations, alterations and transpositions. The second verse, e. g., ought to have told us what Jonah was to announce to Nineveh. The reading of the Septuagint, "Yet *three* days and Nineveh shall be overthrown" accords better with the narrative as a whole than the Hebrew reading, "Yet *forty* days," etc. Chapters I., 8, II., 2-11, III., 9, IV., 1-4, contain traces of interpolations; while IV., 5-8 consists mainly of insertions. These modifications are conjectures of later Jews who were "in search of a lesson-book on penitence, for reading in times of public calamity."

6. That the book is merely a moral fiction, a fable, a parable, with no historical basis whatever, is maintained by Semler,¹⁴ Herder,¹⁵ Michaelis,¹⁶ Staudlin,¹⁷ and others.

7. That the book is an historical allegory was argued learnedly but extravagantly by Herman Von der Hardt,¹⁸ who regarded Jonah as an historical character, but in this book as symbolical of Manasseh and Josiah; "the ship was the Jewish State; the storm the political convulsions which threatened its safety; the master of the ship, Zadok the high-priest; the great fish, the city of Lybon on the Orontes where Manasseh was held a prisoner," etc.

8. That the portion of the book which related to the swallowing of Jonah by the fish was a dream, was argued by Abarbanel¹⁹ on the ground that in the earlier part of the narrative Jonah was described as going to sleep.

9. Ewald,²⁰ understanding (1) that little or nothing was ever written by the most ancient prophets, (2) that stories about prophets would be just as liable to spring up and suffer modification and enlargement, as traditions of any other kind, (3) that of all national legends, those concerning the prophets would constitute the most important part, (4) that such legends "might be revived and be newly shaped under the influence of prophetic thoughts in such a way that they would serve the author simply as pliable material for the elaboration of his own principles," sets forth that this is a "novelistic treatment" of some such

¹³ See Article on Jonah, by T. K. C. in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XIII., pp. 747, 748.

¹⁴ Appar. ad Lib. V. T. Interpret., p. 271.

¹⁵ Briefe V. I., p. 136, 2d ed.

¹⁶ Uebersetz d. A. T. pt. XI. Anmerk. p. 101.

¹⁷ N. Beitrage, p. 225., sqq.

¹⁸ Aenigmata prisce Orbis. Jonas in Luce in Hist. Manassis et Josiac; Helmstadt, 1723 fol.; also, Jonas in Cartharia, Israel in Carthio Kerta; 1718.

¹⁹ In the 15th century.

²⁰ Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Translated by J. Frederick Smith, Vol. V., pp. 90, 91.

stories or legends. While in itself it is complete, a close examination soon reveals the fact that it is only a portion of a large collection, "for it is surely very unlikely that an author should intend to write simply these few prosaic words (in times when literature had not split itself up into the fritters of leaves for the day and hour as in the present day), and it would be as easy to take a piece out of the *Arabian Nights*, and place it by itself as this small narrative-piece, now in a separate form and received into the Book of Twelve Prophets, which is in other respects so very dissimilar."

10. A recent writer²¹ represents well that class of interpreters who are unwilling to concede that the book is a fiction, and yet are unable to prove to their own satisfaction at least that it is throughout historical. This writer says nothing positively, but presents a point now on one side and now on another. In reference to Matt. XII., 39, 40 he says: "Our Savior's reference to this event in the history of Jonah by way of comparison does not necessarily imply that he accepted it as a historical fact. . . . The supposed fact was all that was necessary to our Savior's purpose. Many a classical scholar refers to *myths* of paganism for illustration and comparison without his believing at all in their historic truth. . . . The book, with all its historical details, may be as literally true as Keil supposes, but evangelical Christianity makes no such demand upon our faith."

In concluding this necessarily brief *resume* of some of the views held upon the topic, the following statements may be added :

1) The genuine historical character of the book has been defended by Piper,²² Steudel,²³ Laberenz,²⁴ Luederwald,²⁵ Reindl,²⁶ Sack,²⁷ Hengstenberg,²⁸ Delitzsch,²⁹ Keil,³⁰ and many others.

2) The arguments employed by all who oppose the historical view, no matter what may be their particular shade of opinion, are for the most part, the same.

3) While some hold a middle ground, the majority take one or the other of the extreme positions.

4) The purpose of the book in the Canon is almost inseparably connected with the question of its historical character.

5) Whatever may be the opinion concerning the remainder of

²¹ Harman, Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, pp. 399-401.

²² Diss. Historiam Jonae a recentiorum Conatibus vindicatum sistens; Gryph. 1786.

²³ In *Bengel's Archiv*, Vol. II., p. 401 sqq.

²⁴ De Vera Lib. Jonae, Interp.; Fulda, 1836.

²⁵ Über Allegorie und Mythologie in d. Bibel; 1787, 8vo.

²⁶ Sendung d. Proph. Jonas; Bamb. 1826.

²⁷ Apologetik, p. 355, sqq.

²⁸ Kirchenzeitung; 1834, No. 27, sqq.; Chistol. I., p. 467 ff.

²⁹ Keil, Introduction, Vol. I., p. 398 (Clark's For. Theological Lib.)

³⁰ *Ib.*, p. 395.

the book, there seem good reasons for believing that the song was not originally the composition of the hero of the narrative; but that it is found in his mouth because, in general, it expresses the feelings of a man who has escaped from great danger.

MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY REV. WM. NORMAN IRISIL,

Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Albany,

Amsterdam, N. Y.

I. CRITICISM.

All criticism of the Bible to be of any value must accept as fundamental the fact that there was in the beginning a true copy of the Old Testament Scriptures. The Septuagint and Vulgate are both important in their place as showing this and the historical accuracy of the Bible; but it should be remembered that neither of them nor both of them combined give the idea of what the text was at first or what it teaches now.

Two men may write a sermon upon a given text; both in many points may be, must be, different in the arrangement of thought and use of language, still it cannot be said that either of them is any more than an exposition of the original text more or less true in general details. Both, as an exposition, may have kept "the substance of the Word entire." The two translations are, of course, nearer the original than any sermon or exposition, still the groundform of Biblical truth in the Old Testament must be its first, old language.

Really, the Hebrew Text is the voice of God to the world; it stands for every age as the primary enunciation of the Church for the salvation of man. No scientific study can do more for the humble, teachable student than to enable him to understand the mere details of such a book. No individual theories could possibly mar the original text of such a book. Every neophyte in our theological schools knows, or ought to know, that in no single instance was a transcript made by a single hand. There was no such thing as writing by dictation; there was no incompetency, for the many and the best minds of the "schools of the prophets" were continually comparing and revising each other's work. A grammar then was an unnecessary thing. The boy placed in the school was, by constant exercise and the force of habit, tied down to the exact words of the text; at an early age he could and did master "the holy tongue." In all the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible we meet the same undeviating characteristics of the first, original copy.

Granted that there were other Hebrew writings then extant but now lost. Where is the evidence that the Church ever declared that such books as "The Wars of the Lord," "The Book of Jasher," and the "Annals of the Kings of Israel and Judah" ever formed part of the sacred record? They were so evidently not the work of inspired men, that they were not even put in the list of the Apocrypha. The peculiar form of the letters, the interpretations found at the top of the pages of the Pentateuch, the letters *Pc* and *Samckh*, the attenuated and inverted words, the five divisions of the Psalms, are as exact as when first transcribed in the original copy. Given, say, twenty men of average ability and skill in the language to copy a Hebrew Bible, and the result would probably be that you would have an exact transcript. How impossible for an error to gain a permanent place in a single copy, when we notice the historical fact that the same number of skilled *sopherim* (scribes) were constantly engaged, not simply as legal commentators, but as special copyists of the Bible. The Targums, as any one can see, were only a tampering with the *sense* of the Scripture. You may be surprised to learn that the four Oriental versions, viz., the Chaldee, Syriac, Æthiopic and Arabic, agree with the cognate dialect Hebrew, not as translations but as transcripts.

The province of Biblical criticism, as we understand it, is not to undermine or weaken the original text, upon which all spiritual life and truth in it is based. A Hebrew Bible deals with topics of more than general human interest. The subject-matter, though familiar, having a practical concern with the welfare of each member of the great body of "all mankind," is of such a nature that it cannot be handled like the common topics of the world. We are not sure that recent Biblical criticism is as fair and above-board as that which inexorably rules in science. In the teachings of Galileo and Newton or Darwin there is a fixed norm that guides and settles the evidence of all discovery. There could be no astronomy worth the name; no evolution in nature, though the phenomena were as familiar as the rising or the setting of the sun; no theory that healthiest and strongest animals are the best for the propagation "of their kind," without, not merely the presumption, but the absolute certainty, of fixed laws in nature which must not be disturbed an iota. It does not argue, therefore, any indifference or lack of enlightenment in the study of the Bible to insist most strongly upon those laws, which, though familiar and cherished, are as fixed and absolute as those which bring about night and day, the rise of sun and moon, the ebb and the flow of the tides.

We must have that one fixed norm, the actual existence of certain

holy writings given us by God Himself. No law in nature is more fixed or arbitrary than this. The Bible could not speak words of love and truth to the soul unless it were indeed the voice of God speaking. Here, too, the truth and authority of Scripture depend upon a testimony higher than that which is *external*; to sound the full depths of its worth the *internal* conviction must be so cherished and guarded that it will stand in our reverent estimation higher than all other ancient books, and of course must be read, and understood, and interpreted by rules more cogent than those with which we read or explain truths of a less sacred nature.

What can possibly be meant by the Divine Book and the human understanding of the Book? We are free to claim the Hebrew Bible as the Divine Book, the Septuagint and Vulgate as human interpreters; and our regard for them both is reverent, inasmuch as they are conceptions of the Word in almost the very language of the Word itself. More than this, they bring out fully the historical aspects of the Scripture, and show in each and every variation that the voice once spoken must be the one voice of God for the world, and for all time.

In Biblical criticism, the object of systematic and scholarly study is not for the purpose of rudely putting at fault the real voice of God as heard in the text, but to show how that text has come down to us; how it teaches now exactly what it first taught.

Modern Biblical criticism says to us, "You could not now read a first edition of the Bible." That may be. But the first Bible with its crude antique hieroglyphics, each edition given by the ages, down to the perfect one that lies on my table, are the same in conception and design. No exegesis, no actual or theoretical interpretation, no dogmatic speculation, necessary as it is in its place, has ever disturbed the radical truth or oneness of that pure and perfect Word of God which underlies all as a divine emanation. Why should they be so different? We answer by a familiar example. At our elbow there is a very old book, an exposition of Colossians, printed in 1627, from which we give a line or two: "Christ will bee a faithfulle, both High Priest in Heauen, by his intercession making request for vs to God, and both in Earth and Heauen he will bee a faithfull witnesse, so as while wee liue, wee shall find the testimony of IESVS in our hearts." It would be only the proper and human side to put and print this in modern language and type; the mind of the author would remain intact.

It will be fatal to modern Biblical criticism to presume that because we more naturally seek spiritual enjoyment and refreshment than engage in an examination of intellectual difficulties, we miss many truths which lie on a higher range of experience. Origen might think that

for himself the literal sense of Scripture was often "impossible, absurd or immoral," and S. Augustine might add that "whatever has no proper bearing on the rule of life or the verity of faith must be recognized as figurative." Every diligent student of the early writers in the Church is sure of this one fact, that they all teach and show beyond dispute that there is an undoubted natural sense, over and above any typical or figurative application. The ancient fathers might tack on any lesson they fancied, or give invariably an exegesis of warm and glowing color, warm and glowing as their own tropical nature, but they always did justice to the Word of God by assuming that it could never be disturbed or changed. Whatever they taught—seemingly unnecessary chapters, like Genesis x., xi., 10-26, the minor details of ritual, the larger part of Leviticus, the genealogies of Chronicles, the apparently tedious description of Solomon's temple, and parts of the visions of Ezekiel—were not blank, useless pages to them, for to every part was given the same systematic and critical study. Any other mode of study would not have done justice to the Word as a whole. The inspired page stands as it is, and is either the Word of God or it is not. If there is any admixture of positive error; nay, if there is the slightest shade of human error, we are perfectly at liberty to reject the whole, because spuriousness can never bear the *imprimatur* of Almighty God. If there is a perfect record, it must be the record of a perfect God who has stamped upon His own Book a divine authorship, whether men explain it in a perfect or an imperfect manner.

We should not be alarmed by any modern Biblical criticism from giving serious attention to Dogma. Dogma is the product of severe Bible study. The dogma is not worth the explanation if the Bible is erroneous as a primary fact. Systematic theology involves an exhaustive study of the three great original languages of the Bible. Now what respect could we have for the Creeds, the Articles of religion, the doctrines contained in the Prayer Book, for any system of Christian theology, if our schools of instruction should proceed upon the dangerous presumption that we have only a fallible Bible? There could not be any spiritual life, or sacramental nourishment either, without that which God has given us in the Bible. A proof text would be a sorry thing for dogmatic or any kind of use, if it were not incontrovertibly God-given. For all practical purposes we might take the Sacraments with or without the Scriptures; live with or without a creed; receive or reject Christ; be influenced or not by the mysteries of Revelation, if we were sure that any part of the water of life was impregnated or poisoned, or the records through patriarch, psalmists, and prophets were only an autobiography of the Church and

could be changed by the feeling or whim of any one of the writers.

The living Word, as the living Word of God, is quite independent of any true or false interpretation.

In all the quotations from the Old that appear in the New Testament there is not a single one that is different from the Hebrew. You will find, by careful examination, that a New Testament translated into Hebrew, and there are several such translations, carefully uses the words of the Hebrew Bible; and in no sense makes it "a God-man Bible." Thus quoted, as it is continually, there is no human side apparent, actual or conceded by the New Testament writers. A human life in the Bible mixed up with the divine would be simply disturbing, for the Bible as the Word of God has no reference to abstract doctrine, a mediæval view or any exegesis whatever. Very true, in it God converses with man, and man with God, but neither the lips nor pens of prophet or psalmist are anything more than intelligent human channels which God has made use of to proclaim and transmit His original mandates to the world. These are no more a part of the Bible, as God is the Author of the Bible, than the printer who sets up the type, or the printing-press which rolls off the copies by the thousand. God may talk with them and to them in the most intelligent and affectionate manner, but this share in divine converse can never make the human speaker as to what he may say or answer an integral part of Revelation in the same sense we conceive God to be.

Neither in the interest of scholarly exegesis is there an earthly study of any human side in the Bible. In it man appears on a higher range of existence than the lower orders of being, but he is at best treated as a finite creature by an infinite Creator. Exegesis, as a science, is no exposition or explanation that makes man the equal of God. It makes him of course higher than the brute, but like the brute, in respect to God, he appears as of secondary importance. The Spirit of God makes the Word of God a living word to us only on the indubitable assurance that the human feature is only the historical feature, and no more a part of the Word of God than that the scaffold of the building is the building itself. Exegesis is exhaustive when it shows the Word in its detailed texts for man, the aim and end of whose whole life is the glory of God. To show this plainly in explanation is the humble office of all exegesis.

We must of course interpret Scripture historically. It is credible because it is historical. It does not go through the past ages haphazard. It is orderly and consecutive; profane history is not always. Various books and writings are an heritage of the Church to man, and valuable because of their rare historical worth. The Church, through

history, appears as it is, the Church of the Living God,* in the very same sense as the word is the Word of the Living God. Historically and really the Church is the elder of the two, and this makes the Supreme Being in the orderly manner of His communications the one Eternal Being in His own Word, only for *Whose* Glory both man and history speak. It was for this purpose, aside from any historical study, that the Bible was given in the familiar languages of the world. God spake to man. Just what He intended for the continuous instruction of man, in some way, through His Providence, He has caused to be embodied in a Revelation; and that Revelation is called the Bible. There can be no discussion here of the question whether God uttered any more to man than we have. We are only responsible for what we do have, viz., Holy Scripture, for it alone, "containeth all things necessary for salvation."† The prophets were actors in history; and *the God*‡ was *speaking* through them (ΠΟΛΥΜΕΡΩΣ καὶ ποικιλοτρόπως) as sensibly as He now speaks, through Christ, *on the last day*; i.e., the day of Christ and his Gospel. Neither its contents, its peculiar, fascinating but familiar topics, nor its differing national aspect, whether Jew or Gentile, can make the Bible less than what it is, a full and perfect revealer of the Wisdom and Love of Himself, Whose one Revelation declares a perfect will to a world of intelligent though sinful, ignorant, imperfect beings.

II. SOURCES OF INTERPRETATION.

These carefully sought out will lead to the primary principle of true Biblical criticism. We have the Bible. It starts with a Genesis, the first word of which is *Bereshith*, a beginning for all that follows. Translation is secondary, though a source of interpretation. It is not the Geneva Bible, not the Authorized Version, nor any Bible in any ancient or modern language that calls for criticism. The Hebrew Bible and that alone is now to bear the whole brunt of modern critical warfare; for it alone has passed through an extended series of interpretations and translations, and "as it was in the beginning" so "it is now," and "ever shall be," the Word of God without a particle of human error, or even change in primary principle. This cannot be said of either the Septuagint or Vulgate.

1. The English Bible is for us a source of interpretation, partly on account of its peculiar history in connection with other versions, but mainly as the product of scholarship under the guidance of the Church,

* 1 Tim. iii. 15. ὧντος.

† Articles of Religion. Art. VI.

‡ Heb. i., 1. Greek Testament.

and simultaneously the two current views of interpretation began which has ever been continued with more or less virulence down to our own time. The Church of Rome has complained, we do not say how justly, that the English Bible was a translation simply in the interest of Protestantism. She therefore gave another translation in what is termed the Douay Bible. However there sprung up in ecclesiastical literature two current views, one appearing to be intensely Protestant, the other just as intensely in favor of the Church of Rome. One maintained that the Canon of Scripture included certain apocryphal books; the other, that doubtful books were not to be admitted in any sense. One maintained that the authentic text was best shown by the Latin Vulgate version of S. Jerome; the other, that the English was, in itself, the authentic text, superior even to the Hebrew Bible. One maintained that no method of interpretation which sought the exclusion of tradition, as equal to the written Word, could be allowed under the pain of anathema. In the interest of neither view we have tried to state these two current views on three important ways of dealing with the Bible candidly and without any prejudice. We do not believe either of them. As the Church is a *via media*, so the true sense, as we believe, lies just in the middle: the Apocryphal Books may be *"read for example of life and instruction of manners," but not to "establish any doctrine;" the Vulgate, jointly with the Septuagint, shows what is the authentic Hebrew Text, both by what each admits and by what each rejects; the method of interpretation must be that of the visible Church of God speaking to us in every century back to Apostolic days. This method of interpretation plainly declares that there can be no additions made "to the Faith once delivered to the Saints." The difference between Romanism in its worst sense and Protestantism in its worst sense would not yield to the unbroken, unvitiated authority of the Holy Catholic Church as it had existed in the days of its pristine purity. Luther wanted the Scripture to mean just what suited him, and the Romish party just what suited it. The dispute could not be about the Supreme Authority, for both equally recognized that. One was clamorous in showing that the Bible could not be understood; it was not clear; it was not intelligible. The other was equally bent on showing that there was nothing really supernatural. And so, as we see, one spoke in the interests of Transubstantiation and its kindred doctrines, the other in the interests of Consubstantiation and its kindred doctrines. On what principle, then, did the Church of England receive its own work, the English Bible? We

* Articles on Religion. Art. VI.

answer: As a message of divine truth, an orthodox system of truth, which made the whole scheme of Dogma, Orders, Sacraments, Creeds, just no more, no less than, it was in the earliest and purest ages of the Church under the authority of the Church.

Perhaps we had better say, as we can truly, that the English Bible was a source of interpretation of the exact text of the Hebrew Bible, without being an exact interpreter of any doctrine or scheme of doctrine that might be deduced therefrom. The authority of the Church is for us the ultimate arbiter of doctrine. She gave us an English Bible, a fair Hebrew Bible, "in our own dialect,"* not for the purpose of polemical discussion, but that thirsty souls might drink of the pure waters of Life and live forever.

2. But few traces can be found of the Septuagint influence in our English Bible. It cannot be denied but that it will ever stand, and justly too, as a primary source of interpretation for the Hebrew Bible. With such a work before us, having the recommendation of centuries for approval, it is folly to say, as it is now so strenuously maintained, that very few in churches of the Gentiles had sufficient knowledge of current languages and scholastic lore to give to the world such a marvelous work. Greek and Hebrew scholars to the number of seventy worked together, so that among the common classes a Bible might be had that would instruct both Jew and Gentile. Among Egyptians, at Alexandria, the number stated above, after years of hard labor, gave to sacred literature a Greek translation—the Septuagint, or the version of the Seventy. Ignorance of the Hebrew would have been a formidable bar to the introduction, or change into Greek, of a work of such magnitude. It spread with the Gospel, and reached and penetrated every part where Christianity had won its way. It was a combination of Hebrew and Greek, not a little interpenetrated with the Latin, which Roman civilization had already brought to bear upon the two other languages, as clearly appears in the superscription that was placed above the cross when the Savior of the world was crucified.

And just here, another remarkable evidence of the Septuagint as a source of interpretation appears in the influence it had upon all Oriental literature. Actually the synagogue helped to further Christianity by the language of its ritual, and this was illuminated by the peculiar exegetical nature of the Septuagint. It was an ancient legend that the North was a place of darkness; the point whence light comes—the East—was alone, first in darkness; the neighboring countries of the other three points of the compass had already been blessed by the

*Acts ii., 8.

rays of the Sun of Righteousness. In due time the Christian religion takes a step Eastward, and it was a gigantic step. At one bound it passed beyond the river Euphrates, into the very midst of Syria. Christian scholars, although appalled by the greatness of the work, found teaching an easy thing. They could read and understand, under the guidance of the Church, every line of the Old Testament. Where is the proof of this? We answer that Syriac was the native language, and that was but a little different from the Hebrew. The Septuagint was necessarily carried eastward by the early missionaries; and the old Syriac translation, called the Peshito, gave the sense and interpretation of Scripture as it was most surely believed by all the Churches in Christendom. It is a remarkable coincidence in philological study that a Hebrew and Syriac Bible are alike even to the minutiae of words, parts of speech, and, as far as sound is concerned though not alike in form, or the use of vowels.

What is the status of the Septuagint in Biblical criticism? A recent liberal professor in a narrow school of teaching in the University of Edinburgh, in his onslaught against the Hebrew Bible, makes the Septuagint the equal of the Hebrew. He makes the assertion cleverly, and takes for granted what never has been granted, that it is the Bible for the Greek mind as the Hebrew is the Bible for the Hebrew mind; and this false assumption is made for the purpose of overthrowing the integrity of the Hebrew Bible.

The Septuagint is a valuable outgrowth of the Hebrew Bible, nothing more. Its value is proportional, not primary. It is no more a divine part of the former than a modern sermon or essay is divine. The text *is* divine; the sermon is not. The Church accepts the Septuagint only as a commentary, a witness of certain ancient Biblical books, a copy and paraphrase of each, and of the accuracy of each record as handed down through the ages. We must not reject the use of the Septuagint though it is so entirely human; the Church never did. It is continually quoted by the early writers as they would a human book. It should be received as a valuable exegesis of the text, for, in addition to this, it is a testimony of the careful manner in which the Old Testament has been transmitted.

The deviations that appear between the Hebrew and Septuagint need not lead us to suppose that the latter should be regarded as the most correct. Just the opposite. On its face it shows that it is not the work of one man, but of a number of men of varied ability. Now, we may remove an ambiguity, depart from the original, may or may not give an analysis of its parts, and such work is valuable and wholly within the province of Biblical criticism. It is a substitution of one's

own thought. Therefore you are not to accept the Septuagint and reject the Hebrew, because the former gives a different reading of Exodus XXIV., 10, XXIII., 20; Leviticus XXIV., 7; 1 Samuel I., 9; 2 Samuel XII., 21. The scribes, as we see from these texts, had one duty to perform, i. e., to preserve the text intact; the Septuagint had another quite different from this—to give an exposition of them.

In the Septuagint we have the Greek for the Hebrew; not a translation of the Greek, but a Greek exegesis. The emendations that were frequently made (nearly one hundred), while during the same time the Hebrew remained unchanged, show a *manualis copia venalis* following the former along its very limited existence. The tendency of modern Biblical criticism is to give the Septuagint a higher place than it really has, to the disparagement of the Hebrew Bible, and it is for this reason that it should be carefully studied. It is valuable because it is only a human treatise which gives an exact transcript, adding words and sentences or taking them away as the sense, in the human estimation of the writers, seemed to require.

3. The Vulgate. As already intimated, this is also a source of interpretation. More even than the Septuagint it is an uninspired adjunct of exegesis. As the Septuagint was a translation expository of the Hebrew Bible, so the Vulgate is a translation expository of the Septuagint. This appears primarily from the first Tabella* “*quae anno MDXCII. prodit.*” The changes in the Vatican editions that followed in 1674, 1768, 1765 and 1784, and certified “*in collegio ss. Blasii et Caroli, kal. Octobris, anno MDCCCXI.*,” show that as changes appeared in the Septuagint they were corrected in the subsequent Vatican editions.

Examine first the Vulgate translation of the Pentateuch. It does not minutely follow, nor is it an exact translation of, the Hebrew. In the edition of 1674 there was only a small use made of an Arabic version, and no trace of this appears in the subsequent editions. How important it is as a source of exegesis can be seen in the Roman use of words which are still the nomenclature of all good theology. There could be only one ritual and legal Torah. Had there been *two*, as an author asserts, the question would have continually come up, Which shall we follow? That there was but one Torah is proved by the fact that the identical words that explain the positive bearing of the Ten Commandments, the levitical system of communion with God, which combined both a Eucharist and a Sacrifice, the sacraments of atonement, which made each a divinely sanctioned means of direct access:

* See Præfatis ad Lectorem, ex editione Vaticana anni MDXCII.

to God, were never afterwards changed by priest or prophet. It strictly corresponds with the Hebrew and Septuagint in claiming Moses as the undoubted author of this part of the Bible, in the highest sense the mouth-piece of Jehovah. Jehovah, not Elohim, is the ruling word for the Deity; and it is therefore puerile to assert that because the Talmud says in one place that the prophets and the Hagiographa were implicitly given to Moses at Sinai, there must have been other oracles of divine truth. Does such an idea appear in the Vulgate or any other source of interpretation? It gives due place to the Law; in fact the idea of law, implying observance, would be lost without the five books of Moses. Starting with the full scope of levitical legislation, the sanctuary and the priesthood are made the highest types of religious approach to God, and prophetic instruction, though bearing a divine sanction, is not so high as the priestly, except where the duties of both priest and prophet were combined in one man. Though of secondary importance, it was a means to impress upon the people the spirit of Jehovah, that the knowledge of Him might dwell in every heart, as Israel entered the Tabernacle and sought and gained the peaceful blessing of the priesthood.

AL-TASHHETH.*

BY REV. W. H. COBB, Uxbridge, Mass.

To distinguish between conjecture and fact is a constant *desideratum* with Biblical students. That school of modern criticism whose most prominent teachers are Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen, seems to expend its ingenuity in a single direction, namely, in discovering discrepancies and incongruities unworthy of a revelation from God where humbler interpreters would find probable methods of adjustment. Its fertility of invention in that direction is balanced by a poverty of invention in the opposite direction. I admit that criticism as such should be unshackled by any theories of inspiration; but I claim that in many cases where it seems as easy to choose order and wisdom as discord and impropriety, the former have been sacrificed to the latter.

A well-known instance is the preference of the Septuagint to the Hebrew text of 1 Sam., chap. xvii., for this, among other reasons, that, after the slaying of Goliath, Saul seems ignorant of David, though the latter had been his armor-bearer. This diversity is still insisted on, though it has been well accounted for, in at least three or four different ways.

A less known instance appears in the title prefixed to a few of the Psalms, *Al-tashheth*; the reader may judge whether this phrase furnishes a foundation able to bear up the edifice of conjecture which has been built upon it.

Robertson Smith refers to this expression repeatedly in "The Old Testament

† אֶל-תִּשְׁחֶה, *Destroy not.*

in the Jewish church"; also in his article "Hebrew language and literature" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He holds that *Al-tashheth*, "Destroy not," is the name of a familiar song, to the tune of which these four Psalms (LVII., LVIII., LIX., LXXV.) were to be sung; and that the first line of this song is preserved in Isa. LXV., 8, אֶל-תִּשְׁחִיתֶהוּ כִּי בִרְכָה בּוֹ, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it." Mr. Cheyne, in his commentary on Isaiah, *in loco*, remarks that this parallelism has been independently conjectured by Prof. Robertson Smith and Mr. Samuel Sharpe. But what follows if the identity of reference in the Psalm and the Prophecy is admitted? Let Prof. Smith tell us (O. T. in Jewish Church). "These words in the Hebrew (of Isa. LXV., 8) have a distinct lyric rhythm. They are the first line of one of the vintage songs so often alluded to in Scripture. And so we learn that the early religious melody of Israel had a popular origin, and was closely connected with the old joyous life of the nation."

We find this remarkable argument again adduced, in order to strengthen a similar conjecture, on p. 105. "It may appear doubtful whether the oldest story of his life sets forth David as a psalmist at all. It is very curious that the Book of Amos (VI., 5) represents David as the chosen model of the dilettanti nobles of Ephraim, who lay stretched on beds of ivory, anointed with the choicest perfumes, and mingling music with their cups in the familiar manner of oriental luxury. Yet we know that David took a personal part in the procession which brought the ark up to Jerusalem with music and dance (2 Sam. VI.). The passage makes it clear that in those days religion was not separated from ordinary life, and that the gladness of the believing heart found natural utterance in sportful forms of unconstrained mirth. At a much later date, as we have seen, melodies of the Temple service were borrowed from the joyous songs of the vintage, and so it was possible that David should give the pattern alike for the songs of the sanctuary and for the worldly airs of the nobles of Samaria."

To most readers, the only comparison which Amos makes between David and the nobles of Samaria relates to the invention of instruments of music, (or, if we disregard the Hebrew accents, it relates to chanting to the sound of the viol); any parallelism between "songs for the sanctuary" and "worldly airs" is invented by the critic, not discovered in the text or legitimately inferred from it. The former part of the closing sentence in this quotation from Prof. Smith reminds us to *Al-tashheth* (a jussive form, hence not *Al-tashith*, as Prof. Smith uniformly spells it. Strictly speaking, the transliteration should be *Al-tashheth*. Of course, the *tsere* becomes *hirik* again in the form *Al-tashhithchu* Isa. LXV., 8).

Concerning this title, it is claimed

1. That the Hebrew vintage festivals were occasions of joyous mirth.
2. That the passage in Isaiah, as it has a distinct lyric rhythm, was the first line of a vintage song.
3. That the title *Al-tashheth* in certain Psalms refers to this very song.
4. That these Psalms were sung to the tune of that vintage song. Hence
5. That the early religious melody of Israel expressed itself in forms of sportful mirth.

Of these positions, (1) is not only granted but insisted on. (2) is likely enough, though the verse quoted may have been from some other part of the song as well as the beginning. (3) and (4) are improbable in the extreme, and hence (5) falls to the ground.

This improbability is

a. *Psychological.* Were we to admit that the *gladness* of a believing heart might express itself to the tune of a merry vintage song, yet we ought not to assume, without incontestable proof, such a total depravity as the setting to a mirthful air such sentiments as those of the 58th Psalm for instance, or the plaintive cries of the 59th. It is not only true that the verse in Isa. LXV., 8 has a distinct lyric rhythm, but that this rhythm is exactly appropriate to the praises of wine and the vintage. It resembles closely the opening verse of the Horatian stanza, which was so often applied to a similar subject. Compare the three accents:—

Al-tashhithelu ki bh'rakhah bho.
Vides ut alta stet nive candidum.

It is common enough, in modern as in ancient times, to mis-join sacred hymns and gay airs; aside from camp-meeting melodies, it may not be amiss to mention that one of our old and unsuspected church tunes was originally a German drinking song; but still nothing can efface the psychological incongruity between major and minor, joy and sadness. Had the vintage musicians played their lively melodies to hearts bowed down with the feelings of these Psalms, they would never have tempted those hearts to pour out their fullness; they would have been constrained to exclaim: "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced." As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs* to a heavy heart."

b. *Religious.* Let us form a mental picture of a group of jovial vintagers, treading out the grapes to the tune of "Al-tashhithelu ki bh'rakhah bho," the same rhythm that I have sometimes heard at sea in a song which sailors shout to each other: "O haul the bowline (pronounced bō'-lin), the packet she's a rollin'." Now will Prof. Smith attempt to express in such a melody the prayer of Ps. LVII., 1, "Be merciful unto me. O God! be merciful unto me; for my soul trusteth in thee; yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge till these calamities be overpast"; or that of LIX., 1, "Deliver me from mine enemies. O God; set me on high from them that rise up against me"? It is simply impossible, not merely from a psychological but from a religious standpoint. It shocks our spiritual sensibilities, for what communion hath light with darkness? The soul recoils from publishing the bans, and refuses to believe that Israel committed such sacrilege.

c. *Metrical.* Probably no one at the present day knows much about the laws of ancient Hebrew music; but the theory before us assumes that it closely resembled modern music, and this assumption refutes the theory. Thus, the passage in Isa. LXV., 8 is called the *first line* of a song, with a *distinct rhythm*, to the tune of which these Psalms were to be sung. We must, of course, then, find a similar rhythm at the beginning of each of these Psalms. Has it never occurred to the authors of this brilliant conjecture that no one of these Psalms will *go to that tune*? "Al-tashhithelu," etc. forms what our fathers would call a very particular metre. Amid the immense variety of modern music I remember nothing corresponding to it except the sailor doggerel I have quoted. Such a "distinct rhythm" could easily be recognized in the Psalms, if it were there; but nothing of the sort appears. Besides, the title of the Psalms is "Al-tashheth," which gives a different metrical effect from that of "Al-tashhithelu." One sees at once in English the difference between the Iambic "Dēstrōy ŷt nōt", and the Amphibrach "Dēstrōy nōt"; the difference is as plain at least in the Hebrew. Whatever Psalm may

* שירות *joyous songs*, opposed to קינות. Cf. כָּלִי שִׁיר (Amos VI., 5).

be sung to the tune of the vintage song in Isa. LXV., 8 could not be sung to any tune beginning "*Al-tashheth*."

The reader will now see why I tax the so-called higher criticism with poverty of invention. Coming in contact with the obscure phrase *Al-tashheth*, it was allowable, of course, to understand by it the name of a tune, to which the Psalms in question were to be sung. But a very moderate degree of inventive genius would have suggested that there may have been a *vintage* song, "Destroy it not" (i. e. the cluster), and a *sacred* song "Destroy not thy people," or "him that trusteth in thee."

Will this conjecture abide the test of experiment? It looks promising at first. Psalms LVII. and LXXV. each commence with a word somewhat like אֶל-תִּשְׁחֶת; הוֹרִינוּ and חַנְּנֵי.

If we were to omit the לָךְ in LXXV., 1, which may be supposed to have crept into the text, we should have in the Athnah clause a striking metrical parallelism:

חַנְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים חַנְּנֵי כִּי בָךְ חִסִּיָּה
הוֹרִינוּ אֱלֹהִים הוֹרִינוּ וְקָרוֹב שְׂמֶךְךָ

But it will be seen that the resemblance is not quite perfect; nor does the first word in each correspond in accent with "*Al-tashheth*." The supposition breaks down, also, when we attempt to apply it to the other two *Al-tashheth* Psalms. LVIII. and LIX.

On the whole it seems best to abandon the view that *Al-tashheth* was the name of a tune. It is noticeable that while Gesenius does not speak positively on the subject, saying "אֶל-תִּשְׁחֶת" seems to be the first words of an earlier song, to the measure of which these Psalms were to be sung,"—Davies' lexicon simply says "it would seem to be *part* of some well-known song." Is it not better, then, to fall back on the supposition that some allusion is intended to the *contents* of these Psalms? "In all of them there is a distinct declaration of the destruction of the wicked and the preservation of the righteous."

NOTES ON THE TARGUM AS A COMMENTARY.*

By REV. M. JASTROW, PH. D.,

Philadelphia, Pa.

Prov. XXXI., 27. The common translation reads: "She looketh well to the ways of her house, and eateth not the bread of idleness."

While the grammatical construction of the sentence quoted offers no difficulty, it is obvious that, from a literary point of view we meet here with a bathos, entirely in discord with the general tenor of the beautiful poem. After having described the noble woman's virtues and untiring industry and forethought in all directions, to conclude with the praise that she eats no bread of idleness, is, to say the least a *gradatio ad minus*, and besides out of all logical connection with the preceding clause, "She superintends the ways of her house." The Targum, how-

* These lines intend, by means of a few examples, to show that the Targum contains a good many interpretative elements which have not yet received the full attention which they may deserve.

ever, makes *idleness* the subject, and *bread* the object of the second clause, and consequently translates: "Clear are (to her) the ways of her house, and bread—idleness does not eat." The sense is clear: she has a strict eye on everything that is going on in her household, and sees to it that idleness shall eat no bread in her house. Luzzato in his *Philoxenus*, p. 108, while restoring the proper version, reads "bread of idleness," without stating whence he has taken that version. Neither the editions before me, nor the variations quoted in Levy's *Targumic Dictionary* contain the *of* which, it seems, Luzzato inserted in reliance on his wonderful memory, the Targum being to him as familiar as the original. Be this as it may, the fact that all, or at least, most of the Targum editions and manuscripts read **חֲבִינְנוֹת** without the prefix **ד**, must be welcomed as an improvement on the current conception.

Isaiah III., 12. Com. vers: "(As for) my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them." For "the women" as the rulers may well be an allusion to the officers' wives into whose households they are forced to bring luxuries at the people's expense. See v. 14. It may fairly be left to the readers to follow up the various translations of the verse under consideration, and suffice it to state here that Targum and LXX. agree in taking the word **מִעֲלָל** as *gleaner*, and reading **נָשִׁים** for **נְשִׁים** (the latter version having been noticed already by the commentary ascribed to R. Sh'lomo Yitz'haki or Rashi). The verse reads accordingly: "My people—its officers are a troop of gleaners, and creditors rule over it." The singular **מִעֲלָל** as a collective noun is in conformity with the military terms, **מִשְׁחָחַת**, **פְּלִיט**, etc., denoting a troop of, etc. The figure of speech using the gleanings of vineyards for oppression and expoliation, is frequent; comp. Jer. VI., 9. The change of **נְשִׁים** to **נָשִׁים** is less recommendable, as long as we can well get along with the Massoretic text; but **מִעֲלָל** as gleaners is more than a mere verbal change; it gives the whole context a coherence otherwise missing. What has "the eating up of the vineyard" (v. 4) to do here, if no vineyard has been mentioned before? What means "the robbery of the poor," when no poor have been spoken of before? But now we see the entire current of thought. The officers, collecting the taxes go around like "the gleaner," that is, *the poor man* entitled to the gleanings of the field (Lev. XIX., 10); they take the last remnants of wealth from the oppressed citizen, and it is to them that the prophet says, "And ye have eaten up the vineyard, robbery of (what belongs to) the poor is harbored in your homes."

And we see here again how much a deeper penetration into the sense of Scriptural texts, will help to establish the age of institutions legislated upon in the Pentateuch. In our case, the prophet has before him the poor law about the gleanings, as a well-established though perhaps not generally observed institution from which metaphors can be borrowed with the consciousness that they are well understood.

➤GENERAL NOTES.◀

An Aramaic New Testament.—A friend of mine does not cease to entreat me to translate the New Testament into the Aramaic idiom which was spoken in Palestine in the days of Christ and his apostles, that is, into the language of the Palestinian Talmud and the Palestinian Targums. But his desire rests on an illusion. The Hebrew remained even after the exile the language of Jewish literature. The Ecclesiastics of Jesus Sirach was written in Hebrew, as its fragments in the Talmud show. The original of the first book of Maccabees and of the so-called Psalter of Solomon was Hebrew. The inscriptions on coins, the epitaphs, the liturgic prayers were Hebrew. The form of the laws was Hebrew, as appears from the codification in the Mishna. Also the book, in which, as Papias says, Matthew had collected the sermons of the Lord, was written *ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ*. It is true, that in that time *ἑβραϊστί* and *χαλδαϊστί* were not accurately distinguished. Nevertheless it is quite unlikely that Matthew wrote in Aramaic; for the Aramaic dialect of Palestine—which in the Talmud is called *אֲרָמַיִת*, and there and in the Targums can be better learned than from the so-called *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* and the fragments of a Palestinian version of Psalms, published by J. P. N. Land (Lugduni Bat. 1875)—was the language of daily life, the vulgar language, in which the people and also the learned were wont to converse and to hold controversies, but, *ἡ ἑβραϊκὴ διάλεκτος*, in which St. Paul was accosted by the exalted Savior, Act. xxvi. 14, and in which he himself addressed the people of Jerusalem, Act. xxi. 40; xxii. 2, was the holy language, the language of the temple worship, of synagogical worship, of synagogical and domestic prayer, of all formulas of benediction, of the traditional law; further, the parables, the animal fables, the lamentations for the dead in the Talmuds and Midrashim are mostly Hebrew; the holy language continued to be the language of the higher form of speech, even the popular proverbs were only partly Aramaic. Josephus, stating in the Preface of his work on the Jewish war, that his narrative was originally drawn up for his compatriots of inner Asia in the common mother-tongue, certainly means the Hebrew, not the Aramaic language. Knowledge of Hebrew was then as now universal among the educated of the nation. Aramaic, on the contrary, was understood only by a small part of the Diaspora. Even now knowledge of Hebrew is much the more general, whereas acquaintance with the idiom of the so-called Talmud Jerushalmi is a prerogative of very few Jewish scholars. Therefore it would be a useless attempt to translate the New Testament into the Palestinian Sursi. The Semitic woof of the New Testament Hellenism is Hebrew, not Aramaic. Our Lord and His apostles thought and spoke for the most part in Hebrew. And the New Testament, as the new Thora, the complete half of God's revelation, must be translated into Hebrew, if we intend to make it a reading book for the Jews of all countries and a constituent part of worship of the future Israel, who shall be saved after the entering in of the fulness of the Gentiles. The Translation into Aramaic would be an artificial work, not without relative advantage—for it would exhibit in the New Testament language some features of the vernacular dialect of Palestine—but without practical aim. A proof of its restricted utility is the little help, which the Peshito affords to the Hebrew translator.—*Delitzsch, in his pamphlet on the Hebrew New Testament.*

Chapters 65 and 66 of the Book of Enoch.—And in those days Noah saw the earth that it was curved, and that its destruction was near. 2. And he lifted up his feet from there, and went to the ends of the earth, and called to his grandfather Enoch; and Noah said with a bitter voice: "Hear me! hear me! hear me!" three times. 3. And he said to him: "Tell me what is it that has been done on the earth, that the earth is so tired out and shaken. May I not be destroyed with it?" 4. And after this time there was a great trembling on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. 5. And Enoch, my grandfather, came and stood by me and said to me: "Why dost thou so bitterly and lamentingly cry to me?" 6. A command has come from before the presence of the Lord over all those who dwell on the earth, that their end is at hand, because they know all the secrets of the angel, and all the violence of the satans, and all the powers of secrecy, and all the powers of those who practice sorcery and the powers of fascination, and the powers of those who make metal images of the whole earth; 7. and also how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates on the earth. 8. For lead and zinc are not produced like the former; a fountain it is which produces them, and an angel who stands in it; and that angel is excellent." 9. And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me with his hand, and raised me up, and said to me: "Go, for I have asked the Lord of the spirits concerning this shaking of the earth. 10. And he said to me: "On account of their injustice their judgment is completed; and will not be counted before me concerning the months which they have searched out, and *through which* they have learned that the earth will be destroyed and those who live thereon. 11. And for them there will be no place of refuge to eternity, because they have showed them that which was secret, and they will be judged; but not thou, my son; the Lord of the spirits knows that thou art clean and free of this blame concerning the secrets. 12. And he has strengthened thy name among the holy, and will preserve thee from those who dwell on the earth, and will strengthen thy seed in justice for kings and great honors; and from thy seed will proceed the fountain of the just and the holy, without number, to eternity."

And after that he showed me the angels of punishment, who are prepared to come in order to open all the powers of the water which is under the earth, that it may be a judgment and destruction over all those who live and dwell on the earth. 2. And the Lord of spirits commanded the angels who went forth, that they should not lift up *their* hands, but should wait; for these angels are over the power of the waters. 3. And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

The Music of the Bible.—The division of the Music of the Bible into three kinds—namely, as used in worship, war, and social intercourse—naturally suggests itself; and it would be an exceedingly good division, if only there existed sufficient materials for its story. But, unfortunately, direct information on the subject is most scanty; for often that which seems at first sight a plain statement of facts, will on examination turn out far otherwise. For instance, we are told that Jubal was "the father of such as handle the harp and the organ." This reads thus in the Lutheran version: "Und sein Bruder hiesz Jubal, von dem sind hergekommen die Geiger und Pfeifer" (and his brother was named Jubal, from whom descended *fiddlers* and *pipers*"). On turning to the Septuagint version, we shall find that no less than three totally distinct words are used in different parts of the Bible to

translate the word we render "organ."¹ We must, therefore look to the nations with which the Jews came into contact as the best source of information. We shall soon in this manner find valuable matter. For instance, Laban is said to have regretted the suddenness of Jacob's departure, because it deprived him of the opportunity of sending him away with music. "Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp?" (Gen. xxxi., 27). *Kinnor*, or *cinnor*, is the word here used for "harp," and it is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch. Laban being a Syrian, we shall be justified in believing this to be a Syrian instrument, and not, as sometimes stated, of Phœnician origin. This text also shows that music was used for home festivals. But it must not be expected that, as an art, music could reach a very high standard amongst nomadic tribes, whose roof was never more substantial than a tent, whose temple of worship was the canopy of heaven.

The intercourse between Abraham and the Canaanites in all probability influenced future Hebrew music. Then follows Jacob's residence with Laban, alluded to above, which probably caused his posterity to carry a certain amount of Syriac music, or musical instruments, into Egypt. But, again, a stay of four centuries in so civilized a country as Egypt must have largely added to their knowledge of the art; and it seems not unfair to suppose that whatever system of notation the Hebrews adopted was learnt from the Egyptians. The strong love of poetry amongst the Jews is shown by frequent allusions in Holy Scripture even as early as the Pentateuch; but where did they learn to set their inspired songs to tunes? In all probability in Egypt; and, unpleasant as it may sound to say so, the glorious song of Moses was most probably sung to some simple Egyptian chant, well known and popular. It may be said, "Why ascribe all the *invention* of the art to the neighbors of the Jews, and deny to the Jews the power of forming their own melodies and their own instruments?" The reply is simple—pastoral duties and a pastoral mode of life, as a matter of fact, do not tend to foster constructive art in such a manner as the concentration of highly-educated men in large cities; and whereas the Jews, during their stay in Egypt, could have but small opportunities of inventing or elaborating a system of music, the Egyptians themselves had, not only then, but for centuries previous to the immigration of the Hebrews, the most favorable opportunities. Their learning was notorious, and it is an accepted fact that music was a recognized branch of their learning. But, to continue: the wandering in the wilderness could not conduce to artistic progress, nor did more favorable opportunities present themselves after the establishment of the Jews in the promised land under Joshua, for they then passed through some five centuries of almost constant warfare with neighboring nations. And it must not be forgotten that Solomon had to employ foreign workmen for all delicate work, and probably, therefore, for the construction of musical instruments. We read, "And the king made of the almsg trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, *harpes also and psalteries for singers*: there came no such almsg trees, nor were seen unto this day" (1 Kings x., 12). Then, again, after the time of Solomon the troubled state of divided Israel was most unsuited to the cultivation of native art; while, on the other hand, the constant intercourse of the Jews with the Assyrians, and their forced residence among them while in captivity, must

¹ψαλτήριον, Gen. iv., 21; ψαλμός, Job xxi., 12 and xxx., 31; ὄργανον, Ps. cl., 4.

have modified existing music, or must have given it some fresh ingredients.

It may be said, therefore, on the whole, that the internal condition of the Jews offered at any time but a poor nursery for art, but that their external relations rendered an incorporation of the arts of their neighbors inevitable; and these neighbors were that Semitic race which after the deluge had spread itself on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, and had peopled Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, Egypt, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia. It is, of course, possible to push this argument too far, and to deny that the Jews possessed any national music. This would be wrong, because it is more than probable that whatever they adopted from their neighbors would be moulded by them into a shape most pleasing to them, and in time would assume peculiarities of style which would distinguish it from its parent stock.—*From The Music of the Bible.*

≻EDITORIAL≻NOTES,≪

An Introduction to the Book of Jonah.—Considerable interest was manifested in the study of Jonah, by the members of the Advanced Class of the July Hebrew School. The class of twenty-six or eight members was almost equally divided upon the question of the symbolical interpretation of the prophecy. There was a right, and a left wing. Valuable papers were read from day to day by members of the class. In order to encourage further study of the subject, a prize of fifty dollars was offered to that member of the class who should prepare and hand in by January first the best *Introduction* to the book. A competent committee will be requested to pass judgment upon the productions. The Introduction to which the prize shall be awarded will be printed. It was the benevolence of a certain Eastern Professor of Hebrew which made it possible to offer this prize. Twelve of the class have signified their intention to present papers.

The Study of the Talmud.—The number of those who have studied the Talmud is perhaps large; few, however, among these can be called Talmudical scholars. A knowledge of the Talmud is confined almost exclusively to Jews. Indeed he who aims to be proficient in this department of study must be content to give up all else. The fact that no critical edition of the text has been published, and that no good grammar or dictionary yet exists, added to the peculiar style of the language accounts for the difficulties involved in the study. "The two mighty currents which spring respectively from the analyzing intellect and from the imagination," termed *halacha* and *haggada*, the former including the legal precepts, the latter, the stories and speculations, intermingle in such a manner as, at first, to defy distinction. Even a translation fails to make the matter intelligible. A recent writer¹ claims that "the Talmud is open to the heavy charge of demanding the surrender of the whole man, and giving him stones instead of bread at last." He urges in support of this claim (1) that the questions which it discusses are of the most uninteresting nature; (2) that its study "undermines the power of thought;" (3) that

¹ Dr. H. Oort, in *The Talmud and the New Testament*. *Modern Review* (July '83).

its readers make great progress in the act of proving "palpable impossibilities;" (4) that no instruction of a spiritual character is derived from the study;" (5) that while, it is true, there are beautiful passages in the *haggada*, they are so few as not to pay the trouble involved in their discovery: "they must be fished up out of a sea of nonsense." This, to say the least, is an extreme view. We may grant with Lightfoot "the almost unconquerable difficulty of the style, the frightful roughness of the language, and the amazing emptiness and sophistry of the matters handled," yet with Mr. Nordell¹ we believe "that for a long time to come the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of Christian Antiquities will come from a thorough exploration of these vast and long neglected depositories of the intellectual and religious life of a despised and persecuted race." These pages contain an exposition of the Sacred books which was contemporaneous with the books themselves. This exposition handed down by tradition will, when scientifically studied, be found also to contain much that will throw light upon the connection of the two dispensations. It is not yet time to throw aside the Talmud as rubbish.

Internal Evidence.—Much of the "higher criticism," in fact most of it, is based upon *internal evidence*. Critics do not hesitate in many cases to announce as facts, hypotheses founded exclusively upon internal evidence, and this, too, not only when there is wanting any external evidence to favor their hypothesis, but even when external evidence exists to oppose it. A kind of evidence to which there is attached so great weight certainly deserves consideration. What are the canons of such evidence? By whom may it be employed? How certain is it?

The arguments of internal evidence, though appearing in many forms may be reduced to four: (1) that of style, (2) that of grammatical form, (3) that of historical allusion, and (4) that of parallel passages.

1. The general style of a writer is ascertained by a careful study of those productions, of which, by common consent, he was the author. The features of his style, as thus made out, are recorded as the standard by which all doubtful productions must be judged. Two or three familiar examples will suffice: The Davidic style is "terse, vigorous, and rapid" (cf. Psalms VIII., XV.), hence Psalm LXXXVI., cannot be Davidic; it is easy, limpid, original, hence Psalms CIV., CXLIV. are not Davidic; it is characterized by unity and consecution of thought, hence Psalms, seemingly broken in style, are not Davidic.² The style of Isaiah XL.—LXVI. is confessedly different, in many respects, from that of chapters I.—XXXIX. This diversity is seen not only in the matter of words and phrases, but in "the peculiar articulation of sentences, and the movement of the whole discourse." May this diversity of style not argue a diversity of authorship? Again, there is, undoubtedly, a remarkable degree of resemblance between Deuteronomy and the writings of Jeremiah. Words occurring nowhere else, are found in both; passages in the one are identical with, or closely similar to, passages in the other; sentiments prominent in the one are prominent also in the other; and in general tone and form of thought, the two resemble each other remarkably. It is true also, that the style of Deuteronomy differs markedly from that of the other books of the Pentateuch. It has a "breadth and liquidness," a severity, yet ease, that seems to separate it from what precedes. May not unity of style argue unity of authorship?

¹ THE HEBREW STUDENT, in The Study of the Talmud. Vol. I., Number 3.

² MURRAY, see Origin and Growth of the Psalms, pp. 132-136.

2. The argument from *grammatical forms* is not of so general use. It practically resolves itself into the question of the existence of Aramaic forms in a given writing. The fact that by the Massorites "all that was characteristic in grammatical form was flattened out into a uniform liturgical pronunciation," as well as the comparative freedom from linguistic change which marks all Semitic languages, leaves little gain to be derived from this source. Yet in many cases it is of value. If a given chapter or book contains grammatical forms which are not Hebraic, and which can be explained only by comparison with the Aramaic or Chaldee language, we must of necessity conclude that such a production is the work of an author who was exposed to Aramaic influences, or who wrote at a time when the language had commenced to feel the effects of Aramaic influence, and this marks it as *late*. A Psalm containing such marks could scarcely be attributed to David, in whose time the language was still in its purity, and who was himself a most exact writer. On this ground Psalms CIII., CXVI., CXXIV., CXXIX., CXXXIX. are assigned by some to a post-exilic date, although the superscription in some of these cases affirms Davidic authorship.

3. The argument from *historical allusion*, which, when broadly treated, includes that of legislative and religious development is the most interesting and conclusive of all. This canon may be briefly stated as follows: "An unmistakable and clearly proven allusion to some well known event shows the piece in question to be contemporaneous with, or subsequent to such event." An extensive use of this canon is made in assigning to their proper authors and periods the various Psalms. It is also largely used in the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch and Isaiah. A Psalm which is in no sense prophetic, although assigned to David in its superscription, contains an allusion to the Exile "as a present and stern reality." Can such a Psalm be Davidic? Suppose, now, but a single verse contains such an allusion, and that verse, the last one, while all that precede differ from it perceptibly in style. Uniting the arguments from historical allusion and from style, we conclude that the last verse has in some way become attached at a later period to an older Psalm which was in itself complete. This seems to be true in the case of Psalms XIV. and LI.¹ In the use of this argument, careful attention must be paid to any possibly prophetic element.

4. A fourth argument is that of *parallel passages*. If two writers express the same thought in language almost similar, we suppose that one writer has quoted or imitated the other. It is a difficult matter, however, to decide which of the writers is the imitator. If we are convinced for other reasons that Isaiah XL.-LXVI. is the work of the same hand as Isaiah I.-XXXIX., we will decide that the parallels between the former chapters on the one hand, and Zephaniah or Jeremiah on the other, are the result of imitation on the part of the latter writer. Otherwise it is with difficulty that we determine who was the original writer.

We have already transgressed the limits of a note. It is only possible to remark, by way of conclusion, (1) that only *cautious* hands may be trusted with such work as this; (2) that for such work a "delicate aesthetic perception" and a wide knowledge of literature are essential; (3) that, after all, the judgment, must rest upon the impression received, and since, in most cases, the examination furnishes only subjective satisfaction as to the truth of the results, general unanimity is difficult to obtain; (4) that even those questions in respect to which anything like

¹ cf. THE HEBREW STUDENT, Vol II., p. 262.

a unanimous conclusion has been reached, should receive careful and painstaking attention before being accepted as settled.

New Linguistic and Theological Journals.—There will be found elsewhere announcements of two new Oriental journals, *Literatur-Blatt fuer Orientalische Philologie*, edited by Prof. Dr. Ernst Kuhn in Muenchen, and *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, edited by Carl Bezold and Fritz Hommel with the assistance of A. Amiaud and E. Barbelon in Paris, G. Lyon in Cambridge, Mass., and Theo. G. Pinches in London. The aim of the editors is, in both cases, a most commendable one. It is greatly to be desired that they shall receive the hearty support of all who are either directly or indirectly interested in such work. There has also recently appeared in Holland a new theological journal, which will be managed in the interests of conservative theology, as opposed to the *Theo. Tijdschrift*. There is certainly a field for this journal. "Dutch" and "Rationalistic," so far as criticism is concerned, have come to be almost synonymous terms. May we not now hope for something better from Holland?

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

A COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS.*

This commentary, based upon one issued some years ago by the same author, is intended, as the title-page indicates, for students of Hebrew, and for clergymen. The writer emphasizes the *theology* of the Psalms. He is not one of those who see Christ in every verse, nor does he on the other hand fail altogether to find a Messianic element. He wisely takes a middle ground. The principle underlying his work is, in his own words: "A desire to elicit what may be termed the natural sense of a Psalm, such as with reference to the circumstances under which it was written, so far as they can be ascertained, seems most probable, and with that sense to remain content." In determining whether or not a given Psalm is Messianic, the writer depends upon four sources of information: (1) the testimony of the Jewish Church; (2) that of the Christian Church; (3) that of the New Testament; (4) the internal evidence of the Psalm itself. Of these the last is regarded as the most important. In speaking of the various aids of which he has made use, he mentions particularly the assistance derived from the cognate languages. On this point he remarks: "It is well known that there is a great number of words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which occur only once, and that there are many others which are met with only twice or three times. How is the sense of such words to be determined? To find out the meaning of a word, it is necessary to refer it to a root, and if that root does not exist in Hebrew, there remains only the

* *A Commentary on the Psalms.* By GEORGE PHILLIPS, D. D., President Queens College, Cambridge, 1872. London: F. Norgate. U. S.: Old Testament Book Exchange, Morgan Park, Ill. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 410, 450; Price \$6.00.

alternative to search for it in a cognate dialect. An ancient version may in some cases suggest one; but then we must go to the dialect and examine the root, in order to ascertain that the suggestion is satisfactory. The cognate dialect in these cases must be the final resource."

The *Introduction* contains well-written statements on (1) The authors and numbers of the Psalms, and the division of them into books; (2) the character of Hebrew Poetry; (3) the titles of the Psalms. The treatment of each Psalm includes (1) a brief introduction, and (2) critical notes. In explaining the plural אֲשֶׁר, the first word of the first Psalm, "as emphatic, as if the Psalmist desired to have it implied that the man who separates himself from the wicked in the way described in this verse would be blessed with happiness *from every source* from which it could be derived" the writer probably places too much stress upon an expression which had already come to have merely an interjectional force. Despite his learned arguments touching כָּאֵרִי (P's. XXXII., 17), it would seem preferable to take it as it stands, *like a lion*; it is, to say the least, difficult to assume a root which does not exist, give this root a meaning which it would not have if it did exist, and accept as derived from this root, a form which cannot by any existing laws of Hebrew Grammar be legitimately connected with such a root. There is much in the volumes to interest and benefit the Hebrew student. Because of the large size of the type used, much has necessarily been omitted; and although, in general, the style is condensed, the author allows himself to use many unnecessary expressions. The work is a good one, but not so good as that of Perowne.

A HISTORY OF JESUS, THE NAZARITE.*

This is written in Hebrew. The text, however, is unpointed. The book is intended to present in all its simplicity, the story of the Messiah. It has been prepared, of course, for Jewish readers. The language employed is Biblical, and not rabbinical. Aside from the purpose for which it was designed by the author, Alex. Meyrowitz, LL. D. (200 East 39th St., New York) we can see how it might serve as an exceedingly interesting reading-book to those who may be interested in the study of the language.

HOME-LIFE IN THE BIBLE.†

This is a book for the family, although the student may derive from it much that is fresh and suggestive. The style of the author is, indeed, beautiful, and the judgment exhibited in the selection of materials, excellent. The field is very thoroughly covered. Habitations and Homes; Furniture and Utensils; Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce; Children: their training and Schooling; the higher Education; Employments and Servants; Larder, Kitchen and Table; Dress and Ornaments; The Toilet and the Bath; Domestic and Public Worship;

* ספר תולדות ישוע הנצרי קורות ימי חייו ונפלאותיו אשר ינשה כפי כפורי ארבינה המבשרים: ומשלו שקולים בשקל התנועות והיתדות כאת איבן מאיר:

† *Home-life in the Bible.* By HENRIETTA LEE PALMER, author of "The Stratford Gallery:" edited by JOHN WILLIAMSON PALMER. *Two hundred and twenty illustrations.* Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 1881. Large 8vo, pp. 428. Price, \$3.00.

Music, Sacred and Secular; Alms and Hospitalities; Seedtime and Harvest; Flocks and Herds; Sickness and Death; Burial and Mourning,—*these* are the subjects treated. The treatment is, in general, a full one. Two features of the book deserve especial commendation: the copious extracts from the sacred narrative, and the numerous, elegant and accurate illustrations. Nor of less value is the complete index with which the volume closes.

➤REVIEW NOTICES.◀

The following are announcements of new Reviews:

The first number of the *Literatur-Blatt fuer Orientalische Philologie* will be issued in October. It will be edited by Prof. Dr. ERNST KUHN (Muenchen), assisted by Dr. JOHANNES KLAK (Berlin). The Journal will contain signed reviews on the literature appearing from time to time in the department of Oriental Philology. An Oriental Bibliography will accompany it from month to month. It will also contain correspondence and short notices. A number of the ablest Orientalists of Germany and other countries have promised their active assistance. The annual subscription price for twelve monthly numbers is fifteen marks (about \$3.50).

The first number of *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete* will appear in October. It will be edited by MARC BEZOLD and FRITZ HOMMEL (Privat-Docenten of the University of Muenchen), assisted by A. Amiaud and E. Babelon, Paris, G. Lyon, Cambridge (Mass.), Theo. G. Pinches, London. The aim of this international undertaking is to provide an organ for the various branches of Babylonian and Assyrian research, including languages and history. The Journal will contain (a) publications of shorter texts already published; (b) paleographic, grammatical and lexicographical articles on non-Semitic and Semitic subjects; (c) articles on the geography and history of the countries of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the adjoining countries, so far as light is thrown upon them by the inscriptions; (d) investigations from the earliest sources of the West-Asiatic religions, art and culture. The articles will be written in the German, English, French or Italian. The Journal will be published quarterly (80-96 pp. 8vo), at the price of sixteen marks (about \$3.75 per year). Both of these Journals are published by Mr. Otto Shultze, Leipzig.

➤SEMITIC AND OLD TESTAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY.◀

AMERICAN LITERATURE.

DAY, Prof. Geo. E., D. D., The Theology of the Old Testament. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 8vo.....	\$2.50
BRIGGS, Prof. Chas. A., D. D., Biblical Study; Its Principles, Methods and Branches. New York: Chas. Scribners' Sons. 8vo.....	\$2.50
BAKER, Dr. L. C., The Mystery of Creation. Phila.: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo.....	\$—
RAWLINSON, Prof. Geo., M. A., History of Ancient Egypt. Boston. S. E. Casino. 8vo.....	\$—

- ROBSON, John, D. D., *The Bible: Its Revelation, Inspiration and Evidences.* *Thos. Nelson & Sons.* 8vo.....\$2.75
- LADD, Prof. Geo. T., D. D., *The Doctrine of Sacred Scriptures.* New York: *Chas. Scribners' Sons.* 2 vols., 8vo.....\$7.00
- VAN DYKE, J. S., *From Gloom to Darkness—a popular exposition of the Book of Esther.* New York: *Funk & Wagnalls.* 8vo.....\$—
- TOY, Prof. C. H., D. D., *Quotations in the New Testament.* New York: *Chas. Scribners' Sons.* 8vo.....\$2.50
- PERROT, Geo. & CHIPIEZ, Chas., *History of Art in Ancient Egypt.* New York: *A. C. Armstrong & Son.* 2 vols., 8vo.....\$15.50
- TERRY, Milton S., *Biblical Hermeneutics.* New York: *Phillips & Hunt.* 8vo.....\$2.00
- WHEDON, D. D., LL. D., *Old Testament Commentary on Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations.* New York: *Phillips & Hunt.* 8vo.....\$—
- CROLY, Rev. Dr. Geo., *Holy Land, Div. II., Jordan and Bethlehem.* Ill. by LOUIS HAGHE. New York: *Cassell & Co. (Limited),* [In series.]
- EDERSHEIM, Dr. E. W., *The Law and Polity of the Jews.* New York: *Thos. Nelson & Son.* 8vo.....\$—
- HOPKINS, Mark, D. D., *The Scriptural Idea of Man.* New York: *Chas. Scribners' Sons.* 145 pp.....\$1.00
- WILSON, Rev. W. D., D. D., *Foundations of Religious Belief.* New York: *D. Appleton & Co.* 386 pp.....\$1.50
- ARNOLD, Matthew, *Isaiah of Jerusalem.* New York: *MacMillan & Co.* 8vo. \$— ✓

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

- MAYBAUM, S., *Die Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetenthums.* gr. 8. Berlin. 176 pp.....\$1.50
- HERZFELD, L., *Einblicke in das Sprachliche der Semitischen Urzeit, betreffend die Entstehungsweise der meisten hebraeischen Wortstaemme.* gr. 8. Hannover. 231 pp.....\$2.20
- LEHM, O. v., *Aegyptische Lesestuecke zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen und zum Privatstudium. Mit Schrifttafel und Glossar herausgegeben.* I. Theil. Schrifttafel und Lesestuecke 1. Heft. 4. Leipzig. 64 pp.....\$3.00
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IS THE BOOK OF JONAH HISTORICAL?

II.

Arguments urged against the historical character of the Book.

BY THE EDITOR.

Doubt as to the truth of the events related in the Book of Jonah dates far back. It has always been difficult for men to believe in the reality of these events. There has existed a popular and a scholarly prejudice against the historical character of the Book. Every possible resource has been exhausted, every possible form of conjecture has been put forward in order, somehow, to relieve the student of the necessity of accepting the narrative as an historical one. A common sentiment seems to have been, *call it anything,—but history*. Attempts have been made to explain it as connected with certain Classical legends; as derived from an Assyrico-Babylonian myth; as having, perhaps, an historical germ, but as being largely fictitious; as being written to explain the mistaken meaning of an old song; as a part of a larger book of prophetic narrations, but full of alterations and transpositions; as a mere fiction, a parable, an historical allegory, or a dream; as a prophetic aftergrowth, a sort of apocryphal composition. The result of much of this work, however worthy the purpose which prompted it, has been not only to destroy the credibility of the Book, in the minds of many, but also to make it an object of ridicule and contempt. From no standpoint has the Book escaped attack. It would be difficult, now, to think of any possible objection that might be urged, to which attention has not already been called by those who have discussed the subject. It is certainly true, that had the objections been as unanswerable, as they have been numerous, long since would the “twelve” Minor Prophets have been reduced to “eleven.”

Notwithstanding the number and variety of these objections, it is possible, we think, for our present purpose to classify them under four heads:* (1) Lack of historical particulars; (2) Superabundance of the miraculous element; (3) The improbability of Nineveh's repentance; (4) The incredible nature of Jonah's behavior.

I. LACK OF HISTORICAL PARTICULARS.

In a well-authenticated historical narrative there is always to be found a number, greater or less, of historical particulars, which serve as indirect proof of the truth of the narrative. The Book before us, it is claimed, exhibits but *few* of these particulars. Attention is called to the fact that the writer nowhere informs us as to the location of Jonah's abode; the spot where he was cast upon dry land; his fate after the severe rebuke administered to him by Jehovah; or the subsequent relation sustained by him to the Ninevites. Would these points have been passed by in a genuine narrative? Again, according to Bleek, "it appears surprising on the hypothesis of the historical character of the Book, that the name of the Assyrian King in whose time all this took place, who also was converted with such earnest repentance to the confession of the true God, is not mentioned in it, nor anything else stated as to him personally, which in an historical event would certainly have been of great interest." And further, is it not strange that no mention whatever is made of that long, wearisome journey to Nineveh? Another point urged with great force is with reference to the hymn which purports to have been composed by Jonah while in the bowels of the fish. We may believe that he was swallowed, and that, by divine assistance, he remained alive in the fish's belly three days and three nights; but is it to be supposed that, while in this position, the prophet was in a conscious condition, or, if conscious, that, under such circumstances, he could give utterance to such thoughts as those which find expression in the hymn recorded in this Book? The hymn is not a prayer for deliverance, but a song of thanksgiving after deliverance; yet it is clearly stated that this song was composed while the author was yet in the fish's belly, and that the command to vomit him upon dry land was not given until the song had been uttered. It is claimed, in a word, that the story is greatly lacking in clearness and perspicuity, in precision of statement, and, indeed, in all the minute details which are necessarily connected with genuine history. But, if the Book of Jonah is unhistorical, because it is *incomplete*, where may we find in either Old or New Testaments, matter that is historical? If the historical character of a given production is made to

* A brief statement of these points is given in *The Bible Commentary*, pp. 581, 582.

depend upon the fullness of its treatment, upon the "completeness in all external circumstances which would serve to gratify curiosity rather than to help to an understanding of the main facts of the case," we shall be compelled to look on every side, and that too with exceeding care, to find writings, either classical or biblical, which may safely be regarded as historical. When found, the decision will be rendered according to the greater or less degree of completeness. This book will be regarded as more historical than that, because, whatever may be the aim and style of the writer, it is more complete. The historical value of a book will depend upon the number and size of the pages.

Now, one must be lamentably ignorant of biblical style and method, if he has not learned that everywhere in Bible history the historian omits, not from oversight, but intentionally, those items of detail which either do not directly bear upon the subject under treatment, or have no connection with the great religious teaching involved in this subject. It is needless to cite examples of this peculiarity. Nor need it be called a peculiarity, for it would have ill become sacred writers, commissioned to do a definite work, to have stopped at this point or at that and to have inserted a paragraph in order that such criticism as that under notice might be avoided. By this test no history can be shown to be history, while much literature that bears upon the very face of it the marks of fiction, could be proven historical. In our opinion this lack of historical particulars not only is no objection to the historical character of the Book, but may even be regarded as going far to prove this historical character. It is much more likely, we think, that Moses was the author of the form of the *Ten Words* as given in Deuteronomy as well as of that given in Exodus, than that the former was the work of a different writer, because of the variations which we find. A different writer, under such circumstances, would have taken scrupulous pains to present an exact copy, for fear of detection. So here, a writer endeavoring to palm off fiction for history, would have been careful to omit none of those details which might naturally have been expected. The narrative would have been complete to a fault. It is worthy of note at this point, as mentioned in the former paper, that the book may be strictly historical, and yet not be first-rate history. That is, every event narrated in it may actually have taken place, and yet the occurrence of these events may not have been recorded as history. A story selected solely to convey some great religious truth, although it may have been a true story, would scarcely be called history. It may also be remarked that the task of replying *seriatim* to the points raised in this connection, falls to the commentator, and not to the writer of a general article.

II. SUPERABUNDANCE OF THE MIRACULOUS ELEMENT.

An abundance of the supernatural element is certainly to be found in the Book of Jonah. That this is a *super*-abundance is not so certain. The miraculous seems to be introduced at every step in the story, in Jehovah's stirring up the storm, in the lot falling upon Jonah, in the conduct of the ship's crew under the influence of the event, in the appointment of the great fish, in the prophet's remaining three days and three nights in the belly of the fish, in his being vomited upon dry land, in the effect of Jonah's prediction upon the Ninevites, in the provision of the plant, in its destruction by the worm, and in God's sending the sultry east wind. Nowhere else in Scripture within the same space will more of the supernatural be found. Of those who object to the historical character of Jonah, some believe in the possibility of miracles, others do not. If it is conceded that no such thing as a miracle has ever been wrought, that, indeed, there is no such thing, then, as a matter of course, this Book is, in the highest sense, legendary or mythical. But if this is true of Jonah, in what estimation shall we hold the remaining books of the Bible, all of which contain more or less of the miraculous element? Clearly, therefore, with those who deny the possibility of the miraculous, the question to be considered is, not that of the historical character of Jonah, but one more fundamental and far-reaching. An argument which, if valid, would sweep away the entire Bible, need not be taken up here. In accepting the possibility of the miraculous, we take away any common ground on which a discussion can be carried on with this class of critics.

But there are many who grant the possibility of miracles yet reject the historical character of the Book, because of the miracles which it records. Their reasoning is this: Miracles have been wrought, but *only* when they were absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of a certain plan. It is only upon special and extraordinary occasions, and with a special and extraordinary object in view, that the Almighty thus manifests his power. In the Divine economy there is never a profusion of miracles, nor any more of miraculous agency than the circumstances of the case absolutely demand. Further, much of the so-called miraculous is but an oriental coloring of the natural. A miracle, therefore, must not be accepted as such until there has been removed all possibility of explaining it as a natural event, perhaps highly colored, and until we can see that some great and special end was to be gained by it. It is more easy to explain the Book of Jonah as a legendary, or fictitious narrative, with, perhaps, an historical substratum, than to believe in the actual occurrence of so many and so

varied miraculous events, for which, upon the whole, there seems to be no reasonable explanation. There is undoubtedly much that is plausible in this view. That miracles were not wrought except under the most extreme circumstances, and that much of what is commonly regarded as miraculous may be explained upon purely natural grounds are facts theoretically conceded, but practically lost sight of in exposition. In reference to the case in hand, we may briefly summarize :

(1) It is necessary in this Book, as well as at all times, to distinguish sharply between the providential and the miraculous. Much of the former element is mistaken for the latter.

We must keep in mind that a larger portion of that which is regarded as miraculous in this story may have been, and, in fact, was the result of natural causes. If, in the case of the fish referred to, we recall that the word in the original is an indefinite one, and does not necessarily mean *whale*, the throat of which is said to be too small to admit even the smallest man, and that the Mediterranean abounded in fish of a size sufficient to swallow men, we are not under the necessity of supposing that the fish in question was created particularly for the purpose which it served. That the fish was present at the exact moment was in no respect miraculous. The miracle, however, consists in the fact that, under such circumstances, Jonah was preserved alive. For our own part, we see no miracle in the rising of the tempest, the designation of Jonah by lot, in the conversion of the ship's crew, or in that of the Ninevites, in the destruction of the plant by the worm, or in the sultry east wind. These events, we are persuaded, may be explained upon purely natural grounds, and paralleled by events which occur in the experience of every one. They are events which took place in accordance with the providence of a higher power, but are in no sense miraculous. The rapid growth of the plant, if we interpret literally the expression *son of a night*, would be miraculous, although it was a plant which, in its nature, possessed the qualification for rapid growth, and so the miraculous element would consist simply in the quickening of a condition already existing; but it may be doubted whether the literal interpretation is to be followed. If our interpretation is a correct one, the superabundance of miraculous element is reduced to one, or, at the most, two manifestations of it.

(2) If the miracles recorded in *this* Book are to be rejected unless we can see a special object in the mind of their Author, and unless this object could be gained by no other means, we must apply the same rule to all miracles. But who will dare thus to question the motives of a Higher Being? Who will presume to assert that, because *he* cannot comprehend the purpose of a certain miracle, the miracle did not

occur? In this connection words of Prof. Stowe may profitably be cited :

The God of nature is quite as unsearchable in his ways as the God of the Bible in his; and does his work by as great and apparently as capricious a variety of methods. If any one can tell us why the God of nature accomplishes the same end by such a variety of means, then we can tell him why the God of the Bible chose to save his prophet by a living creature, which had been born spontaneously in the course of nature, rather than by a sailing vessel built by the hands of men. God, both as exhibited in nature and in the Bible, even seems to love variety for variety's sake, and many times to put forth creative energy in the strangest forms for the very purpose of showing his creatures what he can do, and by what a variety of means he can accomplish his designs.

But there is generally a discoverable propriety, an appropriateness, in God's adaptation of means to ends, both in nature and revelation. When properly understood, these adaptations appear neither capricious nor grotesque. As to the story of Jonah—in a simple and rude age, in a community of sailors and fishermen, in a country where destructive monsters of the deep had for ages been the terror and often the ruin of the sea-shore settlements, what could be better fitted to impress the people with a fear of the awful power of God, to give them a vivid conception of the tremendous energy of his primitive justice, and the impregnable security of his protective favor, than this very fact which has often been turned to ridicule, by irreverence, shallowness, and self-conceit? The most dreaded enemy they knew, that their imagination could conceive, which had from time immemorial been the terror of their fathers, was so restrained and controlled by God as to be made the pliable instrument of gentle punishment and perfect safety to his disobedient prophet.

III. THE IMPROBABILITY OF NINEVEH'S REPENTANCE.

A city of 600,000 inhabitants is represented as repenting "in sack-cloth and ashes." This repentance was brought about within an exceedingly short time; it extended through all classes of society from the king down to the most humble citizens; it was accomplished through the agency of a *foreigner*. Add to this, (1) that the repentance seems to have been accompanied by no permanent results, since the narrative does not record that either king or people confessed the true God; (2) that, from the narrative, it cannot be inferred that Jonah took any steps to further the knowledge of the true God among the people; (3) that no allusion to the event can be discovered either in later Assyrian history, or in the writings of the later prophets Isaiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, who prophesied against Nineveh,* and (4) that neither the name, nor any personal mention is made of the Assyrian

* Bleek says: Had these men been at all acquainted with the fact, that an older Israelitish prophet had been ministering there in so powerful, and for the moment so successful a way, we should surely expect that they would have referred to it in some in their prophecies. *Intro.* II., 183.

King, who himself is said to have repented,—and we have, according to Bleek, the strongest argument which can be urged against the historical character of the Book.

It is not necessary to suppose that all the people of Nineveh repented. Some of the citizens, hearing Jonah's proclamation, in fear of the doom pronounced, turn from their sins and put on sackcloth. These were of different classes. The number need not have been large. It may have included only those of a single district. The news, however, reaches the king, and at his command all are required to fast and be covered with sackcloth. We may believe that in the case of the great mass of the people, as in the case of the beasts, there was only the outward semblance of repentance, and that this was due to the king's edict. The change wrought in those who did repent, will better be comprehended, says Keil, "if we bear in mind (1) the great susceptibility of Oriental races to emotion, (2) the awe of one Supreme Being which is peculiar to all the heathen religions of Asia, and (3) the great esteem in which soothsaying and oracles were held in Assyria from the earliest times." That the change of mind was produced by a *foreigner*, is in favor of the probability of the narrative, not against it. "The appearance of a foreigner, who, without any conceivable personal interest, and with the most fearless boldness, disclosed to the great royal city its Godless ways, and announced its destruction within a very short period with the confidence so characteristic of the God-sent prophets, could not fail to make a powerful impression upon the minds of the people, and this would be all the stronger if the report of the miraculous working of Israel had penetrated to Nineveh."*

That the repentance of the Ninevites was not a lasting one, and that it was not accompanied by permanent results, does not go to prove that it never took place. It was a "waking up out of the careless security of a life of sin, an endeavor to forsake their evil ways." Their turning from sin, while not repentance in the New Testament sense, was a *repentance* sufficiently marked to justify God in withholding the evil which he had threatened. It is not only to those who are genuinely converted that God manifests his grace.

The lack of zeal manifested by Jonah in not pushing to the utmost the advantage which he had gained, is explained by the narrative itself; he was greatly displeased, and very angry that God had seen fit to turn from his wrath. In such a state of mind, what else could have been expected of him?

While reference to this event from the monuments would gladly be

* Keil, Commentary *in loc.*

welcomed, and allusions to it in the later prophets might naturally have been expected, the absence of both may be explained. Moreover, the argument *e silentio*, while a powerful one, is far from being in itself conclusive. It carries, in most cases, more weight than properly may be accorded to it. The fact that no mention is made of the King's name, is to be classified with other omissions noted above. It is sufficient to say that the mention was not necessary to the immediate object in the mind of the writer. This event, therefore, if its coloring and details can be shown to be in accordance with the times and the circumstances, instead of being used as an objection to the historical character of our Book, may be regarded as one of the strongest arguments in its favor.

IV. THE INCREDIBLE NATURE OF JONAH'S BEHAVIOR.

Jonah was Jehovah's prophet, yet he tried to flee from Jehovah's presence. He was sent upon an important errand to a heathen city, yet was angry and displeased with God because that errand proved successful. Jehovah shows himself to be a gracious God, and merciful, yet Jonah prays that his life may be taken away, because under the circumstances death is preferable. Though a man of God, his conduct is marked throughout by self-conceit, hostility to Nineveh, and disobedience to God's commands. This representation of his character and behavior, exaggerated by those who would bring him into the greatest possible discredit, is urged against the credibility of the Book.

By those who suppose Jonah himself to be the author of the Book, the whole narrative is taken as a confession, and with reason do they regard favorably a man who is willing to represent himself in such a light. But whether or not Jonah himself wrote the Book, there are a few considerations which at this point deserve at least brief attention:

(1) It is questionable, whether at this early period there prevailed widely the idea that Jehovah was the God of all nations. This, to be sure, was the teaching of Moses, and many, doubtless, believed it, but the mass of the people, we are persuaded, while worshiping Jehovah, "believed also in the existence and agency of the surrounding pagan gods." The phrase *from the presence of Jehovah*, must be given a meaning consistent with its general usage. It must, at the least, be interpreted that Jonah was trying to escape from that country in which God was accustomed to manifest himself. Now it is common to introduce in this connection Ps. CXXXIX., 9-12, which portrays vividly the doctrine of God's omnipresence. We may safely believe, however, that this Psalm was the production of an age centuries later than that of

Jonah. Without attempting any forced explanation of this expression, let it be accepted with its face-meaning, and let us transport ourselves to the age when Homer was an old man, when Lycurgus was promulgating his laws; to a civilization, or rather to a semi-barbarism one hundred years before Romulus, four hundred years before Herodotus. At such an age, among a people for the mass of whom idolatry was the rule, and pure worship the exception, are we to be surprised at finding, even in a prophet, a disposition of mind which is characteristic of a large number of the professed worshippers of to-day?

(2) In estimating Jonah's attitude towards Nineveh, we must remember that his native district, the northern part of Israel, had been continually exposed to the inroads of foreigners, and, among these, the Ninevites; and that there was undoubtedly before his mind the fear that Israel was to be rejected on account of her sins, and that Nineveh, to whom he is sent with a message of mercy, may be chosen in her stead. To him the repentance of the Gentiles signified the ruin of the Jews. Naturally enough, moved by national prejudice, he would seek to avoid the doing of that which would delay the destruction of Nineveh.

(3) Nor was his reputation as a prophet a matter of the least concern to him, and situated, as he was, in a strange city, without protection, exposed by God himself to disgrace, his enemies saved, himself dishonored, "why should he not be distressed, the poor hypochondriac, and pray to die rather than live?" And later, when he has retired from the city, and is scorched by the burning sun, and when the protection which had been prepared for him is destroyed, and the sirocco of the desert causes him to faint with heat, despised by men, forsaken by God, is it not natural that he should long for death? "Inspiration changed no man's natural temperament or character. The prophets, just like other men, had to struggle with their natural infirmities and disabilities, with only such Divine aid as is within the reach of all religious men. The whole representation in regard to Jonah is in perfect keeping; it is as true to nature as any scene in Shakspeare, and represents hypochondria as graphically as Othello represents jealousy or Lear madness."

We have examined as fully as the space at our disposal would permit the general arguments urged against the historical character of the Book of Jonah. While each of these arguments contains much that is plausible, there is nothing for which an unprejudiced reader may not account, if he will but consider fairly and liberally all the facts in the case.

THE ASSYRIAN LITERATURE AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROF. S. BURNHAM,

Hamilton Theological Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.

The study of the Assyrian language and literature has come to be of no little importance for the complete and correct interpretation of the Old Testament. The language, as one of the Semitic family, furnishes, in its ancient forms and its older constructions, valuable aids for the more perfect solution of questions in Hebrew Grammar, and especially in Hebrew Lexicography. It is self-evident that the correct solution of these questions is intimately related to a true interpretation of the Old Testament.

The Assyrian literature is even more valuable to the interpreter. Containing, as it does, history, or, if we must so designate the entire contents, legends, which evidently are of the same origin as the accounts of the creation and the deluge in Genesis, it cannot but aid us, whatever views we may have of the origin or the nature of the cuneiform records, in forming a correct conception of the true origin, nature, and meaning of the first part of Genesis. For it seems to be a settled fact that the cuneiform records existed in a written form as early as 2000 B. C. But the view one holds of the first few chapters of Genesis, will largely determine his conception of the nature and meaning of the entire Old Testament; and as well of the Old Testament religion, and, indeed, of Christianity itself. It is clear, therefore, that the progress and results of the labors of the students of the Assyrian literature cannot safely be overlooked by the interpreter of the Old Testament.

Hence, it may not be amiss to present to the readers of the OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT a specimen of the work that is now doing in Germany in the department of Assyriology, which will both give a good idea of the Assyrian literature, and furnish at least a hint of its value for Old Testament interpretation, and of the method in which it may be used in the service of this interpretation. To this end, there is given below a translation of a lecture delivered at the University of Goettingen in December, 1880, on the cuneiform account of the deluge, by Dr. Paul Haupt. Dr. Haupt, although yet a young man, is one of the most distinguished students and teachers of Assyriology in Germany; and has recently been appointed Professor of Assyriology in the University of Goettingen. He was also lately elected Professor of the Semitic Languages in Johns Hopkins University in our own country, and began his work, in the latter University, in September of the present year.

The lecture which is here translated, has been published in book form by J. C. Hinrichs of Leipzig. The book contains, besides the lecture itself, a body of valuable notes, and an autograph representation of a portion of the original text. It can be procured through the *Old Testament Book Exchange* for about 50 cents. The present translation is made under the sanction and by the express permission of both Dr. Haupt and his publisher, to whom the writer would return his hearty thanks for their kindness. The notes, as not necessary for the present purpose, are, with the exception of one or two foot-notes, omitted. The lecture itself, with the single omission of a few lines from Dr. Haupt's remarks on the relation of the cuneiform to the Biblical account of the deluge, is published complete. The omission just noticed is indicated, in the proper place, by a foot-note. This is the first complete translation of this lecture which has been given in English, at least with the sanction of Dr. Haupt and the publisher. There appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, early in 1882, in an article by C. H. Wright, an account of Dr. Haupt's work, and a *resume* of the lecture; but even this article did not present a complete translation of the lecture. The writer has also had the personal co-operation and aid of Dr. Haupt in introducing modifications and corrections into so much of the lecture as contains the translation of the eleventh tablet, i. e., the account of the deluge. These corrections and modifications are due partly to Dr. Haupt's further study of the subject, and partly to the discovery of new fragments of the Assyrian tablets, which have enabled him to perfect his translation. The readers of the OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT have Dr. Haupt's own authority for the statement that the present translation of the eleventh tablet as here given, is the most perfect and complete that has ever been published together in any language. It has before been published by Dr. Haupt himself, of course, in German, but never in any single work.

The account of the contents of the other tablets of the poem has been allowed to stand as it is in the lecture. At the time the lecture was delivered, Dr. Haupt had not had the opportunity personally to study the original Assyrian text of this part of the poem, but relied upon Smith's English translation of this text. Since that time, however, Dr. Haupt has spent some months in the British Museum, occupied in the study and the careful copying of this text as it stands upon the clay tablets which are there preserved, and is now engaged in preparing for publication the entire text of the Nimrod epic, with the exception, naturally, of the text of the eleventh tablet. The work in which this text will be presented, will contain autograph copies of the original, a transliteration, and a translation in German; and the first

part is to appear in the present year. On this account, Dr. Haupt consents to allow the first part of the lecture to remain as it was delivered.

The modifications and corrections, made in the account of the deluge, are all enclosed in brackets, and indicated by S. B., the writer's initials. In the same way, are indicated the very few additions which the writer himself has ventured to make to the text of the lecture. Dr. Haupt himself has changed the form or the orthography of some of the Assyrian names; and these changes from the text of the lecture have been introduced without indicating them, as their indication, for the present purpose, would be superfluous.

The translation by Dr. Haupt of the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod epic, together with notes and a vocabulary, has also appeared as an excursus in Schrader's "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament"; and reference to this edition of his translation will be made in what follows. Dr. Haupt's work has also been utilized, with his own co-operation, in a work now in course of publication by Dr. Eduard Suess, entitled "Das Antlitz der Erde." The first part of this learned work is occupied with a discussion of the "Movements in the Rock-crust of the Earth;" and, among them, the author puts the deluge. His theory of the deluge may be seen from the following quotations. He says, at the close of his discussion, which is founded on the Biblical account, and the cuneiform account, of the deluge, and on the accounts of what he conceives to be similar phenomena in modern times, "The results may be summed up as follows:

1. The phenomenon known by the name of the deluge, happened on the lower Euphrates, and was united with an external and devastating submersion of the lowlands of Mesopotamia.

2. The essential cause was a great earthquake in the region of the Persian Gulf, or south of it, which had been preceded by several slight shocks.

It is very probable that, during the period of the heaviest shocks, a cyclone moved northward out of the Persian Gulf.

4. The traditions of other peoples in no way justify the claim that the deluge extended beyond the regions of the lower Euphrates and Tigris, and still less that it was universal."

So much of this author's work as relates to the deluge, has been published in a separate form under the title "Die Sintfluth" (G. Freytag, Leipzig, 1883). Reference will be made to this work in what follows.

THE CUNEIFORM ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

BY DR. PAUL HAUPT,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

[An inaugural address delivered by Dr. Paul Haupt at the University of Göttingen, Dec., 1880.]
Translated by S. Burnham.

That the old Babylonians were acquainted with a myth of a flood, which resembles, in the most striking way, even in details, the two accounts of the deluge contained in chaps. VI.-IX. of Gen., which have been worked over by an editor into one story, and which especially resembles the so-called Jehovistic account, was known long ago from the fragments of a history of Babylon which was written in Greek by a Chaldean priest named Berossus in the reign of Antiochus Soter, between 280 and 270 B. C. According to the extracts from this work, which have been preserved for us in Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus, the course of events connected with this great flood, was as follows:

"Kronos made known in a dream to the tenth king of Babylon, Xisuthros, or Sisithros, that, on the fifteenth of the month Daesios, there would occur great rains, and all mankind would be destroyed by a great flood. He commanded him to bury in Sippara, the city of the sun, all the records of antiquity engraven on stone, to build a ship in which he should embark with his family and his nearest friends, to provide for himself food and drink, and to take with him in the ship the birds and the four-footed beasts. Xisuthros obeyed; built the ship, 9000 feet long and 2000 feet wide; gathered every thing together as he had been commanded; and embarked in the ship with his wife, and his child, and his nearest friends.

When the flood had poured in, and then immediately ceased, Xisuthros sent out some birds to see if they could discover land anywhere, which had already emerged from the water. But, as they found neither food nor resting-place, they came back to the ship. After some days, Xisuthros sent them out a second time, and they returned with mud upon their feet. But, when he sent them out for the third time, they did not return again. Then Xisuthros knew that the earth had become dry again. He made an opening in the ship, and saw that it was stationary upon a mountain. Then he disembarked with his wife, his daughter, and his helmsman; erected an altar; offered a sacrifice; and disappeared, together with the others who had disembarked with him. When the others, who had remained in the ship, sought for him, and called him by name, they heard a voice from the skies, telling them that they should lead a godly life; that he, on account of his piety, had been taken away to the gods, and that his wife, his daughter, and his helmsman had been made sharers in this honor. The land where they were, they were told, was Armenia; and they were bidden to return from here to Babylon, and to dig up the writings buried at Sippara.

When they heard this, they offered sacrifices to the Gods, returned on foot to Babylon, dug up the holy writings, founded cities and temples, and built again Babylon. Of the ship, however, there are still remains in the mountains of Kardua in Armenia. Many people scrape the bitumen from these, and use it as a protection against sickness."

The points of resemblance between this Babylonian account of a flood, and the Jehovistic portions of the Biblical account of the deluge, are very striking. So

much so that it was long in doubt whether this flood-legend originated in Babylon before the time of the exile or not. But, in the autumn of 1872, George Smith, the assistant in the Assyrian department of the British Museum, a man whose too early death is much to be lamented, had the good fortune to discover, upon an Assyrian clay tablet, from the royal library of the king Sardanapalus, the cuneiform account of the deluge, by which the independence and genuineness of Berosus's account of a flood was strikingly confirmed.

Smith found, in the collection of the British Museum, the half of a whitish-yellow clay tablet which, according to all appearance, had originally been divided on each side into three columns. In the third column of the front side, he read the words: "On the mountain Nizir, the ship stood still. Then I took a dove out, and let her fly. The dove flew hither and thither; but, since there was no resting-place there, she returned back to the ship." He recognized at once that he had here discovered a fragment of the cuneiform account of the deluge. With unwearied patience, he set himself at the task of seeking for other fragments among the thousands of pieces of Assyrian clay tablets, which are stored away in the British Museum. His efforts were crowned with success. He found, indeed, no piece which furnished the missing part for the tablet first discovered; but, instead, fragments of two other copies of the cuneiform account of the deluge, which completed the text as was desired, and furnished also several important various readings.

One of these duplicates, which consists of sixteen small pieces put together, contained the common subscription, "The property of Sardanapalus, the king of hosts, the king of the land of Assyria;" and also the statement that this account of the deluge was the eleventh tablet of a series. Several fragments of this series Smith had already noticed in the collection of the British Museum. He put together, with incredible pains, all these fragments; and found that the account of the deluge was only the episode in a great heroic poem which celebrated the deeds of an old king of Erech in twelve cantos consisting altogether of about 3000 lines.

The name of this hero is written in ideographs, the phonetic signification of which would give the reading *Izdubar*, somewhat as the phonetic value of the ideographs which form the name Nebukadnezer, in Assyrian Nabû-kudurri-usur, is An-pa-ša-du-sis. Different interpretations of the name have been attempted. A. H. Sayce has lately expressed, in a letter to me, the ingenious conjecture that the name is to be read as being originally *Kibir*, the dialectic Sumerian form of the Akkadian *gibil*, "fire." This is nevertheless as yet very doubtful. So much, however, is clear, that *Izdubar* is identical with *Nimrod*, whose deeds are still preserved in the mouth of the people in the lands of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and of whom the Bible, in the table of nations in Genesis, says, "And Kûsh begat Nimrod. He commenced to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. Therefore it is said, he is a mighty hunter before the Lord like Nimrod. And the beginning of his kingdom was Bâbel, Erech, Akkad, and Kalneh, in the land of Sinear (that is Sumêr). From this land, he went forth to Assyria, and founded Nineveh, Rehobôth 'ir, Kelah, and Resen, which lies between Nineveh and Kelah. These (four together) form the great city (Nineveh)."

So far as the contents of the Babylonian *Nimrod Epic* are concerned, which is of the highest importance for the right understanding of both the cuneiform and

the Biblical account of the deluge, these may be briefly stated as follows. The fragments which are preserved (unfortunately, the first part is completely gone) begin with a description of the sufferings which the city of Erech, at that time the chief city of South Babylonia, had to endure under the tyranny of Elamitish conquerors. Erech had formerly been ruled by Dumuzi, or Tammûz, the Babylonian Adonis; and, after his death, his wife Istar, or Astarte, the Babylonian Venus, had received the sovereignty. She, however, had not been able to withstand the invaders, or, as the cuneiform tablet says, "to raise her head before the enemy." Then appears Nimrod, who was already known far and wide as a mighty hunter, upon the scene. His family belongs to the Babylonian city Marad. His ancestor is Šamaš-napištim, whose surname is Adra-ḥašîs, or Ḥašîs-adra, the Xisuthros of Berossus. In Erech, he has a wonderful dream. The stars of heaven fall upon the earth and strike upon his back. A terrible being stands before him, provided with claws like a lion.

Nimrod is deeply moved by this vision. He questions all the wise men and seers, and promises to them rich rewards; but no one is able to interpret the dream. Then he hears of a seer who is greatly renowned on account of his "wisdom in all things, his knowledge of all that is apparent and hidden," who dwells, however, far from men in a lonesome wilderness in a cave among the beasts of the woods. "He ate his food by night with the gazelles, he kept company by day with the beasts of the field, he delighted his heart with the worms of the water." The name of this wonderful being, who, in the representations on the old-Babylonian cylindrical seals, is always set forth with horns upon his head, and with the feet and the tail of a bull, is Êabânî, that is "Êa (the god of the water deeps and of unfathomable wisdom) is my creator." At first, the sun-god Samas, the protector of Nimrod, attempts to induce him to come to Erech, and to interpret the dream of Nimrod. Then Šâ'idu, "the hunter," goes to him, but in vain. Finally Nimrod recommends to Šâ'idu to take with him the two women Šamḥatu and Harimtu, that they may win Êabânî over. At first, Šamḥatu comes to him, and then Harimtu, and "before their words," reads the fourth column of the third tablet, "fled away the wisdom of his heart, and vanished." He consents to go to Nimrod; but he determines to take with him a powerful *mandînu*, a lion of the desert, in order to put to the test the power of the much praised hero. Great festivals are arranged in order to celebrate the coming of the wise seer. Nimrod slays the lion; and thereupon Êabânî makes a covenant of friendship with him, and becomes ever after his inseparable companion.

What follows is, unfortunately, very much mutilated; but, out of the fragments hitherto found, it can be at least discovered that Nimrod and Êabânî form the determination to slay the Elamitish tyrant Humbaba. They force their way into the palace of the king, who in a kišat êrîni u surmêni, "in a wood of cedars and cypresses," had established his residence; and free Babylonia from the yoke of the foreign dominion of the Elamites. With this, closes the fifth canto of the epic.

The following tablet, the sixth (K. 231 in the collection of the British Museum) is, with the exception of the eleventh containing the episode of the deluge, the only one of which the original text has as yet been published in the London work on the inscriptions. I will, therefore, allow myself to give the story somewhat more fully at this point, and to seek at the same time to illustrate to some extent the modes of expression used in the poem.

After that Nimrod had killed the tyrant Humbaba, and had put the crown of

Erech upon his own head, he rose to the summit of power, so that even the goddess Istar sought to win his love.

“To the favor of Nimrod raised the majesty of Istar her eyes.” “Nimrod,” said she, “be my husband. Thou shalt be my husband, and I will be thy wife. I will make thee ride in a wagon of gold and precious stones. Kings, Princes, and Lords shall be subject to thee, and kiss thy feet.”

Nimrod, however, rejected her hand. “Thou didst love Tammûz,” said he, “over whom they mourn year by year. Thou didst love the eagle, and then didst break his wings. Now he sits in the forest, and cries, O my wings! Thou didst love also the lion, full of power; thou didst love a horse, courageous in battle; also Tabula, the shepherd, and Išullânu, the gardener of thy father; but all thou didst poorly reward. If now thou lovest me, it will happen to me as to them.”

“When Istar heard this,
Istar was angry and ascended to Heaven.
Then appeared Istar before the face of Anu her father and
Before the face of Anatu her mother, and said,
My Father, Nimrod has insulted me.”

With this ends the second column. In the following column, the angered goddess prays her father to create a divine bull and to send him against Erech. Anu grants her request; but the monster is killed by Nimrod and Êabânî. Êabânî seizes him by the horns and the tail, and Nimrod deals him the deadly blow. Then Istar mounts the wall of Erech, and utters a terrible curse. “Woe to thee, Nimrod” she calls, “woe to thee!” As Êabânî, however, hears these words of the goddess, he cuts off the member from the divine bull, and throws it in her face. Then Istar assembles her attendants, the Ŝamhâtî and the Harimâtî; and they made a lamentation over the member of the divine bull. But Nimrod has the bull brought, by his comrades, before the sun-god *Samas*, and consecrates to him the monster. Then they washed their hands in the Euphrates, took the road to Erech, and returned thither again.

The offense against the gods was at once followed by its punishment. Anatu, the mother of Istar, snatches away Êabânî by a sudden death, and smites Nimrod with sickness. Tortured with pains, and tormented by frightful dreams, the hero determines to go in search of his ancestor Ŝamaš-napištim, Hasîs-adra, the son of Ubaratutu, the far-off one, who leads, “at the mouth of the streams,” an immortal life, in order to ask him how he can find healing. He sets out on this journey, and comes to the scorpion-men, gigantic monsters with a double shape, who watch the sun at its rising and setting. Their feet rest in hell while their heads touch the lattice-work of heaven. One of the scorpion-men shows him the way to the land where dwells Hasîs-adra, who has been carried away to the gods; and Nimrod continues his weary wanderings. He travels through a wide extended unfruitful desert of sand until he comes to a wonderful grove, the fruit of whose trees is precious stones, and which is guarded by the two nymphs Siduri and Sabitu. Finally he comes to a body of water, and finds there the ferryman Amêli-Êa,* i. e. “Servant of Êa.” They embark together in the vessel, and Amêli-Êa steers towards the “Waters of Death.” After a long voyage, they come to the far-off land at the mouth of the streams, where Hasîs-adra dwells; and he now relates to Nimrod his deliverance from the great flood. This account

* [In the lecture, this name appears as Urubel. The form here given is Dr. Haupt's later transliteration of the euneiform characters.—S. B.]

of the deluge fills the first four columns of the eleventh tablet of the poem. Hasis-adra then makes known to Nimrod also the oracle of the gods in regard to the way in which he can be freed from the curse which rests upon him. Amêlî-Ēa takes the hero, and bathes him in the seas, and thus the curse is washed away. Then Nimrod embarks again in the vessel with the ferryman, and returns healed to Erech. Here he raises again his lamentations over his deceased friend Ēabânî, until at last the god Ēa hears him, and commands his son Merodach to lead back the shade of the seer from the under-world, and to suffer him to ascend to the land of the blessed, where the fallen heroes dwell, "lying on the beds of rest, and ever drinking pure water." With this, closes the poem.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, the "Father of Assyriology," was the first to point out (in a very sagacious article in the *Athenæum* of Dec. 7, 1882) that the twelve cantos of the poem evidently symbolized the course of the sun in the heavens, and that each tablet corresponds to a month in the year, reckoned according to one of the signs of the Zodiac. This view was afterwards farther developed by François Lenormant in his book "Les premières civilisations," and by A. H. Sayce in his suggestive lectures on "Babylonian Literature." Smith has expressed doubts about the correctness of this view. But it can scarcely be only accidental that, for example, Ēabânî, the wise bull-man, appears upon the scene in the second canto, to which the second month Iyyar, i. e. April-May, and, in the zodiac, the sign of the bull, corresponds; especially, since the name of the second month, in the old Sumero-Akkadian language, reads *iti guda shidi*, i. e., in Assyrian, *araḥ alpi išari*, "the month of the righteous bull." Or that, farther, Nimrod makes a covenant of eternal friendship with Ēabânî in the third canto, to which the month Sivan, May-June, and, in the zodiac, the sign of the twins, corresponds; that Nimrod falls sick in the seventh canto, the month Tishri, September-October, when the sun begins to be less powerful; that he meets with the scorpion-men on the following tablet, the eighth, which corresponds to the month Marcheshvan, Assyrian *Araḥšamna*, (New-Babylonian *Araḥšavna*.) i. e., "the eighth month," and in the zodiac, to the sign of the scorpion; that, finally, the account of the deluge is given in the eleventh canto, which corresponds to the eleventh month Shabaṭu, which is consecrated to the god of storms and rain, Rimmôn, and answers to the eleventh sign of the zodiac, the Water-bearer. In addition, it may be noticed that this month, in Sumero-Akkadian, has the name *iti asa sêgi*, or, in Assyrian, *araḥ arrat zunni*, "month of the curse of rain,"—we should say, "month of the sin-flood (Suendtluthmonat)."

I pass now to notice somewhat more particularly the account of the deluge, which is for us, indeed, the most interesting part of the whole epic. This eleventh tablet, which now exists in three copies, is the best preserved of the whole series. Only the beginning was very much mutilated. Hormuzd Rassam, it is true, two years ago, brought from Mesopotamia a little half-burnt fragment which purported to be the beginning of a fourth deluge tablet, and contained the important statement that the city Surippak, for which Berossus has Larankha, lay on the Euphrates; but, nevertheless, it had not been possible up to this time to translate the first twenty lines in a satisfactory way. Happily, there came to the collection of the British Museum a little while ago a small piece of a Babylonian clay tablet, on which this very beginning of the text is contained, nearly perfect. Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, the successor of Smith in the British Museum, had the goodness to send me, some days ago, a copy of this fragment. I am able, there-

fore, to give here, for the first time, the beginning of the cuneiform account of the deluge, true to the original.

"I will relate to thee, Nimrod," begins *Hasîs-adra* his account, "the story of my deliverance, and I will also make known to thee the oracle of the gods. Thou knowest the city of *Surippak*, which lies on the bank of the *Euphrates*. This city was very old when their heart impelled the gods therein to cause a deluge,—all the great gods, their father *Anu*, their counsellor the warlike *Bêl* their throne-bearer *Adar*, their guide *Ënnugi*. The Lord of inscrutable wisdom, the god *Êa*, was, however, with them, and announced to me their decision. 'Man of *Surippak*, son of *Ubaratutu*,' said he 'leave thy house, and build a ship.' [According to Dr. Haupt's later discoveries, the words "and save all the living things thou canst find," should be added here.—S. B.] 'They intend to destroy the seeds of life. Therefore, do thou preserve alive seeds of life of every sort, and bring them up into the ship.*

Then built I the ship, and furnished it with food. I divided its interior into †= . . apartments; I looked after the seams, and filled them up. I poured three sars of bitumen over its outside, and three sars of bitumen over its inside.‡

All that I possessed, I gathered together, and brought on the ship, all my gold, all my silver, and seeds of life of every sort, all my male servants and all my female servants, the cattle of the field, the wild beasts of the field, also my nearest friends,—all these I brought on board. When at last the sun-god brought on the appointed time, then said a voice, 'At evening will the heavens rain destruction. Embark in the ship, and shut thy door. The appointed time is come,' said the voice, 'at evening will the heavens rain destruction.' With anxiety, I awaited the going down of the sun on this day, the day on which I was to commence my

* [For what next follows in the lecture, the following later translation, made by Dr. Haupt from fragments discovered by him in the British Museum in May, 1882, ought to be substituted, and is, therefore, here given in its place. The German original has been published by Dr. Haupt in his work, "The Akkadian Language" (Asher & Co., Berlin, 1883).—S. B.]

† The ship which thou shalt build, *x* [the characters indicating the number are illegible.—S. B.] cubits in length its measure, and *y* cubits the extent of its height and breadth. Do not launch it into the sea.'

‡ As I heard this, I said to *Ea* my Lord, '[thy command,] my Lord, which thou hast thus made known, I will perform, I will accomplish. But the dwellers in the city, the people and the elders, will [flock together].'

Then *Ea* opened his mouth, and spoke. He said to me his servant, 'Then shalt thou thus say to them: 'I know that *Bel* is hostilely disposed towards me. I cannot remain in this city; in *Bel's* province, I cannot raise my hand. But I will not go down to the sea, but remain by *Ea* my Lord. But the heavens will rain down upon you a mighty flood of water: [men,] birds and cattle will [perish]. Only the fishes' [what follows is badly mutilated.—S. B.]

There is also a short passage of the lecture omitted from the translation at this point. This omission is made because the omitted portion, as Dr. Haupt says in his excursus (p. 3) in Schrader's "Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alt. Test.," "probably does not belong to a copy of the eleventh tablet of the *Izdubar* legends [in other words, the *Nimrod Epic*.—S. B.], but rather to a text which is related to this as 'the Journey of *Istar* to the Infernal Regions' (comp. Smith, *Chald. Genesis*, p. 198) to the seventh tablet of the epic."

This omitted portion reads as follows:—S. B.

"*Ea*, however, ordered me to carry out his commands, and said to me his servant, 'Shut not the door of the ship behind thee before the time comes in which I shall bid thee. Then embark, and take on the ship thy stores of grain, all thy possessions and goods, thy family, thy servants and maids, and thy nearest friends, The cattle of the field, the wild beasts of the field, will I myself send to thee, that they may be hidden behind the door of the ship.'"]

† [The characters are here illegible.—S. B.]

‡ [This paragraph is but a partial translation. The text is very imperfect here.—S. B.]

voyage. I was afraid, but I embarked in the ship, and closed my door, to shut up the ship. To *Buzurkurgal*, the helmsman, I entrusted the mighty structure and its load.

Then arose *Mû-šêri-ina-namâri* from the base of the heavens, a dark mass of clouds, in the midst of which the storm god *Rimmôn* made his thunder crash, while *Nebo* and *Sêrru* rush upon one another. The throne-bearers* stride over mountain and valley; the mighty god of plagues sets free the whirlwinds; the god *Adar* causes the canals continually to overflow; the gods of the great (subterranean) water bring up mighty floods, and make the earth shake with their might; the storm god's sea of waves mounts up to heaven; all light was changed to darkness.

Brother cares no more for brother; men trouble themselves no more about one another. In heaven itself, the gods are afraid of the deluge. They flee up to the (highest) heaven of the god *Anu*. As a dog upon his bed, crouch the gods on the lattice of heaven.

The goddess *Istar* shrinks as a woman in childbirth; the majestic goddess cries with a loud voice, 'Thus then is all changed to mud, as I prophesied to the gods. I have foretold to the gods this disaster, and made known the war of destruction against my men. But I did not bring forth my men for this, that they might fill the sea as the young of fishes.'

Then wept the gods with her over the spirits of the great (subterranean) water. Weeping they crouched upon one spot, and pressed their lips together. Six days, and seven nights, maintained wind, flood, and storm their mastery. But, on the seventh day, subsided the deluge, which, like a mighty army, had fought a battle. The sea retired to its bed, and storm and flood ceased.

But I looked † over the sea, loudly lamenting that the dwellings of men had been changed into mud. Like the trunks of trees, floated the corpses about. An air-hole had I opened; and, as the light of day fell upon my countenance, I recoiled, and sat down weeping; my tears ran over my face.‡

But, when the seventh came, I took out a dove, and let her fly. The dove flew hither and thither; but, since there was no resting-place there, she returned again to the ship. Then I took a swallow out, and let her fly. The swallow flew hither and thither; but, since there was there no resting-place, she returned again to the ship. Then I took a raven out and let him fly. The raven flew away; and as he saw the decrease of the water, he again came near wading carefully through the water; but he returned not again.

Then I let all out towards the four winds. I offered a sacrifice, and erected an altar on the summit of the mountain. I also set up seven *Adagur*-vessels, and spread out under them reeds, cedar-wood, and lightning-plant. The gods breath-

* [According to *Suess* ("Antlitz der Erde"), the water-spouts of the cyclone.—S. B.]

† [The word used in the lecture is *voyaged*. The word here given is a later translation by *Dr. Haupt*.—S. B.]

‡ [For what next follows, *Dr. Haupt* has given in *Suess*, "Das Antlitz der Erde" (p. 49) a later and better translation. This here follows in place of the passage in the lecture.—S. B.]

"I looked upon in all quarters (or, wherever I looked) a fearful sea. Towards the twelve abodes of heaven, (i. e. in all directions,) no land. Without purpose, the ship drove towards the region of *Nizir*. Then a mountain of the region of *Nizir* held the ship fast, and let it go no farther on high. On the first, and on the second day, the mountain of *Nizir* held the ship fast, and let it not etc. (Also) on the third and the fourth day, the mountain etc. (In the same way,) on the fifth and the sixth day, the mountain etc."]

ed in the odor, the gods breathed in the sweet odor. Like flies, crowded the gods around the sacrifice.

Upon this, came the majestic goddess (Istar), and raised on high the great bows which her father the god of heaven, Anu, had made. 'Evermore will I remember this day,' said she; 'I will not forget it. All the gods may come to the altar; only Bêl shall not come to the altar, because he rashly caused the deluge, and gave my men to destruction.'

As then the god Bêl drew near, and saw the ship, he was startled. He filled his heart full of anger against the gods and the spirits of heaven. 'No soul shall escape,' cried he: 'no man shall remain alive from the destruction.'

Then opened the god Adar his mouth, and spoke. He said to the mighty Bêl, 'No other than the god Êa has contrived this. Êa knew (about our determination), and has told him all.'

Then opened the god Êa his mouth, and spoke. He said to the mighty Bêl, 'Thou art the mighty prince of the gods. But why, why hast thou so rashly acted, and caused the deluge? Let the sinner suffer for his sins, the evil-doer for his deeds; but be gracious to him, that he may not be destroyed, pity him, that he may remain alive. Instead of again causing a deluge, let henceforth lions and hyenas come, and diminish the number of men, let a famine arise, and depopulate the land, let the god of pestilence come, and destroy the men. I have not informed Adrahasis of the determination of the great gods; I only sent him a dream: thus has he learned the determination of the gods.*'

Then Bêl came to his senses; entered into the ship, seized my hand, and raised me up; he raised up also my wife, and laid her hand in mine. Then he turned to us, put himself between us, and uttered the following blessing: "Hitherto was Šamaš-napištim a mortal man; but now he is, together with his wife, raised to the gods. He shall dwell in the far-off land at the 'mouth of the streams.'" Then he led me away, and gave me a home in the far-off land at the 'mouth of the streams.' Thus ends the episode of the deluge in the Babylonian Nimrod Epic.

It yet remains for us finally to speak of the relation of this account to the two Biblical accounts of the flood. The time does not allow me to treat this important question thoroughly. I must limit myself to making some brief suggestions.

A well known French Assyriologist has made the claim that the Babylonian and Biblical accounts of the deluge only harmonize in the items of the building of the vessel, the sending out of the birds, and the end of the submersion.

I cannot agree with this view. It seems to me that the two accounts have as much similarity to one another, as could be in any case expected. The variations which we meet, cannot seem striking; they are, for the most part, founded in the difference between the two lands and peoples. Here belongs especially the strong monotheistic coloring of the Biblical account, as opposed to the Babylonian polytheism. So also the account, in the cuneiform story of the deluge, concerning the building of the vessel, reveals, in every line, a people given to navigation. Here we read of an êlippu, a real ship, which is entrusted to a malaḫū [Heb. מִלְחָה—S. B.], a helmsman. In Genesis, on the contrary, the expression מִלְחָה is purposely avoided: because, according to the opinion of the author, ship-building, at the time of the flood, was not yet known. Noah receives, therefore, only the

*Only in consequence of his great piety was he able to understand this divine message. A wicked man would not have been able to interpret correctly the dream.

command to make a תִּבְרָה, a box. No trace is found, moreover, as it is natural to think, of the distinction of the Jehovist between pure and impure beasts. Also the measurements of the vessel do not harmonize in the Biblical and the Babylonian account, with both the cuneiform account and that of Berossus. Finally, there appears in the deluge episode in the Nimrod epic, together with the dove, Assyrian *shummatu*, and the raven, Assyrian *aribu*, the swallow also, Assyrian *shinûntu*.

Yet these are all only insignificant differences, which are of very little account.

More important is the difference in the statements concerning the duration of the flood. In the Elohist, the event lasts, on the whole 1 moon-year and 11 days, therefore just 365 days, a complete sun-year; in the Jehovist, 61 days; according to the cuneiform account, on the contrary, the flood rages for 7 days, and decreases for 7 days, lasts, therefore, on the whole, only 14 days. But even this variation cannot weigh very much, when contrasted with the perfect similarity which prevails in the two accounts, both in reference to the succession of the single items, and in regard to the details themselves, even to the forms of expression. If we keep before our eyes the fact that, in both accounts, the flood is conceived as a divine punishment, that, in both, the building of the vessel is exactly described, that a period of seven days is set forth, that the closing of the door is expressly made prominent, that the thank-offering after the flood is favorably received, that, in both, at the end, the divine promise is also given that henceforth there shall never come a deluge again, it will be perfectly clear that one account has been taken from the other. But, on account of the great age of the Babylonian account, which existed in a written form at least 2000 years before Christ, a borrowing from the Hebrew is impossible. There remains, therefore, only the possibility that the Hebrews took with them the legend at their emigration from Ur in Chaldæa, or that they first came to know it during the exile in Babylon.*

A final judgment on this question can only be given after we have the Babylonian originals of the rest of the ancient history in Genesis. As yet we possess, besides the account of the deluge in the Nimrod epic, only five fragments of the Babylonian account of creation, which exhibit different points of resemblance to the Elohist account of creation. Especially worthy of notice is it that here too, after each work of creation, is added *ubaššimû ilâni*, "the gods had done well." These tablets which, after the beginning of the first, "There was a time when neither the heaven above, nor the earth beneath, existed," bear the name "Series there was a time when above" have nothing to do with the Nimrod epic. The latter is, as has been already said, written upon twelve broad three-column tablets; the account of creation, on the contrary, on long small tablets, which contain on each side only one column.

Much work is still to be bestowed on this subject. Assyriology has as yet, unfortunately, only very few adepts to show; and, of these, again, only three or four are earnestly busied with the study of these texts. If fresh powers do not enter into this field of labor, much must for a long time to come remain unsolved. It is a difficult department, from which the most are frightened away by the mere complicated system of the characters, which, besides the numerous ideographs, makes use of 240 syllable signs. But every one who has overcome this difficulty, and devotes his powers to this new science, can be certain to find a rich reward for his pains.

[A short passage of the lecture is omitted at this point.—S. B.]

RUTH AND THE NEW CRITICISM.

BY REV. NEWELL WOOLSEY WELLS.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The brevity of the book of Ruth, and the almost idyllic character of its contents, might very naturally lead us to overlook it as having any practical bearing upon the discussion that is now agitating the Christian Church. At the same time, the divine Author of the Scriptures was not without a purpose in permitting its insertion into the canon; and in studying it we may well address to it the question directed by Mordecai to Esther, "Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

The date of the composition of the book of Ruth must remain a conjecture. The genealogical table with which it closes leads us to assign to it a date as late as, if not later than that of David. It may have fallen from the pen of the Psalmist although it is probable that some after writer has the merit of its authorship. The events recorded in it, however, cannot be assigned to a later date than the closing year of the fourteenth century before our Lord. They transpired, as the book itself informs us, in the time of the judges. For this reason the LXX. took the book from its setting after Canticles in the Hebrew Scriptures and arranged it as we have it in the English version between Judges and Kings.

The picture which we have here is of that time, therefore, in which Israel was in a state of insecurity and instability, for such was the character of the period known as that of the Judges. Instead of utterly destroying the Canaanites the children of Israel put them to tribute, and by disobedience to Jehovah, who had commanded extermination, wrought their own misery. At this time it was that the Moabites under Eglon, taking advantage of their weakness, smote them and brought them into subjection. Their bondage lasted eighteen years, after which God raised up the left-handed Ehud, who smote Eglon, delivered Israel and subdued Moab. Then "the land had rest fourscore years." This was probably the period during which occurred the events recorded in Ruth. Such were the relations between the two people, that Israelites felt perfect security in migrating to and residing in the Country of Moab, (Ruth 1., 1) while intermarriage with the daughters of Moab seems to have produced as little trouble of conscience as the intermarriage with the daughters of the Canaanites and Philistines had done.

Now we are asked by the "advanced" critics to believe that

the laws in the Deuteronomic and Levitical Codes as they distinguish them, are the result of the progressive development in religious ideas of the people of Israel. As to the former, we are told by Prof. Robertson Smith that "it was not known to Isaiah and therefore the reform of Hezekiah cannot have been based upon it." (The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, p. 354.) As to the latter, the same writer informs us that there is evidence to fix its date "later than Ezekiel," (p. 375).

But the book of Ruth contains certain circumstantial evidence to the existence of ordinances, found in at least one if not both of these codes, prior to the time of the Kings. True, it may be said that the observance of a custom does not presuppose the existence of a law. But we reply that such an observance is far stronger evidence for a law's existence than non-observance is for a law's non-existence, which is the first principle of the "Higher Criticism." Indeed, reasoning from the stand-point of that criticism we might demand that the existence of a law be granted as an historic fact wherever there is the general observance of a custom.

Now the book of Ruth contains evidence of an acquaintance with what is known as the Levirate Law, and not only of an acquaintance with it but also of a conviction of its binding force. That law finds expression in Deut. XXV., 5, *sqq.*, an acknowledged part of the Deuteronomic Code. "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger; her husband's brother (*marg.* next kinsman) shall go in unto her and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be that the first-born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel." Such was the Law. It is well that attention be called to the fact that the word "brother" as found in the Law is not to be construed literally. It embraces the idea of kinsman. This is evident from the fact that in Deut. XXII., 2 the term is used in regard to one not known by another, and in the book before us (IV., 3) Boaz speaks to the "kinsman nearer than" himself to Ruth, of "our brother Elimelech."

Acquaintance with this Law is indicated in the words of Naomi to Orpah and Ruth (I., 11-13) as well as in those of Boaz to the kinsman (IV., 5) and also in the whole history, of which these words form but a part. What had been apparently, to say the most, an occasional custom in the days of the patriarchs (Gen. XXXVIII.) was become in the time of the Judges an authoritative institution. It is an interesting fact that the elders of Bethlehem, in giving Boaz their best wishes

when he was about to take Ruth to be his wife, alluded to the history in this chapter referred to above as testimony to the blessing of God consequent upon obedience to the Levirate Law. Now where we find an occasional act thus becoming an authoritative custom, are we not warranted in inferring the existence of an ordinance giving legal sanction to the act? And if we find such an ordinance in the midst of a code whose other statutes bear evidence of equal antiquity, are we not warranted in concluding the co-extensive authority of the entire code?

But there is still further evidence in the book before us of an acquaintance with such a law. In Deut. XXV., 7-10, we read: "And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife, go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother. Then the elders of his city shall call him and speak unto him; and if he stand to it and say, I like not to take her; then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed" (lit., the loosed of the shoe). Here then we have the object of the Law brought out in the clauses "to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel," and "build up his brother's house." Compare with this the language of Boaz to the elders (Ruth IV., 10) "to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren and from the gate of the place." In the Deuteronomic Law we have also an injunction as to the method of dealing with the recusant individual who does not take pleasure, as the Hebrew has it, in performing the duty of *Yabham* or next of Kin. In Ruth IV., 7, 8) we find substantially an argument with this injunction. The next of kin having refused to take Ruth to wife, in the presence of the elders, at the gate of the city, (*cf.* Deut. as quoted above) plucked off his shoe and gave it to Boaz. Here is a variation from the original command but only in part. Boaz appeared in the stead of Ruth, which may be accounted for by the fact that she was a Moabitess, and as such would not be able to urge her claim with equal assurance of success as through a mediator of recognized standing; and the pulling off of the shoe seems to have the significance of renunciation and not of retaliation. But the variation is comparatively insignificant. The interesting fact is that the two acts are associated, the refusal to act the part of a kinsman, and the removal of the shoe, and

that in the presence of the elders, at the gate. Again we ask, Do not these various precautions and ceremonies indicate the existence of an ordinance by which they were made, to a certain extent, obligatory? And inasmuch as we find such an ordinance, in a code which the great majority of critics and students generally have been compelled to believe upon internal, as well as external, evidence, older as a literary composition than the fourteenth century before Christ, are we not warranted in the conclusion that the entire code was operative during that century?

It is worthy of remark in this connection that Jewish tradition of the time of our Savior ascribed the literary authorship of this law to Moses. The Higher Criticism cannot by any wiliness of casuistry escape the force of the words in Lk. XX., 28 "Master, Moses *wrote* unto us, If a man's brother die, etc." They are the record of a popular conviction, consequent upon careful tradition.

But once again, the book of Ruth bears evidence to an acquaintance with the law of a *goel*, or redeemer, during the time of the judges. In Lev. XXV., 15 we read "If thy brother be waxen poor and have sold away *some* of his possession and if any of his kin come to redeem it (lit., his *goel*, or redeemer, who is next to him, shall come) then shall he "redeem that which his brother sold" (lit., the sale of his brother). Compare with this law, accepted as a part of the Levitical Torah by the Higher Critics, the historic statements in Ruth. "And he (Boaz) said unto the kinsman, (Heb. *goel*), Naomi that is come again out of the country of Moab, selleth a parcel of land, which was our brother Elimelech's: and I thought to advertise thee (lit., I said I will open thine ear) saying, Buy it before the inhabitants and before the elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem *it*, redeem *it*; but if thou wilt not redeem *it*, *then* tell me that I may know; for *there is* none to redeem it beside thee: and I *am* after thee. And he said, I will redeem it." (IV., 4.)

There are several facts worth noting here. *First*. Boaz would not redeem the property of Naomi until he had first "advertised" the nearer *goel*. What restrained him from so doing? He recognized a superior right as belonging to another. Whence came that right? Does his act indicate a mere popular custom or the restraining influence of law? Unquestionably the latter. His summons to the elders indicates the fact that he recognized a well-known prior claim to his own, and that he willingly would have yielded, however the result might have conflicted with his desire. *Secondly*, the *goel* recognized the redemption as his duty and assented to it until he found that it involved acquiescence in the Levirate Law, in other words, that in tak-

ing the property he must take the wife. This would have interfered with his inheritance, so that he demurred. How came he to recognize the redemption as a duty, had there not been the obligation of law in it?

Thus it is that the short history of the book before us gives its evidence to the existence both of a Levitical and a Deuteronomic code previous to the later quarter of the 14th century before Christ. It is but confirmatory; for the whole Bible, both Old and New Testaments, bears evidence to the truth of the traditional belief of the Church in regard to its first books. It is little enough to say that some regard should be paid to the almost unanimous consent of the most diligent students of the Word of God in all ages; and that charges of ignorance should be withheld until "new" suppositions have an approximately unanimous consent.

▷GENERAL NOTES.◁

The Aramaean Portion of Daniel, a translation.—Of the Book of *Daniel* the first chapter is written in Hebrew, together with three and a half verses of the second chapter: then everything is in Aramaean till the end of the seventh chapter; after which the Hebrew recurs to the close of the twelfth and last chapter. We are instantly forced to ask the question, Why this alternation? The subject matter does not explain it. It is not a distinction between historical and prophetic, for of the six historical chapters one is Hebrew and five Aramaean, and of the six prophetic chapters one is Aramaean and five Hebrew. It is possible that two or three different authors who composed in different languages have been put together by an editor, but this is not probable; for the first chapter, in Hebrew, is a natural introduction for what follows in Aramaean, and the break between the two occurs in the middle of a story. I prefer, then, with Lenormant, to hold that the whole book was originally written in Hebrew, and that it was afterwards translated into Aramaean. At a later period the Hebrew of the six chapters following the first was lost, and the editor put the Aramaean in its place. We thus have a book composed in part of its original Hebrew, and in part of the Aramaean translation, or targum, of the original which has been lost. It is incredible that any single writer would have purposely composed a single book in two languages. If, however, when it was adopted at a very late period, as we know, into the canon, the editor, or scribe, or Sanhedrim was unable to find the entire Hebrew, it would have been natural to put the equally familiar Aramaean in its place, and thus complete the book. The Gospel of *Matthew* is another example of a book originally written in one language but presently lost in that language, and finally current only in a translation.

Besides, this theory explains satisfactorily the difficulties, otherwise not easily surmountable, which rationalistic writers bring against the historical character of *Daniel*. Chief among these is the use of Greek words, which could not have been

in vogue much before the time of Alexander and the Macedonian invasion. Of the six kinds of musical instruments, translated "cornet, flute, harp, sackbutt, psaltery, and dulcimer," in the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, four are pure Greek; and at the time of Daniel, Greek had not at all invaded the East: it was still an Ionian language. But if the Aramæan is a translation of an early Hebrew text, we escape the difficulty entirely of which so much has been made. Indeed, there is a pretty plain indication in the text that we have to do with a translation. Thus, where the transition comes from the Hebrew to the Aramæan we read, "Then the Chaldeans said unto the king in Aramean," as it is generally translated. But the word 'Aramæan' is a parenthesis to indicate that we now pass to a passage in that language: it should be read, "And the Chaldeans said to the king, [Aramæan text] O King, live for ever." The fact is that the Chaldeans did not speak Aramæan (or 'Syriac' as our version has it), but in Assyrian, a wholly different language, and the current version makes a serious difficulty which we avoid if we understand that the Aramæan is a later version. We find the same word 'Aramæan' employed to introduce a passage in that language in *Ezra*, where the received version says of the adversaries of the Jews who wrote to Cyrus: "The writing of the letter was in the Syrian tongue and interpreted in the Syrian tongue"—which makes pure nonsense. The translation must have been in Persian; and we should read, with the gloss in parenthesis: "And in the days of Artaxerxes, wrote Bishlam, Mithredates, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions unto Artaxerxes, King of Persia; and the text of the letter was written in Aramæan and accompanied by a translation, [Aramæan text]"—the letter following in Aramæan, as stated.

The Aramæan portion of *Daniel* being a translation has the same faults of translation that the Septuagint has, some of which are easily corrected. Thus, we have Nebuchadnezzar for Nebuchadrezzar, Abednego for Abednebo (servant of Nebo), Belshazzar for Belsharazzar, and very likely Meshach for Mesha-Marduk. There are some copyists' errors in the Hebrew as well as in the Aramæan chapters, one of which, in ch. ii., 1, makes Daniel in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar, before he had time fairly to get into the Chaldean school as a boy, to be already a learned interpreter of dreams.

We may add to this the error in ch. ix., 1, where Ahasuerus is put for Cyaxares. The sacred text is no more kept miraculously free from such copyists' errors than are the works of classical writers. No one would think of making the copyists' blunders in Herodotus an argument against its authenticity. No more should such an error be made an argument against Scripture, certainly not against the Book of *Daniel* which came very late into the canon, as its place in the Hebrew Scriptures indicates.—*William H. Ward, D. D., in the Journal of Christian Philosophy.*

The Occurrence of the Divine Names in Genesis.—In the fourth and fifth chapters of Genesis there is a fair occasion for testing the theory that by the use of one or other of the divine names one can trace the separate authorship of the component parts of the first book of the Bible.

In the fourth chapter we find the name Lord used throughout with one signal exception. This occurs in the twenty-fifth verse, where Eve says: "For God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel." In the fifth exactly the reverse is seen. Here the name God is used throughout with one signal exception. This is

in the twenty-ninth verse, where Lamech is represented as saying: "This one shall comfort us. . . . because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." How is it possible to doubt that the two names are used interchangeably, and that the variation has no reason save in the taste of the writer? Unquestionably both were known to him and both represented the same Being.

The explanation of this matter given by Hupfeld, Lenormant and others, is that the genealogies in these two chapters were originally the one altogether Jehovistic and the other altogether Elohistie, but the final editor suppressed a portion of each so as to establish a concordance between them. Wellhausen says that in the fifth chapter the thirtieth verse followed the twenty-eighth, and the twenty-ninth is an interpolation; and he offers the same explanation of the latter part of the twenty-fifth verse of the fourth chapter. To all these theories and to any others of the like kind, there stands the insuperable objection that they mangle the sacred text without any good reason. They first construct their plan of the authorship, and then manipulate the facts to suit themselves, which is just as unscientific as it is irreverent. We have the narrative in Genesis, and we have no collateral sources of information whatever. Now, this narrative may be accepted or it may be rejected, but no man has a right to adopt one part and repudiate another, for both stand upon precisely the same authority. The oft-repeated statement of a succession of editors each revising the work of his predecessor is nothing but a conjecture, and a conjecture with nothing to sustain it. There are no traces of tribal or national partialities at work. The Jews had too much reverence for their sacred records to allow any manipulation of them.

Besides, the whole appearance of the early portions of Genesis favors the common view that they are ancient records put together by Moses in order to show the basis of the great redemption to be wrought out through Israel and Israel's seed. Had these scanty narratives been worked over again and again, as we are told, surely the obvious gaps that exist would have been filled, the Elohistie and Jehovistic portions would have been separated throughout, or interblended more copiously, and the entire book would have but one coloring from beginning to end. It is insisted, therefore, that the fragmentary character of the document, and its likeness to an ordinary *Collectanea*, are the very features which, instead of confirming the notion of a divided authorship, followed by successive revisions, rather establish the traditionary opinion that Moses took the details which came down from the patriarch, and under divine guidance wove them into the consecutive history we now have.—*Talbot W. Chambers, D. D., in The Pulpit Treasury.*

➤ EDITORIAL NOTES. ◀

Bibliolatry.—It is the opinion of many that the Bible has come to be treated as an idol, a fetic, by the great majority of those who accept it as their rule of faith and life. It is conceded by this class that the Bible contains that which entitles it to reverence, but "in trying to express the reasons for this reverence," it is said, "men have over-stated and misstated the nature of these books. The symbol has been identified with the reality;" and so there has arisen an irrational reverence, which may be styled *Bibliolatry*. These philosophers go on to state that as a consequence of this *Bibliolatry*, or irrational reverence, there is to-day a great lack of reasonable reverence. We suppose that the truth of this asser-

tion depends largely upon the meaning assigned to the word under notice. That a majority of those who intelligently believe in the Bible and in its teachings have for it a blind and irrational reverence may well be questioned. There are some, however, of whom this may be said. One who feels that he cannot believe in a Bible of whose every word and letter he is not certain might be classed here. With such an one, the form assumes an undue prominence, while the meaning is overlooked. To believe the sacred text may contain a copyist's mistake, or an unauthorized interpolation, or a numerical error is, in his estimation, blasphemy. The assertion that Moses did not prophetically write the last chapter of Deuteronomy, that Samuel was not the author of the books which go by his name, that David did not write the seventy-second Psalm, is rank heresy. Now, this class of people, and it is not a small one, we believe, may be classed as Bibliolators. They may fairly be said to worship the Bible. Some of them are prepared to affirm the inspiration of the English version. It is remarkable, likewise, to what great length their *faith*, as they call it, will extend in matters of interpretation. The most difficult and unnatural explanation of a passage is always to be preferred, inasmuch as the glory of God is thereby seen more clearly. These interpreters find miracles where none were intended. Indeed, they find everything everywhere, and anything anywhere. They are, it is true, Bible-worshippers; they are also Bible-destroyers. They have an irrational reverence for the Divine Record, and at the same time a rationalism, than which none is more irreverent. If the Holy Writ has been brought into disrepute, these have done it. But are all Bible believers to be placed in this class? Is it legitimate for one who is opposing christianity to form his estimate of it from that corrupt form known as Romanism? Because some of those who have done most in the field of "higher criticism" are skeptics, shall all who work in that field be suspected and denounced? And because some cling idolatrously to the letter of the Word and entertain for it a superstitious regard, is it right that all should be judged by these? Nor may we say that he who believes the Bible to be the word of God, rather than that it contains that word, is to be classed as a Bibliolator. There is abundance of evidence to show that there has never existed a more rational reverence for this Book, than exists at the present time.

Hebrew in Colleges.—One indication of a growing interest in Old Testament study is the fact that an impression is coming to prevail more widely as to the advisability of making Hebrew a college-study. There are many and strong arguments to be urged in favor of this movement. There are many influential educators who favor it. Much has been done lately to call attention to the subject by Dr. John P. Peters, of New York City. It will not be without a struggle that the already crowded curriculum of our Colleges will admit a new department, even as an optional one. The most serious obstacle, as it seems to us, in the way of its admission, is the lack of men who are able to give competent instruction: but this obstacle in time can easily be removed. Two things are certain, the growing importance of Semitic studies demands that an opportunity be afforded for more time to be spent upon them by theological students, than the present arrangement of theological Seminaries will allow: and these studies are no longer to be pursued by students of divinity only. There are many others who, for various reasons, desire to pursue investigations in this department.

▷BOOK ❖ NOTICES.◁

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

JEWISH NATURE WORSHIP.*

The author of this pamphlet holds the view, that "a recognition of the independent principles of the male and female natures appears to underlie all systems of religion belonging to a primitive people." This was suggested by the operations of nature. The egg first suggested a creative principle, but afterward it was learned that this was only a passive principle. After briefly describing Hindoo Phallic worship, Egyptian worship, Phœnician Baal and Astarte-worship, traces of Phallic worship among Greeks, Romans and Americans, he takes up the ancient Jewish worship. *Elohim* includes the idea of *strength*, thus representing the masculine power, and also of *belly*, thus representing the recipient or productive principle. *El-Shaddai* means *strong-breasts*, thus containing both a masculine and feminine idea. The author finds evidence of Phallic worship in the second commandment, in 1 Kgs. xv., 13; 2 Chron. xv., 16; Jer. xi., 13; Hos. ix., 10. The greatest merit the book may be said to possess is its shortness. The etymological investigations are without foundation. That much of ancient pagan worship may be traced to the hermaphrodite or masculo-feminine principle is true; there is danger, however, of carrying this principle too far.

A HAND-BOOK OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.†

This book, as its author himself tells us, is an "account of the common English Version, from its first rude beginnings in Anglo-Saxon times, through all the changes it has undergone, to the form in which more than seventy millions of people diffused over the globe, now claim it as their common inheritance and joint possession." In their order are taken up, explained and illustrated the following: (1) Anglo-Saxon Versions; (2) Earliest English Versions; (3) The Wiclifite Versions; (4) Tyndale's Version; (5) Coverdale; (6) Matthew's Bible; (7) Taverner's Bible; (8) The Great Bible; (9) The English Bible during the last five years of Henry VIII., and under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; (10) The Geneva Bible; (11) The Bishop's Bible; (12) The Rhemes New Testament and Douay Bible; (13) The Authorized Version; (14) The Westminster Version of the New Testament.

We can conceive of no work which would demand more careful scholarship. On every page may be found the results of extended investigation. It is a book for close study, with Bible in hand. A mere perusal will not answer. The quality of the work no one can question. It will have a permanent value to all readers of the English Bible.

* *Jewish Nature Worship. The Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature among the Ancient Hebrews.* By J. P. McLAREN. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1883. Pp. 22. Price, 25c.

† *A Hand-book of the English Versions of the Bible.* With copious examples illustrating the ancestry and relationship of the several Versions, and comparative tables. By J. I. MOMBERT, D. D. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 900 Broadway, cor. 20th st. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 509.

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SOME FEATURES OF MESSIANIC PROPHECY ILLUSTRATED BY THE BOOK OF JOEL.¹

BY REV. EDWARD L. CURTIS, A. B.,

Instructor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, Chicago.

I.

The Book of Joel, the oldest of those of the Prophets, unless we except Obadiah, presents some of the fundamental features of Messianic prophecy. Indeed it was a type or model for the subsequent prophets and its leading thoughts are constantly re-iterated. Its date is about 850 B. C. The book divides itself readily into two parts. The first, I.-II., 17, contains an account of a fearful judgment, which had befallen Judah in a locust plague and a drought, together with a call to repentance. The second portion, the remainder of the book, the prophecy proper, gives promises—reparation for the damage of the plague, rich blessing upon Judah, judgment and destruction upon their enemies. Many critics, especially those who regard our prophecy post-exilic,² hold the first part to be an allegory; the locusts representing nations. The symbolical use of locusts in the Book of Revelation might favor this; but on the whole such an interpretation is contrary to the life-like, vivid, poetic description of the plague. It makes the writing instead of a free natural, though inspired, production answering to the heart of the people, an elaborate prophetic vision without much fixed or real meaning for the cotemporaries of the prophet or future generations. It strips the work of any sure interpretation, for what may not be the meaning assigned to locusts. An allegorical interpretation ought to be chosen only as a last resort, but in this instance the historical meets every requirement.

¹ A paper read before the Hebrew Summer School (1883) at Morgan Park.

² Critics of the school represented by Robertson Smith.

In choosing this book to illustrate Messianic prophecy it is self-evident that that term is not to be limited to predictions concerning an ideal king, the future anointed one of Israel, for no mention is made by Joel of such an one, but that it includes all predictions concerning future Redemption, concerning "the final completion of the kingdom of God and the future glorification of his people;" prophecies, the realm of whose fulfillment extends from the first to the second advent; and yet which are properly called Messianic, because Christ is the one in and through whom all is wrought. This broad definition is justified by N. T. usage. When Christ says the Scriptures testify of him¹ or when beginning at Moses and all the prophets he expounded in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself,² he can scarcely have referred only to those meagre passages which speak directly of his person, but rather he must have had in mind the whole testimony of the O. T. concerning him found in all the O. T. ideals, promises, in the incompleteness of ordinance and doctrine, which have their fulfillment in and through him. Paul speaks also of the Gospel being proclaimed aforetime³ and tells us that all the promises of God are aye and amen in Christ.⁴

⁵The Book of Joel making no mention of the Messiah but speaking only of the advent of Jehovah illustrates the fact that there are two lines of prophecy running through the O. T.—one presenting redemption as wrought by a human redeemer, the seed of a woman, of the patriarchs, of David, the child, the branch, the king, the priest, the suffering servant,—the other presenting redemption as wrought by a divine redeemer, Jehovah himself coming to his holy temple to set up his kingdom in Zion: a line of prophecy too often overlooked or little understood. "We must free ourselves," says Delitzsch,⁶ "from the prejudice that the centre of the O. T. Gospel lay in the prophecy of the Messiah. Where is the Messiah set forth as the Redeemer of the world, the Redeemer of the world is Jehovah. The coming of Jehovah is the centre of the O. T. Gospel." And this is the Gospel proclaimed by Joel. He describes the advent of Jehovah. Jehovah will pour out his spirit upon all flesh.⁷ The sun shall be turned into darkness,⁸ the moon into blood before the great and terrible day of Jehovah.⁸ Whosoever calleth upon the name of Jehovah shall be delivered.⁹ Jehovah will gather all nations and sit to judge.¹⁰ Jehovah will be the hope of Israel and the strength of Israel.¹¹ Jehovah dwelleth in Zion.¹² But whose advent is it when we turn to the N. T. application and fulfill-

¹ Jno. v., 39. ² Luke xxiv., 27. ³ Rom. i., 2. ⁴ 2 Cor. i., 20. ⁵ The features of Messianic prophecy now mentioned, merely in the order suggested by the book itself, give but a fragmentary presentation of that subject. ⁶ See his Commentary on Ps. lxxii. ⁷ iii., 1. ⁸ iii., 4. ⁹ iii., 5. ¹⁰ iv., 2, 12. ¹¹ iv., 16. ¹² iv., 17.

ment? Who is it that pours out the Holy Spirit? It is true that Christ says he will pray to the Father to send the Comforter,¹ but he also says that he [Christ] will send Him,² and he is the one who baptizes with the Holy Ghost.³ The Holy Ghost is poured out also only after the coming of Christ. And before whose advent are there to be signs in the sun and moon and the stars, even as described by Joel? Before that of the Son of Man.⁴ And in whose name is there deliverance? In the name of Christ.⁵ And who is the one before whom all nations shall be gathered? and who shall sit to judge? Christ.⁶ Jehovah the judge of the world in the O. T. appears in the New as Christ. In Him is the line of the prophecy of Redemption through the divine Redeemer fulfilled as well as that through the human.

If one then would find an argument from prophecy for the deity of Christ, let him study that line which proclaims future redemption through Jehovah. Let him see how, to borrow a beautiful figure from Delitzsch,⁷ in the night of the O. T. there arise in opposite directions two stars of promise. The one descending from above downward, the promise of Jehovah who is about to come, the other ascending from below upward, the hope resting in the seed of David, the promise of his Son. These two stars meet at last so as to form only one; the bright and the morning star Jesus Christ, Jehovah and David's son in one person, the king of Israel and at the same time Redeemer of the world, Son of Man and Son of God.

Joel's promise of the pouring of the Holy Spirit upon all flesh illustrates⁸ the direct spiritual side of Messianic prophecy. The O. T. looked forward not merely to a change in the outward circumstances of the people of God but more especially in their relation to God himself. Their present one was unsatisfying. Hence they yearned for a new one, and prophecy gave the assurance of this. There was the desire of Moses uttered so long before: "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them."⁹ And Joel gave the promise of the fulfillment of this. The knowledge of the counsels and will of God, close and intimate relationship and fellowship with him should no longer be the prerogative of a few, the prophets, the specially chosen servants of Jehovah; in the glad times of the future Redemption they would be the possession of all. This idea is set forth elsewhere, especially by Jeremiah, who speaks of the time when the law of the Lord shall be written upon the heart¹⁰ and all shall know Him from the least unto the greatest; and also by Ezekiel who says, Jehovah will give his people one heart and a new spirit

¹ Jno. xiv., 16. ² Jno. xiv., 26, xvi., 7. ³ Matt. iii., 11. ⁴ Matt. xxiv., 29, sq. ⁵ Rom. x., 13. ⁶ Matt. xxv., 31. ⁷ Commentary on Ps. lxxii. ⁸ iii., 1. ⁹ Num. xi., 29. ¹⁰ Jer. xxxi., 33, sq.

within them and cause them to walk in his statutes and keep his judgments.¹ There are also records of desires corresponding to these promises: Teach me thy statutes;² Create in me a clean heart, and renew right spirit within me,³ are utterances of the Psalmists. The blessings of the old covenant were incomplete. Men felt it. Hence their longings, which with their faith in Jehovah furnished a natural basis for Messianic prophecy. A newer and closer relationship with God was needed, a fuller assurance of the forgiveness of sin. The ritual of the old covenant, the sacrifices, the ordinances were not enough. A fountain of cleansing must be opened.⁴ The iniquity must be removed in one day,⁵ all things must be holy, even the valley of refuse,⁶ and the bells on the horses.⁷ It is unnecessary to show how all this sought and promised has been fulfilled in and through Christ. These are the most interesting of all Messianic prophecies and show how far the prophets were from being bearers of mere national hopes and desires, how far beyond material blessings went their thoughts. Also in touching upon this direct spiritual side of Messianic prophecy one seems to be nearest its divine side. There is a greater strength of argument for the supernatural origin of the Bible to the believer in the promised spiritual Salvation of the O. T. as realized in the New than in almost anything else.

Joel presents the idea of the remnant.⁸ This leads to a consideration of the matter of prophecy, which, says Oehler, may be defined by three elements, guilt, judgment and redemption.⁹ Both Israel and the heathen are guilty. Judgment falls upon both; but of Israel a remnant shall be saved, who inherit the promises of redemption, of which according to some of the prophets, there will be partakers also among the heathen. The idea of the remnant, however, is not especially prominent in the Book of Joel and there is no direct allusion to future judgment against the people of God. This may have been due to the readiness of the people to heed, repent, and so receive blessings from the Lord. Among the later prophets this idea is more conspicuous and, although it is as old as the curse of dispersion and blessing of restoration mentioned in the Pentateuch,¹⁰ two important reasons may be assigned for this. First, the almost complete apostasy of the nation, which gave the appearance that there might be none left to serve Jehovah, and hence the assurance of a remnant, even as to Elijah it was declared that seven thousand remained who had not bowed the knee to Baal. And secondly, this assurance was also needed when escape from annihilation by foreign enemies seemed impossible. After

¹ Ezek. xi., 19; xxxvi., 26, 27. ² Ps. cxix., 12. ³ Ps. li., 10. ⁴ Zech. xiii., 12. ⁵ Zech. ii. 9. ⁶ Jer. xxxi., 40. ⁷ Zech. xiv., 20. ⁸ iii., 5. ⁹ Oehler's *O. T. Theology*, § 215. 1. ¹⁰ Deut. xxx., 1-6.

the destruction of the ten tribes, for example, when Assyria and then Chaldæa were closing in upon the people of God. The capture of Jerusalem became inevitable. Then, when it looked as though all the people of God would be lost, came the promise that a remnant would be saved, a remnant which in the end should be greater than the original number.

But if Joel has alluded but slightly to the judgment of the people of God, he has in the well-known description of the judgment of the heathen in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and of final redemption given a picture which served as a model for subsequent prophets and is the classic passage for the understanding not only of the predictions of the O. T. but also of the New. We notice first the time of this event and secondly the terms of its description.

In those days and at that time is the judgment to come.¹ When now? When did Joel expect the future judgment and blessing? At what time did he place them? In those days and at that time refer to the events mentioned in the preceding chapter, the pouring out of the Spirit, etc., whose occurrence was to be *afterward*; after events in the midst of which the prophet was living, or of which he was cognizant as near at hand. Thus he joins the most distant future to the present. Joel there represents that which from N. T. testimony we know found its fulfillment on the day of Pentecost, to say nothing of that which may yet be unfulfilled, as close at hand. The locust plague which he had witnessed, was the herald, the immediate forerunner of the great and terrible day of the Lord. The blessings given in response to the repentance of the people at that time correspond to final blessings and are joined with them.² From the promise of rain, abundant harvests, the prophet passes immediately to that of the outpouring of the Spirit. Thus the far distant future appears near at hand, although it is possible that Joel did not reflect over the times at all, the declaration of the divine will being sufficient. But the general law of prophecy is that future redemption is ever near.³ The prophet has his own narrow historical horizon and immediately beyond that is the day of the Lord, the Messianic times. This explains the N. T. passages which speak of the second coming of Christ as close at hand. They are after the spirit and manner of O. T. prophecy. This explains also how events most widely separated could be presented with no line of demarcation between them. Joel's prophecy covers all the time from the day of Pentecost to that far distant, or it may be near at hand, unknown epoch when the Son of Man shall come in the clouds in all his glory to judge the quick and the dead. And so also it is with the other

¹ iv., 1. ² Cf. ii., 21-27, with iii. ³ An exception to this law may be found in the Book of Daniel.

prophets. Isaiah crowds into one picture the deliverance of the people from Babylonian captivity and their restoration to the promised land with Messianic redemption, the admission of all nations into the Kingdom of God, and finally the creation of the new heavens and the new earth. Thus also it is in N. T. prophecy. Christ associates the destruction of Jerusalem with the end of the world.

THE RESULTS OF MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.*

BY PROF. D. G. LYON, PH. D.,

Hollis Professor of Divinity, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Biblical Criticism is the application to the Bible of the modern spirit of inquiry. It has for its object the fixing of the scriptural text, the exegesis of individual passages and of the biblical books as wholes and the determination of the date and authorship of the various books of the Bible. As thus defined, biblical criticism does not differ from the critical study of any other ancient writings and it has no canons which do not belong to the criticism of other books. For the establishment of the text, in cases where the text is in doubt, criticism makes use of manuscripts, of parallel passages, of versions, of quotations and sometimes of conjecture. For the exegesis, date and authorship it receives help from every source which gives any information of the writer and his times.

Associated with the questions as to the authorship of any given passage, comes the further inquiry as to the origin of the ideas contained therein. Finding, for instance, in the book of Genesis certain narratives, and in other parts of the Pentateuch certain institutions, which existed in a somewhat different form among other peoples, criticism asks, Are these traditions and institutions original with this or with that people, or do they go back to a still earlier source? There is indeed no conceivable question of any possible relation to the Bible which criticism hesitates to ask.

The spirit in which this all-inquisitive science pursues its investigations is worthy of special remark. We sometimes hear of "hostile" criticism and not seldom of "advanced" criticism, which is also suspected of hostility. While some of those engaged in the study are known to be devout men, who love the Bible, others are viewed with distrust, as if they hated the best of all books and examined it with the express object of covering it with contempt. Nothing could be more erroneous than this opinion. While many biblical critics may be hos-

tile to certain views which many other persons hold regarding the Scriptures, yet neither the science of criticism nor any serious student of the science is hostile to the Bible itself. Indeed, criticism would cease to be science the instant it began to hate. On the other hand, biblical criticism does not love the Bible. In common with all science its only aim and its only love is truth. The Bible is to it what the stars are to the astronomer or the flowers to botany—the field of its exploration within which it seeks the truth. Biblical criticism as criticism is the same whether practiced by a pietist or a rationalist. The term “devout criticism” would be impossible—fully as much as the term “Christian science.” The spirit of a critic may be Christian or otherwise; science has no religion and is hostile to none. To every subject which she approaches she comes with the same calm and impassive spirit. Her only enthusiasm is in the pursuit of the truth and in the conviction that her search shall be rewarded.

In seeking for truth as to the Bible, biblical criticism subjects to the severest test every statement bearing on the subject, whether found in the Bible itself or in so-called profane history or from whatever source it comes.

Toward the supernatural it manifests the same impartial spirit. It does not demand extra-human instrumentality where it sees sufficient explanation in the human. At the same time it does not deny the supernatural when the claim is supported by sufficient evidence. Criticism does not deny miracle, far less does it deny that impalpable influence from above which mysteriously acted on the minds of the worthies of the Bible.

Toward the consequences of its own research it is equally unheeding. In vain to say, You endanger the creed or the basis of morals and of good society. A change in the creed concerns criticism no more than a change in the weather and it has as little to do with morals as with religion. To all who would reproach her she replies, Truth for its own sake is my aim and truth cannot conflict with good. This absence of theological interest and disregard of warning has caused biblical criticism to be often misunderstood and has won for her not a few enemies. Conscious of clean hands and pure motives she leaves her vindication to the future. She has no personal aims. What she to-day holds to be ascertained she will gladly surrender to-morrow if disproved or exchange for larger truth. For her one step nearer truth is worth more than the applause of worlds, one step from the truth more painful than the reproach of worlds.

To a certain extent all intelligent readers of the Bible are critics, but by the results of biblical criticism can be meant, of course, only

the results which have been reached by specialists. The objection that specialists are not always agreed can, so far as it is well-founded, only give larger liberty to non-specialists, but cannot take out of the specialists' hand the right to answer a multitude of questions which none other can answer. In deciding the date and authorship of a psalm the opinion of a specialist is worth that of a thousand who have not studied the subject. Majorities count as little here as they did when the earth was regarded as plane and immovable. All that the layman can do in the case of any science is to accept the results reached by specialists, or if these are for any reason distrusted or distasteful he must possess himself of the materials and the methods, in other words become himself a specialist and give to others the truth. This proposition is so clear as to need no elaboration. On any given ethical question the voice of the combined world may not be worth comparing to that of one man who has made a thorough study of that question. What is obvious in regard to all other sciences ought to be obvious in regard to the science of biblical criticism.

Certain parts of the results of biblical criticism are necessarily negative, because the materials for a positive judgment are wanting. This is particularly true as to the authorship of various writings. To many other questions criticism feels bound to return an answer at variance with the oldest tradition. Without being able to offer a substitute she is often able to say that an existing view is certainly wrong. Hence the widespread opinion that biblical criticism is essentially negative and destructive. But if she thus acknowledges the limits of her power, she commends herself by the act; and if she appears in the role of iconoclast, it is that she may remodel the fragment into a statue of more beautiful proportions.

Criticism is more decidedly constructive than destructive. It takes a tradition, shows its relation to the same tradition found elsewhere and makes it for the first time intelligible. It shows that a psalm which has been ascribed to David was written by an unknown hand centuries later and the psalm acquires at once new meaning. A book of prophecies supposed to date from a certain time and author it shows to belong a century and a half later, and thus the book once presented in its historical setting glows with light, revealing the life of its times and receiving new life from its times. Criticism may rob the theologian of a proof-text but by showing the true meaning it puts honor on the Bible. In curbing the wild career of the spiritualizer, who sees a double meaning in all parts of the Bible, it does not fail incidentally to provide the homilist with new and solid material for instruction. The Bible in ceasing to be a magical book, from which anybody can prove

anything, becomes of vastly increased value for history and religion. The biblical writers become veritable flesh and blood, at once the product and the authors of their times. The life which they live becomes real. Their struggles are such as we daily pass through. To them spoke the same divine voice which comes to us. In a word they are our brethren living in their times and speaking to their times. The Bible by thus becoming more real, becomes more helpful. If criticism had accomplished no work but this, it would be a science worthy of all recognition and welcome.

The subject of the results of modern biblical criticism is so broad that a full discussion would be a large volume on biblical introduction. Even a full catalogue of results without discussion would make a lengthy paper. A short essay must content itself with naming some of the chief results, illustrating one or two of these by brief discussion. In order somewhat to narrow the subject what follows will be confined exclusively to the Old Testament.

One of the first and surest conclusions of criticism is that the Pentateuch in its present form is not the work of Moses. The book as a whole nowhere claims to have been written by Moses, and criticism shows that it was not written by any individual, but is a growth, having many authors and covering a long period of time. Some of the parts, for instance, the itinerancy of the wanderings in the wilderness and certain collections of laws may indeed date from the time of Moses. Other parts were written after the rise of monarchy in Israel and still others after the full development of the ritual. The order which the books of the Pentateuch now have does not represent the order of time in which they were written for the book of Deuteronomy is older than Leviticus. The author or authors of each of the books perhaps made use of written materials which were at hand and most of the books bear traces of successive revisions. Genesis is composed of several writings brought together, whose differences are in some cases so striking as to be plainly noticeable even in a translation; for instance, the two accounts of creation and of the deluge. With respect to the narratives of creation, criticism has shown that the literal interpretation is the only justifiable one and that the literal correctness of these narratives cannot in the light of other sciences be maintained. It shows also that various passages, such as Balaam's prophecy, which have been supposed to refer to the coming Messiah, have a totally different reference, while the blessing of Jacob was written after the establishment of the tribes rather than at the beginning of their history. Many of the pentateuchal etymologies of proper names are of more than doubtful correctness; the derivation of Babel, for example,

the name of the city Babylon, from a verb meaning to confound (Gen. XI., 9), being a hopeless attempt to explain a word whose meaning was probably unknown to the writer.

The historical books of the Old Testament biblical criticism has shown to be not always chronological accounts of the times to which they refer. The book of Judges, for instance, gives most valuable material for the times preceding the monarchy, less in the form of history than of pictures set in an artificial chronological frame-work and from these pictures criticism is able to some extent to reconstruct the history. The book is really a sermon intended to promote the worship of Jehovah. The books of Samuel and of Kings, in their present form the work of several different editors, composed to a considerable extent of older documents, partake also largely of the fragmentary character of the book of Judges. Repeating and supplementing the same material as the books of Samuel and Kings, the very late book of the Chronicles confines its attention to the fortunes of the house of David and to the interests of the Levitical law and temple-worship.

Criticism shows the prophetic books to be for the history of the centuries in which their writers lived of higher value than the historical books proper. Since the prophets preached and wrote for their own times, there are numerous allusions to political events at home and abroad and to the moral and religious condition of the people which at the same time fix the date of the prophet and elucidate the prophetic message. Thus the first Isaiah (Isa. I.-XXXIX.), in spite of the fact that the chronological order of his writings has become badly deranged, is for the picture of his times, but especially of Israel's foreign relations, of inestimable value. The second half of the book called Isaiah criticism has shown to belong to the closing years of the Babylonian Exile and to be of the first importance for this period. Criticism declares that our present book of Jeremiah has submitted to great changes at the hands of an editor, and that the book of Daniel was not written by a contemporary of the Exile but several generations later and is indeed in part real history cast into the form of visions. It shows that Jonah is written by a man who can scarcely himself have been familiar with the city of Nineveh, while Zechariah like Isaiah is the work of at least two different men separated from each other by long intervals of time.

To illustrate the work of criticism in another class of biblical writings. Criticism shows that the traditional authorship of the psalms is in most cases doubtful, and that some of the psalms date from the Exile and others possibly even later, so that it would be impossible to regard our Psalter as existing in its present form in the times of David

or Solomon. It shows also that the book of Ecclesiastes cannot be the production of Solomon but came from a much later writer, from one who had far less interest in the pleasures of this world than Solomon is supposed to have felt.

But one may ask, With what right does criticism in such a multitude of cases reach conclusions contrary to hoary tradition? Let a brief account of one or two cases afford a partial answer.

The present book of Isaiah consists of three distinct parts, a collection of prophecies with various historical notices (I.—XXXV.), a second collection of prophecies and exhortations (XL.—LXVI.), and these two collections are separated by four historical chapters (XXXVI.—XXXIX.). Criticism teaches that the second collection has not come from the same hand as the first. In the light of what we know of the close of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century B. C., light coming from the Old Testament historical books, from other contemporary prophets, such as Hosea, from the extensive and growing cuneiform literature and from the first 39 chapters of the book of Isaiah itself—from what we know of this period by all these sources the conclusion is inevitable that the standpoint from which the writer of chapters XL.—LXVI. views events does not belong to these times. On the contrary, the whole coloring arises from the last years of the captivity in Babylon. In reply to the claim that a prophet of the early part of the seventh century may have been lifted out of his surroundings and transported into the midst of a state of affairs which did not exist till 150 years later, it must be said that all things indeed are possible, but a weak possibility must yield to a stronger probability. Why should Isaiah have been thus transferred into scenes so utterly unlike those of his times, when this has happened in the case of no other prophet? Why should he make no reference to the disaster which was to overtake Israel and Judah, but should view both kingdoms as long since overthrown, Jerusalem destroyed and the temple burnt? The people whom the prophet addresses are in Babylon and he comforts them with the promise of return to the land of their fathers. Babylon is now the great world-power, Assyria has passed away. The Persian empire is fast rising to sweep away the Babylonian and the fame and victories of Cyrus are familiar to the prophet. Otherwise also the tone is altogether different from that of the first 35 chapters. There is very little of prophecy against foreign nations. The Jews are no longer threatened with ruin because of their sins. They have already been crushed beneath the oppressor's foot, and are now penitently enduring the chastisements which God has laid upon them. The best element among them, the spiritual germ, rises almost to the personality of an

individual who by his patient sufferings expiates the sins of his people. But the end draws nigh. The Jews shall return to Palestine and become a blessing to the world. From Jerusalem shall go forth the law. She shall be called the city of Jehovah, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel, her people shall all be righteous and shall inherit the land forever. Now all this is perfectly natural to a prophet of the time of Cyrus but inexplicable as coming from a contemporary of Hezekiah. While there are still some students who are not convinced by such considerations, yet the conclusion that the present book of Isaiah was written by at least two men may be classed as one of the certain results of modern criticism. It is perhaps purely accidental that this unknown Isaiah came to be bound up along with the real Isaiah.

To return once more to the pentateuchal question. Criticism has concluded not only that Moses did not write the book of Deuteronomy but that he is not the author of any considerable part of the book. It is generally conceded that the book of the law of Jehovah found in the temple in the days of Josiah (2 Kgs. XXII.) was substantially our book of Deuteronomy. Until that time this book does not seem to have been known. Its provisions as to places of sacrifices and priestly orders are very explicit. Yet pious judges, kings and prophets disregarded these provisions for a succession of centuries, and that without apparent consciousness that they were violating any law, and Samuel could hardly have acted as he is reported to have done when the people of Israel demanded a king (1 Sam. VIII.) if he had dreamed that the great law-giver had already made provision for the election of such a sovereign (Deut. XVII.).

Much later than Deuteronomy criticism places the highly developed ritual of the book of Leviticus. The point of view is in many respects totally different from that of the ritual portions of Deuteronomy. Criticism brings a mass of argument to show that Leviticus was written at a time when the voice of the prophets no longer echoed with its living power, when the religious life of the people had lost its glow and was degenerating into that dead formalism which is so sharply rebuked in the gospels of the New Testament.

But such results, one says, are mainly negative. True, they put the negative on a large number of conceptions which in our minds have been inseparably associated with the Old Testament. But criticism does not stop here. It proceeds to rebuild and in the new structure all of the old material finds its place. It undertakes in all seriousness to reconstruct the history of that people from the midst of whom the Old Testament sprung. The separate writings of this collection mark the stages through which the life of that wonderful people passed.

Criticism gathers them up, re-arranges them according to the data and thus gives us a consecutive history of the life of Israel. It sees in the Old Testament numerous indications of a time when the national life was forming, a collection of nomadic tribes binding themselves together by common interest and devoted to the same mode of religious worship. This formative period continues for a long time, the leadership of the people passing easily from one hero to another, according as each distinguished himself by his prowess or his wisdom. During this period the established and regulated religious and social order of later times does not exist, each man is his own priest, there are many sacred places and there is a constant tendency to the worship of the gods of the surrounding nations. At last Saul arises and is acknowledged king. Under him and his immediate successor the work of consolidation and centralization are so successfully carried on that Solomon finds himself the head of a united people. But in the days of his successor a schism occurs and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are involved in constant wars. During this period arises a class of preachers called prophets, zealous advocates of the worship of Jehovah, seeking to banish the worship of other gods from among the people. These prophets have left no literary remains possibly excepting fragments which may have furnished material for later books. Following them came the race of writing prophets, mighty preachers of righteousness, still seeking to win the people from idolatry to which they so tenaciously clung. By degrees the priestly class also rose in importance and stood by the prophets in the fight for Jehovah, but, in contrast with the moral righteousness insisted upon by the latter, these were more concerned with ceremonial righteousness. The centralized government and the attempts to centralize the worship proved favorable to the development of the priestly power. As the political fortunes of the northern kingdom grow more precarious, the great prophets Isaiah and Hosea arise to insist on fidelity to Jehovah and the necessity of moral goodness. Israel passes away and Judah hastens to its end. In spite of the prophets and of royal attempts to repress idolatry the people continue to worship other gods. At last a book, which is essentially our book of Deuteronomy, is published. But the ruin cannot be stayed. Jerusalem is destroyed. Jeremiah and Ezekiel continue to preach righteousness and the second Isaiah rises to heights not attained by any other prophet. With the return from captivity there is no more royal pomp and no more need of voices raised against idolatry. There are no more great prophets. The worship of the one God has indeed become fixed and this is a vast stride. But at the same time the priestly form has triumphed over the prophetic word

of life, the ritual as it exists in Leviticus is wrought out, and a religious formalism arises which grows more burdensome until the great Teacher of the New Testament takes up again the message of the prophets and proclaims the necessity of moral righteousness.

By this reconstruction of the history, this consecutive view of Israel's life, criticism robs us of nothing and gives us much. Royalty, prophecy and priesthood become intelligible. At the same time the Old Testament loses none of its claim to reverence. In those parts which are of most value for the religious life, the devotional parts, most specially of the psalms and of the prophets, there is a wonderful gain in understanding, in beauty and in usefulness. The life of the writers and actors did not move forward in prepared grooves. It was real life struggling toward the light, toward the truth, toward God. No one can view the men of the Old Testament in this character without having his sympathies enlisted and without drawing from their lives and words lessons of wisdom for this world and for the world to come. All hail then the science which reveals the hidden life of Israel and unlocks for our use the treasures of the incomparable productions which spring from that life!

CHRONOLOGICAL.

BY PROF. H. G. MITCHELL, Ph. D.,

Boston University, Boston, Mass.

It would at first sight appear an easy matter to construct a chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel. One would think it necessary only to fix almost any date and reckon backward or forward, testing one's calculations by comparing the two columns thus constructed. Any one who has made such an attempt knows that the problem is by no means so simple. There are, indeed, those who have declared it insoluble. Probably no one has offered a solution which would be generally accepted. The present writer does not claim to have met all the difficulties in the case. He merely asks attention to certain suggestions which may throw light especially upon the chronology of the eighth century before Christ.

The discrepancies to be explained are apparent from the following table, constructed as one would naturally arrange the data given in the second book of Kings. The starting-point is the year 721 B. C., as about the date of the fall of Samaria. The references show whence the data used have been obtained.

B. C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
821.....	15 of Amaziah.....	{ 1 of Jeroboam II. (14, 23).
		} 13 " " (15, 1).
807.....	1 of Uzziah.....	{ 15 " " (14, 21).
		} 27 " " (15, 1).
793.....	15 " "	41 " " (14, 23).
770.....	38 " "	Zechariah (15, 8).

B. C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
769.....39	of Uzziah.....	{ Shallum.
		1 of Menahem (15, 17).
760.....48	“ “	10 “ “ (15, 17).
758.....50	“ “	1 “ Pekahiah (15, 23).
756.....52	“ “	1 “ Pekah (15, 27).
755.....1	Jotham.....	2 “ “ (15, 32).
740.....{ 16	“ “	{ 17 “ “ { (15, 33).
	{ 1 “ Ahaz.....	{ (16, 1).
737.....4	“ “	20 “ “ (15, 27).
736.....20	Jotham.....	1 “ Hoshea (15, 30).
729.....12	Ahaz.....	1 “ “ (17, 1).
726.....1	Hezekiah.....	3 “ “ (18, 1).
725.....16	Ahaz.....	4 “ “ (16, 2).
721.....6	Hezekiah.....	9 “ “ (17, 6).
713.....14	“ “	(18, 13).

There are two cases, those of Uzziah and Hoshea, in which a king seems to be distinctly said to have begun to rule at two different times. There are three gaps, viz. 794—770, 760—758 and 736—729, in the succession of the Kings of Israel.

There are two kings of Judah, Jotham and Ahaz, who seem to have ruled after having been succeeded by their sons.

Ewald does not scruple to change or neglect the figures of the sacred historian. He ignores the passages which trouble one in fixing the successions of Uzziah and Hoshea, and he fills two of the gaps just mentioned by lengthening the reigns of the preceding kings. He then makes the Judæan kings follow one another in unbroken order, adding a new name to the list of the monarchs of Israel. This is the result :*

ACCESSION.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
823.....	.....	Jeroboam II.
808.....	Uzziah.....	.....
770.....	.....	{ Zechariah.
		{ Shallum.
		{ Kobalam.
769.....	.....	Menahem.
759.....	.....	Pekahiah.
757.....	.....	Pekah.
756.....	Jotham.....	.....
740.....	Ahaz.....	.....
728.....	.....	Hoshea.
724.....	Hezekiah.....	.....

Ewald finds the name Kobalam in the phrase קָבַל-עַם, 2 Kgs. xv., 10, in our version rendered “before the people.” He gives the year 719 B. C. as that of the fall of Samaria.

Lenormant resorts to a different process when dealing with this subject. He supposes that, after the death of Jeroboam II., there was an interregnum of eleven years before Zechariah succeeded his father. The gap which seems to exist between the death of Pekah and the accession of his assassin, is filled by introducing a second Menahem who is supposed to have interrupted the reign of Pekah. Having surmounted these difficulties he finally produces the following scheme.†

* *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. III. Appendix.

† *Mémoires D'Histoire Ancienne*. I., 247.

ACCESSION.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
827.....		Jeroboam.
810.....	Uzziah.....	
784-73.....		<i>Interregnum.</i>
773.....		Zachariah.
772.....		} Shallum.
		} Menahem.
761.....		Pekahiah.
759.....		Pekah.
758.....	Jotham.....	
742.....	Ahaz.....	<i>Menahem II.</i>
733.....		Pekah (restored).
730.....		Hoshea.
727.....	Hezekiah.	

Our author claims* to have found in a couple of Assyrian inscriptions a warrant for the introduction of a king nowhere mentioned in the Scriptures, who, he thinks, was probably the son of Pekahiah.

A much more ingenious attempt at the reconciliation of these chronological difficulties is that of Bunsen in his "Chronology of the Bible."† To this end he multiplies co-regencies among the kings of Judah to such an extent that not one of them is permitted to have the throne to himself during the whole length of his supposed reign; and Joash of Israel is always associated either with his father or his son. The following table is a condensed representation of Bunsen's scheme.* The numbers in brackets are the Biblical data.

B. C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
806.....	36 of Joash.....	14 of Jehoahaz.
805.....	[37]	(15) 1 " Joash.
804.....	38 [1] of Amaziah.....	(16) 2 " "
803.....	(39) 2	(17) 3 " "
802.....	(40) 3	(4) 1 " Jeroboam II.
801.....	4	(5) 2 " "
800.....	5	(6) 3 " "
799.....	(6) 1 of Uzziah.....	(7) 4 " "
798.....	(7) 2	(8) 5 " "
790.....	[15] 10.....	(16) 13 [1] "
789.....	(16) 11.....	14 "
776.....	(29) 24 [1] of Uzziah.....	[27] of Jeroboam II.
762.....	[38]	41 [1] of Zechariah.
761.....	[39]	} [1] Shallum.
		} [1] Menahem.
760.....	40	2 "
752.....	48	10 "
751.....	49 Unaccounted for.....	(11 or no reign).
750.....	[50]	[1] of Pekahiah.
749.....	51	2 " "
748.....	[52]	[1] " Pekah.
747.....	[1] of Jotham.....	[2] " "
739.....	(9) 1 of Ahaz.....	10 " "
732.....	(16) 8 [1] "	[17] " "
731.....	(17) 9.....	18 " "
728.....	(20) [12].....	[1] " Hoshea.
727.....	13	2 " "

* *Histoire Ancienne*, I., 281.

† *The Chronology of the Bible* connected with contemporaneous events in the history of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Egyptians. By Ernest de Bunsen.

B. C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
725.....	(15) 1 of Hezekiah.....	4 of Hoshea.
724.....	(16) 2	5 " "
723.....	3	6 " "
722.....	[4]	[7] " "
720.....	[6]	[9] " "

There are "a few things" in this scheme to which objections may perhaps justly be made. It is, in the first place, too complicated. That co-regencies occurred in both kingdoms must doubtless be admitted, but one can hardly imagine the conditions of things such as it is here represented. Bunsen, moreover, thus multiplies a certain class of improbabilities. Commentators have, for example, often asserted that there must have been some mistake or alteration made in 2 Kgs. xviii., 2, whence one must conclude that Ahaz was but eleven years of age when his son Hezekiah was born. The table just given requires one to believe that Amaziah was blessed with a son at fifteen and Jotham in like manner at thirteen years of age. This is of course possible, as some have labored to prove, but the multiplication of such instances does not commend the scheme which requires them. In one place, however, our author exposes himself to criticism by failing to discover an instance of co-regency. Jotham is represented as taking no part in the government of Judah until the death of his father, yet he is expressly, both in Kings and Chronicles, said to have been "over the house, judging the people" while Uzziah was yet alive.

Let us see if this last scheme cannot be modified so as to make it more acceptable. Taking the year 721 B. C. as our starting-point and introducing co-regencies only where there seems a warrant for them, we obtain the following result :

B. C.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
804.....	12 of Amaziah.....	13 of Joash.
803.....	13 " ".....	(14) 1 of Jeroboam II.
801.....	15 " ".....	(16) 2 " "
800.....	(16) 1 of Uzziah.....	4 [B] " "
787.....	(29) 14.....	17 " "
786.....	15 [B].....	18 " "
777.....	24 [B].....	27 " "
764.....	37	41 " "
763.....	38	Zechariah.
762.....	39	} Shallum.
		} 1 of Menahem.
756.....	(45) 1 of Jotham.....	7 " "
753.....	(48) 4	10 " "
752.....	(49) 5	(?) " "
751.....	(50) 6	1 " Pekahiah.
749.....	(52) 8	1 " Pekah.
748.....	9 [B].....	2 " "
741.....	16	9 " "
740.....	1 of Ahaz.....	10 " "
734.....	7 " ".....	16 " "
733.....	8 [B] ".....	17 " "
730.....	11 of ".....	20 " "
729.....	12 ".....	1 " Hoshea.
727.....	(14) 1 of Hezekiah.....	3 " "
725.....	(16) 3 ".....	5 " "
724.....	4 [B] ".....	6 " "
721.....	7 ".....	9 " "
711.....	17 [B] ".....	" "

Let us now test the modifications which have been made.

The length of the co-regency between Uzziah and his father is shortened, not merely for the reason already given but for the sake of connecting it with important events. Amaziah, inflated by his successes against the Edomites, challenged Joash of Israel to battle. The result was disastrous to Judah. Her army was "put to the worse before Israel," her king captured and her capital despoiled and rendered defenceless, (2 Kgs. XIV., 13, sq.) This probably took place just before the death of Joash, in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of Amaziah. The latter was finally released by Joash, for he was put to death by his own subjects, but he may have remained some time in captivity, and, when he returned, wisely shared the government with his son. Uzziah would thus virtually have begun to rule in the sixteenth year of his father's reign, although he did not mount the throne for fourteen years from that time. It is doubtful if he even then really governed his kingdom. It was probably for several years subject to Jeroboam II. Uzziah, however, at length not only broke the yoke which had been laid upon his people but greatly enlarged his kingdom. The new era for Judah may well have begun in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam probably ruled in conjunction with his father during the war with Judah. Indeed this must have been the case if, as one has a right to suppose, Zechariah immediately succeeded him,

Eight years before his death, according to the table, Uzziah retired from public life and suffered his son Jotham to administer affairs. The gap in the chronology of the kings of Israel is thus filled and the express demand of the sacred text satisfied. It is necessary, however, in order to do this, to neglect the statement that Pekah's death occurred in the twentieth year of this king of Judah, which should perhaps be corrected by dropping the proper name.

The case of Ahaz is more difficult. It seems impossible to understand how, if the scheme proposed is otherwise correct, he could have succeeded to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah. He must rather have begun to reign, and that alone, in the tenth year of his enemy. There is a circumstance, which, though it should not be considered a key to this mystery, is worthy of mention. It is apparent that Jotham was no sooner in his grave than the enemies whom he had during his life bravely and successfully resisted began to afflict his kingdom. They formed a conspiracy whose evident intent was to blot it out of existence. Ahaz was powerless. He was defeated first by Rezin of Syria, then by Pekah of Israel. The Edomites also and the Philistines made inroads upon his territory, taking immense numbers of captives, (2 Kgs. XVI., 5, sq.; 2 Chron. XXVIII., 5, sq.) In his extremity, virtually if not actually dethroned, Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kgs. XVI., 7) who severely punished Pekah (2 Kgs. XV., 29) and afterwards took Damascus and carried its inhabitants into captivity, (2 Kgs. XVI., 9, cf. Schrader KAT. 240, sq.). Now the first expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against the confederate princes occurred in 734 B. C. and, above, the first year of Ahaz, the seventeenth of Pekah, was 733 B. C. The coincidence is striking. It would almost seem as if Ahaz, to flatter his Assyrian master, made his reign begin with his vassalage to that monarch.

The improbability that Hezekiah was born when his father was but eleven years of age has already been noticed. Since, then, the text must be corrected, any correction that may be made, as, for example, fifteen for twenty-five, will allow a co-regency of two or three years. Such an administration is rendered probable by

the character of Hezekiah, whose piety and patriotism cannot have failed to impress the nation. If he began to rule in 727, but to exercise sole authority in 724 B. C., the fourteenth year after the latter date was 711 B. C., when Sargon made his first expedition against Judah. It remains [but to call attention to the year 752 B. C., which appears to separate the reign of Menahem from that of his son and successor, Pekahiah. This interval may be accounted for by supposing that Pekahiah, who was finally dethroned, was thus long prevented from gaining the throne, or that a year is lost by the method of calculation employed by the historian.

These explanations will suffice to make the accompanying table clear to the reader. Little has been said concerning the relation of Hebrew to Egyptian and Assyrian chronology, though it has not been overlooked. That subject can be treated in a future paper, perhaps by a more competent writer. The latest discoveries in Assyriology can be reconciled with the sacred records rightly understood.

THE RELATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TO THE NEW.

BY REV. WILLIAM BURNET,

Vicar of Stradsett.

Modern rationalizing attacks on the faith [have come upon us as a kind of Nemesis for the comparative neglect of Old Testament study, and through God's superintending care over His Word and His Church] they have been overruled for good, in drawing more intelligent attention to the ancient Scriptures. Many have been thus led to examine reverently and thoughtfully its relationship to the New Testament, its Divine claims, its moral teaching, and its doctrines respecting God and the future life.

Our present inquiry shall be, What is the relationship which connects the Old Testament with the New? This question, it is evident, can only be determined by reference to the later Revelation, partly because, having followed the Old, it is in a sense pledged to account for its appearance as an additional message from Heaven; and chiefly because the incarnate Word of God Himself was the immediate source of its inspiration. Accordingly we find a fourfold connection established between the two dispensations: (1) that of a common *origin*; (2) that of an *outline* sketched in the one and completed in the other; (3) that of prophetic *anticipation*; and (4) that of a moral *preparation*.

I. On the first point it may be here sufficient to remind our readers of the manner in which our Lord and His Apostles constantly appeal to the Old Testament as "the Word of God," the Scripture which cannot be broken, "the living oracles," the Law of which "one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away till all be fulfilled." The Son of God, as it has been well remarked, trod the precincts of His own Divine Temple with His shoes put off from His feet. He never spake of the Holy Scriptures but with the profoundest regard. Though its author, He became its servant. With the sword of the Spirit, directed by His thrice-repeated "It is written," He put to flight the Tempter. All His discourses and discussions are supported by frequent references to the Law and the Prophets; and in every detail of His life and death He shaped His course in conformity to the prophecies that had gone before on Him. Even in His dying agony recalling one that had not yet

been accomplished—that the Scripture might be fulfilled—He said, “I thirst;” and when He had received the vinegar, but no sooner, He exclaimed, “It is finished.” So also after His resurrection His own summary of the teaching of the forty days was this, “That all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms” (the three recognized divisions of the Jewish Canon) “concerning Me” (St. Luke xxiv., 44). Treading in the Master’s steps, the Apostles and Evangelists in their preaching and writings always built on the same foundation. St. Paul, for example, in one place asserts, without reserve, that “Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope” (Rom. xv., 4); and in another passage “that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God” (2 Tim. iii., 16). In fact, the same Holy Spirit who guided them into all truth, and brought Christ’s words to their remembrance, moved, as St. Peter declares, holy men of God to indite the prophecies (2 Peter i., 21). It is also not a little remarkable that in one verse St. Paul cites a sentence from the Law, and a saying of our Lord recorded by the Evangelist; as both alike parts of the Word of God: “The Scripture saith, ‘Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,’ and ‘The laborer is worthy of his reward.’” (1 Tim. v., 18). We will not, however, here enlarge further on this branch of our subject, unspeakably important though it is in its bearing on the controversies of our day.

II. We rather hasten to ask whether this common Divine origin involves a perfect equality between the Old and the New Testament? We have no hesitation in affirming that it does not. The very nature of the former dispensation as expounded in the latter leaves no room for doubt as to the superiority of the latter.

All God’s works are indeed perfect for the end which He intends them to fulfil. The acorn is perfect as a seed such as no human skill can imitate, and yet not perfect as the majestic oak which it produces. A child may have all its physical and mental powers completely formed, but is not perfect as the full-grown man. There is a grandeur and a loveliness peculiar to the early dawn, although it has not the overpowering majesty of the noontide sun. So it was with the Old Testament. In 1 Cor. iii., St Paul very carefully distinguishes between the Law and the Gospel. The one he terms “the ministration of death,” the other “the ministration of the Spirit;” the former “the ministration of condemnation,” the latter “the ministration of righteousness.” The difference between them he defines to be one of degree, not of kind. There was a Divine glory in both; but the Gospel exceeded in glory. He argues that, if the ministration of death was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance, which glory was passing away, how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? The majesty of the Law was indeed awful and sublime; but it was seen fitfully gleaming athwart a cloudy medium of types and symbols, which resembled the veil of Moses; whereas, under the Gospel, believers are permitted “with unveiled face to behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, and are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Lord the Spirit.”

Thus the Law was, as we learn from the Epistles to the Hebrews, a shadow of the good things to come, and not the very image of the things (Heb. x., 1). “There is verily a disannulling of the commandments going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof” (Heb. vii., 18). The shadow corresponds in form and outline with the object which casts it; but it lacks its color, substantial

body, and minute details. The sketch drawn by a master-painter of some lovely landscape describes its principle features with equal truth, as does the finished picture, although in the picture itself we find a living reality and a completeness of detail impossible in the sketch. Such an outline sketch was the Old Testament. It portrays man as made in the image of God, but fallen very far from his original righteousness and inclined to evil. It reveals God as the pure and holy One, hating iniquity, and visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, to the third and fourth generation of them that hate Him; while He is at the same time "merciful, gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth" (Ex. xxxiv., 6). But it was left for the Gospel to reconcile these apparently opposing attributes, and to show how He can be just, and yet justify the sinner that repents and believes. The future life, with its eternal sanctions, is disclosed with increasing clearness in both, while life and immortality are brought to light by the Gospel. There is, then, no inconsistency between them, but the same truths are taught with different degrees of clearness and completeness. "Contrast," writes Mr. Birks, "is not contradiction; it is one element in the most complete and perfect unity. The hues of light in the rainbow are contrasted with each other, and still they are only pure light analyzed and separated into its varying elements. And so it is with the truths of the Law and the Gospel. In one we have types; in the other antitypes. In one holy severity is more apparent; in the other tender compassion and grace. But the contrasted truths interpenetrate the whole. The Gospel, with its richest grace, is virtually contained in the Law; and holiness, in its deepest and most solemn tones of warning, blends everywhere with the rich harmonies of the Gospel promises" (*The Bible and Modern Thought*, p. 402).

III. So far we have been regarding the Old Testament from our own more favored point of view under the Gospel. But we have further to notice that which to every intelligent and unprejudiced reader must be very plain, that the new dispensation is anticipated throughout the old. The prophetic element, of which it is full, renders them mutually dependent on each other, and inseparably connected. As the late venerated Canon Stowell beautifully observed, borrowing an illustration from the Tabernacle of witness, the Old Testament is fringed with taches, on which the New places successively the appropriate loops. Or, to vary our metaphor, it is like some noble but unfinished cathedral, whose choir has not yet been added, but whose nave and aisles have been so constructed as to lead up to the inner sanctuary, and to imply the architect's intention that at some future time his design should be completed. So we not only can now trace from the beginning to the end of the ancient Scriptures—from Genesis to Malachi—outlines of God's mind and purposes, which harmonized with their completion in the Gospel, but intimations ever increasing in clearness and fulness of the time, manner, and means of their accomplishment. And if some of these anticipations had not already been fulfilled, and others were not in the course of fulfilment, the books would be proved to be lying legends, while the New Testament would have been almost meaningless and unintelligible.

Moreover, in estimating the value of fulfilled prophecy it is important to bear in mind that it is by no means confined to the writings professedly prophetic; but it is so closely interwoven with the sacred history, that any attack on its veracity may be fairly met by an appeal to the fulfilment of the prophecies so indissolubly wedded with it. The first promise of a Savior is embedded like a sparkling ruby

in the dark history of the Fall. That concerning the sons of Noah, and God dwelling in the tents of Shem, is in immediate connection with the Deluge. Those which mark out the race of Abraham as that from which the Lord should come to whom the promise was made, are intimately associated with the successive epochs of the Patriarch's life; just as again the announcement of the Shiloh as to spring from the tribe of Judah, and the marvellously exact panorama of the future of the other tribes, are bound up with the closing scenes of Jacob's life. The prophetic office of Messiah is foretold by the great Prophet of Israel in contrast with his own, in the same manner as some of the earliest intimations of Christ's kingly office are based on records of the reigns of David and Solomon. So, too, the otherwise obscure and burdensome enactments belonging to the Levitical priesthood—especially the laws of sacrifice—shine forth with the brightest significance in the light of the high-priesthood of Christ and of His finished atonement. Nor is this all. The predictions also of the later prophets more or less take their rise from contemporaneous history, and their fulfilment so far confirms the truth of that history. More than this, the very proportions in which the prophecies were given are indications of the Divine Hand. First they appear few and faint, like the stars at evening; and then they are seen lighting up the spiritual firmament with increasing number and brilliance. This is, as Dr. Davison pointed out, an additional evidence of their inspiration. "In the general simplicity," he observes, "of the earlier records of prophecy we have a pregnant evidence of the veracity and good faith of the sacred historian. For, with respect to the antediluvian period, who does not see that room was given by the defect of permanent authentic memorials of that time, and by the opportunities of a broken tradition, intercepted in many of its channels by the ruin of the Deluge, to cast back upon that period more favorable and prominent revelations of prophecy than are now to be found in the Pentateuch ascribed to so early an origin? For example, some monument of prophecy to bear upon the history of the Jewish people, or any other subject incident to the time of Moses, or his own purposes, might have been carried to that remote age more safely than the later predictions, which do actually occur, could be submitted to scrutiny with the more distinct checks of a recent evidence pressing upon them. But there is an absence of all such remote and well-accommodated predictions; and whilst the scantiness of early prophecy, in its actual records, is no impeachment to the Mosaic Scriptures for every end of our faith and instruction, it is one of the many palpable indications of the truth and integrity with which they were written." (*Discourses on Prophecy*., p. 90).

Inasmuch then as prophecy is thus interwoven as part of the very web and woof of the Old Testament, it cannot be torn from it without a denial of its claims to be a revelation from God, while such a denial must necessarily involve the removal of the foundation on which the New Testament, and so Christianity, rests. But all the preverse ingenuity and hypercriticism of Rationalists must fail to eliminate this to them obnoxious element from God's Word. For, to take the lowest ground, even if they had succeeded in proving that the Pentateuch was only finally thrown into its present form during the latest days of the Hebrew monarchy, still the fact would remain unassailable of the existence of the thirty-nine sacred books in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about B. C. 168. These books contain distinct and minute predictions of the person, character, work, suffering, death, and resurrection, as well as kingdom, of the Messiah, whom the Jewish people from the earliest days to the present hour have looked for; and those predictions

have received their complete and detailed accomplishment in Jesus of Nazareth. In fact, if we had only left us the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians, which the most remorseless critics admit to have been written by St. Paul, the strength of this position would not be seriously impaired. Prophecy would still be like the spinal marrow in an animal organism, connecting the Old Dispensation with the New by the pulsations of a common Divine life, and constituting them together as one organic whole, which the Spirit of truth alone could have called into being as the visible imperishable Temple of His presence.

IV. Thus far we have taken a rapid summary view of the bearings of the close relationship of these two integral parts of the Bible on our faith. It remains to indicate very briefly its intended practical effect. The Old Testament, and especially the Mosaic Law, we are distinctly told, was designed to be a system of moral preparation for the Gospel. "The Law," writes St. Paul, "was our tutor" (R. V.) "to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith" (Gal. III., 24). Looking back from our Christian vantage-ground in the school of Christ, and sitting at the feet of Jesus beneath the shadow of His Cross, on all the dreary ages of painful discipline through which God's ancient people passed, we can clearly discern the propriety of this typical ceremonial, of the progressive teaching of the prophets, as well as of the severity of God's providential appointments in making ready a people prepared for the Lord. Not less useful in this respect as well as in others is the study of the Old Testament now. Its moral precepts, its types and shadows, and its prophetic symbols are doubtless still meant to convince of sin, to exhibit the deep corruption of the human heart, while they portray with every variety of illustration the one all-sufficient remedy for human guilt and misery. When all this is unfolded in the clear sunlight of the Gospel, and under the teachings of the Holy Spirit, the very contrast enhances our appreciation of the unsearchable riches of Christ. [From *The Christian Church*.]

➤GENERAL NOTES.◀

The Poor-Laws of the Hebrews.—According to Lev. XIX., 9, 10, not a field was to be harvested nor the fruit of a tree to be gathered without leaving a portion of it for the poor. The minimum quantity to be so left is fixed in the Mishna at the sixtieth part; and the law applies to all kinds of cereals and of pulse, to the produce of the vineyard, the olive plantation, and nearly all other fruit trees.

Besides these so-called "corners," the poor were entitled to the gleanings, and to any portion inadvertently left behind in the field. The non-Israelite poor were admitted, equally with the Israelites, to participate in these gifts. (Maimonides, "Gifts for the poor," I., 9).

An important provision was the tithe for the poor (מעשר עני), which was levied as a second tithe every third year, or more accurately, in the third and sixth year in each cycle of seven years. It amounted to about nine per cent. of the whole produce of the land, and in its distribution some liberty of action was conceded to the proprietor. By referring to an instance of modern statistics, it is computed that these agricultural gifts alone safeguarded the poor against starvation.

During the seventh or Sabbatical year, when, according to Ex. XXIII., 10, 11,

there was to be no sowing nor reaping, the spontaneous productions of earth and tree were free to every one, rich and poor alike. It is impossible to calculate to what extent the poor were benefited by this law; but the regulations concerning the Sabbatical year lead to the inference that the pauper population was not exposed to pressing want.

Another boon conferred upon the poor by the Sabbatical year was the cancelling of debts. According to the Mosaic law, money lending as a profitable business was rendered an impossibility. The law enjoins the lending of money to those who are in need, as an act of benevolence, and the Rabbins declare, "Greater is he who lends than he who gives alms." (Sabbath 63, *a*).

It was, however, found in the course of time that the law of cancelling debts exercised a paralysing influence on commercial transactions, and a remedy was introduced by Hilel (who lived in the time of the Emperor Augustus), by which the effect of the Sabbatical year was evaded.

Instituting a brief comparison between these laws, and the Licinian rogations among the Romans, as well as the *σεισαχθεια* introduced by Solon, it appears that these laws of the Romans and Greeks were purely *remedial*, while the laws enacted among the Jews were *preventive*. Nevertheless, they did not have the effect of extinguishing raperism, and a field was still left open for charity properly so called, or almsgiving.

The word which has obtained currency among the Jews for the expression of "charity," or rather "alms," is צדקה. Throughout the Old Testament this word signifies "justice" or "righteousness," its Greek equivalent being *δικαιοσύνη*, but in Rabbinical writings it is invariably used in the sense of "benevolence" or "alms."

From very early times regular organizations for the relief of the poor existed in Jewish communities. They appointed well-known and trusty men who were charged with the collection and distribution of charitable gifts. There was a daily collection of eatables, known by the name of תמחוי—literally a vessel or dish—and there was a weekly collection of money, called קופה—literally a box (Baba Bathra, 8, *b*). The contributions were not always voluntary, but in many communities the members were assessed, and the payment of poor-rates was then enforced. The obligation of maintaining the needy extended to the non-Israelite poor. (Gittin, 16, *a*).

It was one of the most essential conditions insisted on in almsgiving that it should not be done in public. The same idea is expressed in the beginning of the sixth chapter of Matthew; but whilst the New Testament passage appears to be chiefly against ostentation, the leading idea in the Rabbinical injunction is a tender regard for the feelings of the recipient, as it is considered sinful to put a man to shame in public.

The most delicate consideration was exhibited in the case of men who had once been in good circumstances, but had become reduced. In the temple at Jerusalem there was a room set apart, called לישבת חשאים, "the chamber of the silent," where pious persons deposited money for charitable purposes, and where descendants of good families, who had become reduced in circumstances, secretly obtained relief. (Shekalim, v., 6).—*Dr. S. Louis, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, June, '83.*

The Explanation of the Biblical Names Shem and Japhet.—Some years ago I put forward the opinion that the Biblical names Shem and Japhet found their

explanation in the Assyrian words *samu*, "olive-colored," and *ippatu*, "the white race." I am now more than ever persuaded that I was right in this suggestion. Will you allow me briefly to give my reasons for making it?

The meaning of the name of Ham has long been recognized. It is an amalgamation of the Hebrew חם, "hot" (a root which is also met with in Assyrian), and the Egyptian *kem*, "black," which was frequently used to denote the land of Egypt itself. Shem, according to the ordinary rule, would correspond with the Assyrian *samu*, the Assyrian s representing a Hebrew ש in proper names. Now, *samu* signifies much the same color as the Greek γλαυκός. Its nearest English equivalent would be "grey," which is sometimes used of blue eyes, sometimes of a color that is almost brown. Similarly, while *samu* can be employed to denote a stone, which was probably the Sinaitic turquoise, it was also applied to a mist or cloud. Whether the bye-form *siamu* is the Hebrew חם I will not decide. In any case Professor Delitzsch is certainly right in saying that *samu* is "probably grey, and perhaps brown." It is, in fact, like γλαυκός, "olive-colored," and would thus be appropriately applied to denote the color of the skin of the so-called Semitic population in Western Asia.

Japhet answers almost exactly to the Assyrian *ippatu*, the feminine of *ippu*, "white." Now in the bilingual hymns and elsewhere the Sumerians of Southern Babylonia are called sometimes "black heads," sometimes "black faces," and this "black race" seems to be meant by the word *adamatu*, which is given as the Semitic equivalent of the Accadian *adama*. The latter word was expressed by two ideographs which literally denoted "black blood." At all events *adamatu* would be a close parallel to *ippatu*, the feminine being employed, as is usual in Semitic languages, to represent an abstract noun.—A. H. Sayce, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June, '83.

Use of Proof Texts.—Another sin against the Bible is often committed by the indiscriminate use of proof texts in dogmatic assertion and debate. They are hurled against one another in controversy with such difference of interpretation that it has become a proverb that anything can be proved from the Bible. The Bible has been too often used as if it were a text-book of abstract definitions giving absolute truth. On the contrary, the Bible was not made for ecclesiastical lawyers, but for the people of God. It gives the concrete in the forms and methods of general literature. Its statements are ordinarily relative; they depend upon the context in which they are imbedded, the scope of the author's argument, his peculiar point of view, his type of thought, his literary style, his position in the unfolding of divine revelation. There are occasional passages so pregnant with meaning that they seem to present, as it were, the quintessence of the whole Bible. Such texts were called by Luther little bibles. But ordinarily, the texts can be properly understood only in their context. To detach them from their place and use them as if they stood alone, and deduce from them all that the words and sentences may be constrained to give, as absolute statements, is an abuse of logic and the Bible. Such a use of other books would be open to the charge of misrepresentation. Such a use of the Bible is an adding unto the Word of God new meanings and taking away from it the true meaning. Against this we are warned by the Bible itself (Rev. xxii., 18-19). Deduction, inference, and application may be used within due bounds, but they must always be based upon a correct apprehension of the text and context of the passage. These processes should

be conducted with great caution, lest in transferring the thought to new conditions and circumstances, there be an insensible assimilation first of its form and then of its contents to these conditions and circumstances, and it become so transformed as to lose its biblical character and become a tradition of man.* It is a melancholy feature of biblical study that so much attention must be given to the removal of the rubbish of tradition that has been heaped upon the Word of God now as in the times of Jesus. The Bible is like an oasis in a desert. Eternal vigilance and unceasing activity are necessary to prevent the sands from encroaching upon it and overwhelming its fertile soil and springs of water.—*From Briggs' Biblical Study.*

The Position of Palestine.—In a former article it has been shown that Palestine was admirably fitted to secure the isolation of the Jews while the great preparatory process for the Bible was going on. Let another fact equally as important and extraordinary be noted. By its position Palestine, at the time of the communication of the Scriptures, was the hinge of the three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe; the focal point of the world's great centres of influence. In its immediate vicinity lay both the most densely populated countries and the most powerful states of antiquity. On the South was Egypt; on the North and East Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. Still closer were Tyre and Sidon, whose vessels touched at every harbor then known to navigation, and whose colonies were planted in each of the three continents of the old world.† The great routes of inland commerce between these and other nations lay either through a portion of its territory or within a short distance of its borders.

“Protected by their natural barriers the Jews for five hundred years remained undisturbed by the great nations by which they were finally overpowered, sufficiently long for their national life and ideas, in their essential peculiarities, to become settled and unchangeably fixed. And yet Palestine was so situated as to bring the Jews under a constant cosmopolitan influence.”‡ When the time came for the great nations East and West to move back and forth, and for ships from afar to plow the sea, Palestine necessarily came into contact with race after race. It was on the dividing line between the oriental and the occidental world; and the Jews accordingly were brought face to face with men of almost every nationality. By its position, Palestine became a sort of elevated platform upon which the being and unity of God were exhibited to all the world;§ and upon which Israel became the focal point for all the world's modifying and molding influences. The situation of Palestine secured for centuries, on the one hand, the seclusion of the Jews until their religious convictions and principles were settled, till the dialect of the kingdom of heaven was formed and fixed, till they were trained for their sublime mission to humanity—and it was so situated, on the other hand, as to bring its people under the widest and most diversified influences, when God's time had arrived. The Jew, by virtue of his religion and his location, became at once the most exclusive and the most cosmopolitan of men—a character which he retains to this day. And the Book which has been given to the world through the Jew is precisely of this nature—the most intensely exclusive, the most amazingly universal. That Palestine entered as no unimportant factor into the accomplishment

* *Westm. Confession of Faith*, I., 6.

† Geikie. ‡ G. M. Peters. § Fairbairn's "Typology"

of this divine result is apparent. Fashioned and furnished by the Creator's hand, it gathered into its narrow limits the characteristic features of the habitable zones, in order that the Bible issuing from thence might, in all its imagery and illustrations drawn from nature, be the world's book. And its people, first isolated until trained, were then brought into contact with race after race, in order that the Bible, revealed through their instrumentality, might speak to the universal heart of man.—*Dr. G. W. Moorehead, in the Evangelical Repository, Nov. 1883.*

✦ EDITORIAL ✦ NOTES. ✦

Textual Criticism.—Textual criticism is generally supposed to be a work which only specialists can do. This supposition is correct. The subject is one for which few minds have the necessary ability. Perhaps no other department of biblical study presents more difficulties, or requires greater judgment and discrimination. So great, indeed, is the skill required, and of so special a character is the work, that few have either courage or inclination to undertake it. There are many who yet suppose the vowel-system of the Hebrew text to be of equal authority with the consonantal portion of the text. This, however, has been shown to be a mistaken view, and while by scholars the Massoretic system of vowel-notation is regarded as by far the most valuable commentary ever written on the Old Testament, it is not supposed to be infallible. There are, without question, many words, the present reading of which is unsatisfactory. Nor can we claim as absolutely correct, the present consonant-text. Here changes are needed to a far less extent, but it is certain that mistakes have been made by copyists and that errors have crept into the text. Has any other book been handed down from antiquity faultless in this respect? Is it not wise, therefore, when we consider the Authorship of the book, its purpose, its contents, to endeavor by all the means within our power to obtain as correct a reading as possible? Of those who are so indifferent in reference to the exact meaning of scripture as not to seek this meaning from the original source, this question need not, of course, be asked. But by what means are these corrections to be made? Where may we obtain information on this point? Scholars are accustomed to enumerate five sources from which "criticism derives all its aid in ascertaining the changes that have been made in the original text of the Bible, and replacing authentic readings excluded by them." These are:

1. *The Ancient Versions*, the more important of which are the Septuagint, the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, etc., the Chaldee Targums, the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, the Peshito or old Syriac version, and the Vulgate. These translations or versions were made *before* the introduction of the vowel-points, and are consequently of great value; their authority, though not absolute, is weighty, whenever there are found variations between them and the Hebrew text.

2. *Repeated Passages*, of which there are many more in the Old Testament than one might at first suppose. The Books of Chronicles, running parallel with the Books of Samuel and of the Kings, are noteworthy under this head. So also there may be mentioned the double record preserved of certain laws and poems, of which a comparison of Psalm XVIII. with 2 Sam. XXII., and of Psalm XIV. with Psalm LIII. will give an illustration.

3. *Quotations* from the Old Testament, in the New Testament especially, but likewise in Rabbinical writings. The former class is one of equal importance and difficulty. To the latter class there has probably never been given sufficient attention.

4. *Manuscripts*; but since all written copies of the Old Testament, now extant, have been made since the Massoretic revision, very few various readings can be found, and the aid from this source is not of the greatest value.

5. The last source, and in many cases, the most fruitful, is that of *critical conjecture*. This source, evidently, should be used only as a last resort, and then sparingly.

It is clear that only specialists can do this work, but, certainly, every true Bible student should make use of the results which the specialist may work out. In this, as in every department of work, it is a duty to acquaint ourselves with those results which able and talented men have attained in the conscientious performance of their work.

The Study of Hebrew in Colleges.—The Colleges of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and of the United Presbyterian Church furnish instruction in Hebrew to those members of the Senior Class who may desire it. This study, in the academical institutions of other denominations in this country, is the exception. In these denominations, it is the rule. The question arises, Are these denominations, in this respect, behind the times, or ahead of the times? It is true that long ago in Harvard, Hebrew was taught as a College-study, but that was when the majority of Harvard's students were preparing for the ministry. How does the matter stand to-day? Is it wise, is it practicable to make this study an optional one in the College? Are not the denominations referred to doing for those about to enter their ministry a work of great value? This further notice of the subject is suggested by the following letter from one well-known both east and west:—

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—In the November Number of THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT I read, with great pleasure, an Editorial on the study of "Hebrew in Colleges." In the Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., with which I have the honor to be connected, Hebrew has been, for many years, an elective study, on the part of the Senior Class, who intend to study for the ministry. On entering upon my duties, at the opening of the Middle Term, last year, I organized a class in Hebrew that pursued the study with great enthusiasm. The President of the College and other members of the faculty frequently remarked that their progress and attainments, during the short period of three months, were very remarkable. All the members of the Class, with the exception of one, had the ministry in view. That one was actuated by literary and philological motives. I left, at the end of the Middle Term, when the Class constituted itself a Hebrew Society, for the purpose of prosecuting the study until the close of the College year. Judging from the character of the young men, I may safely say that their zeal did not flag. I intend to organize another class at the opening of next term, about the first of January. I hope, Mr. Editor, that you will endeavor, as far as you are able, to bring the importance of the study of Hebrew before the faculties of the Colleges throughout the land. Yours very respectfully,

CHARLES ELLIOTT, 496 Dundas St., London, Ontario.

▷BOOK ✦ NOTICES.◁

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.*

The modest preface with which the distinguished author introduces these handsome volumes to the reader, almost disarms the critic in advance. He claims for his work not the palm of original investigations into the sources of Egyptian history but only the merit of a careful collation of the most reliable translations of original documents with the latest monographs and general works relating to this subject. But such a service as this in a field as recondite as it is interesting, which is continually unfolding new treasures, is by no means of slight value. While the work on account of the progressive state of our knowledge of Egyptian antiquity will have to be continually undergoing revision, it may be confidently recommended as the best manual attainable in the English tongue at the present day. In the words of the author the work is "designed to supply an account of Ancient Egypt, combining its antiquities with its history, addressed partly to the eye, and presenting to the reader, within a reasonable compass, the chief points of Egyptian life, together with a tolerably full statement of the general course of historical events, whereof Egypt was the scene, from the foundation of the monarchy to the loss of independence." According to this plan, there are considered in the first volume such general topics as the Land, Climate and Productions, the People, their Language and Literature, their Art, Architecture, Science, Religion, Manners and Customs. The second volume, after an introductory chapter on Chronology, is entirely occupied with the history proper, closing with the Persian conquest.

It may be remarked that,

1. While many ideas are conveyed to the reader, a general impression of unity of plan and treatment is wanting. It may be too early for us to expect a philosophical treatment of Egyptian life and history. Yet no historian should fail to bring out the essential meaning which lies in the history of any nation. The relation of Egypt to the ancient world, a topic of the greatest interest and importance, fails in these volumes to obtain anything like an adequate treatment.

2. Professor Rawlinson has confined himself strictly to the narration of the facts of the history and life of ancient Egypt. With this feature of his work, as might be expected, little fault can be found. The text is amply illustrated by a map of Egypt, nine full-page plates and two hundred fifty-three wood-cuts, most of which are excellently executed. Hardly any aspect of the life, manners and customs, or religion, remains unillustrated. A list of authors quoted and a copious index will be of value to students.

3. Those who come to these volumes with the expectation of finding discussions of the relations between Israel and Egypt will be disappointed. The author

* *History of Ancient Egypt*. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. In two volumes, pp. 550, 567, with maps, plates and wood-cuts. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882.

confines himself strictly to his subject. Yet one would naturally think that more than the scanty amount of two pages might have been profitably devoted to the Exodus, an event, the effects of which upon Egypt, "were certainly far greater, as the Egyptian records testify, than we should have concluded from the Old Testament representations, since in these the attention is so constantly directed to the spiritual, that the worldly history fades in its presence."

➤ REVIEW NOTICES. ◀

In the July Number of *The Association Bulletin*, a Bi-monthly Jewish magazine, there is published a most interesting address, *Chips from a Talmudic Workshop*, delivered before the Y. M. H. A. of Philadelphia, by Rabbi Dr. M. JASTROW. He distinguishes the Mosaic Law as fundamental, as presenting the ideal to which people are to be educated; as the organic law, the constitution, not only of Israel, but of a large portion of the human race. The legislation of the Talmud, on the contrary, is the reflection of a civilization extending over seven or eight hundred years, the outcome of an existing state of society, enactments called forth by the requirements of social and commercial relations. Regarding the laws of the Talmud as conclusive evidence of the *existence* of the culture and civilization which they are intended to regulate, he shows, for example, by citations that public *schools* had been instituted while christianity was yet in its infancy; and that the regulations of these schools were strikingly similar in many respects to those of the modern public schools, of which so much is boasted. He explains the hair-splitting tendency of Talmudical writers on the ground that, in most instances, these hair-splittings were decisions in real cases brought before the rabbis. In the midst of all the "mental wilderness" of the first six or eight centuries of the Christian era, one finds "Jewish schools in every village, Jewish colleges counting their disciples by the thousands, Jewish farmers devoting their leisure hours to studies, Jewish youths and men, twice a year, when their agricultural pursuits would allow them a vacation, streaming up to the centres of learning to stock their minds for the remainder of the year." Other chips are picked up of equal interest and importance.

In the October *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, there is reprinted, as an article, a recent tract by R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., on *The Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch*. This problem, in his view, is no mere archæological question, but one involving the veracity of Scripture. The records of Genesis, according to this writer, were transmitted as follows: Abraham, the direct descendant of Shem, had been made the depositary of all knowledge given by God either to the antediluvian or the patriarchal world; and it is only the possession of this knowledge which will account for the monotheism which was the occasion of his departing from the midst of the idolatrous Chaldæans. Up to the time of Abraham's departure the accounts, handed down in the Bible, had existed among the Chaldæans in a reasonably pure form, but after this, these accounts degenerate into puerile fables. Abraham, however, carried them with him in their pure form, recorded not on tablets of clay, for these would be too heavy, but on more costly material, known to have existed. It would be comparatively easy to preserve them from this time to the age of Moses, who made use of them

as guided by the Holy Spirit. Moses used records only in writing the Egyptian part of *Genesis*; of the remainder of the Pentateuch, Moses himself becomes the great actor and also the narrator. The strongest argument is believed to be the familiarity with Egyptian manners and customs, and with the geography of Egypt and of the peninsula which is manifested by the writer. Under the second head *The Three Legal Codes, of Mosaic Authorship and Date*, he takes up the most vital points urged against the Mosaic authorship. Most strong is the argument touching the acknowledged non-observance of the laws. "Until the time of Ezra there was no hearty attempt to carry out the law in its entirety;" and in various ways he explains why this was the case. Some good points are made in passing concerning Samuel's Schools, "which probably grew out of an attempt made by Samuel, to teach a few young men lodged in booths in the Naioth, or meadows near his house at Ramah, the arts of reading and writing, which he had himself learned at Shiloh." He endeavors to show how impossible it would have been for the Covenant Code to have arisen in the time of Jehoshaphat, the Deuteronomic Code in the time of Josiah, and the Levitical Code in the time of Ezra. The various positions of the Reuss-school of critics are met boldly. The closing paragraph is characteristic of an article at once fresh and instructive, bold but conservative:

And herein, perhaps, lies the solution of the difficulty which the Higher Criticism endeavors to remove. The Mosaic law was not strictly kept, and holy and inspired men labored less zealously than we might have expected for its observance; partly because the political condition of Israel forbade; partly because it was above the moral state of the people, and was intended gradually to raise and elevate them; but chiefly because it was prophetic. Its great use was for future times. And so placed first, with the prophets to build upon it a teaching full of spiritual longings, and leading onward, to Christ, all is in its place. The temple ritual was replete with typical truth, and this the prophets partly unfolded, and so prepared for its full realization in Christ. But their first lesson, from Samuel onward, was that personal holiness must come before ritual. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice." And their next lesson was that of hope and the confident expectation of the revelation of a better covenant, which should be written on men's hearts, and which could take away sin. But to reverse this, and suppose that the Levitical theory took form after the uprising of the prophetic schools, and could be inserted in the Pentateuch without stern resistance on the part of the prophets; and to imagine that the change in men's hearts wrought at Babylon by the teaching of Jeremiah, ended in the invention of an elaborate Code, framed on the idea of life in the wilderness, and of a moveable tabernacle, all this is incredible; and until stronger arguments have been brought forward in proof, we must respectfully withhold our assent, and continue to believe that all Three Codes were the work of Moses, and differ chiefly because they were promulgated at different times, and give different aspects of a legislation that was prophetic in its main and most precious teaching.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES.

BY PROF. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D. D.,

Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.

The marginal references in most of our Bibles date the Exodus at 1491 B. C. This date seems to be obtained as follows:

Supposed date of Rehoboam's accession	B. C. 975
Solomon's reign, 1 Kgs. XI., 42; 2 Chron. IX., 30,	40 yrs.
Date of founding Temple, 1 Kgs. VI., 1, after Exodus,	480 "

	1495
Less year of Solomon's reign, 1 Kgs. VI., 1; 2 Chron. III., 2,	4

1491

The current opinions in regard to this may be arranged in three classes: 1st, the opinions of those who, in an approximative, general way, defend the numeral 480, generally at the cost of discrediting some of the other biblical numerals. Examples are the schemes of Cassell and Bachmann, in the American edition of Lange. 2d, the opinion which discredits the 480, holding that the period was at least a century or two longer than that. An accessible presentation of this view is the article "Chronology," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia. 3d, the opinion which discredits the numeral 480, regarding it as, say, a century and a half too long. A clear and compact presentation of this view may be found in Lord Hervey's Introduction to the Pulpit Commentary on Judges, or in his Introduction to the Speaker's Commentary on the same book. This is certainly the prevalent opinion on the subject, if any opinion can fairly be so called. Discussions more or less full with descriptions of the literature of the subject, may be found in the articles already mentioned, and in the other introductions and articles in all the great commentaries, Bible dictionaries and other books of reference.

All these opinions, however, are confessedly based on conjecture, and not on proof. They all have this decided defect, that they discredit what ought to be the most decisive evidence in the case, namely, the explicit statements of the Old and New Testaments. None of them, therefore, can be regarded as final. The question is still open for investigation.

The subject may be conveniently treated under the form of a consideration of some of the reasons commonly assigned in favor of the shorter chronology.

1st. It is alleged that the 480 in 1 Kgs. may be explained as an interpolation, and the 300 in Judg. XI., 26 as a misreading. But this is only negative, and with the probabilities strongly against it. Some copies of the Septuagint, indeed, have the reading 440 instead of 480; but all the other testimony is uniform in favor of the integrity of these numerals as they now stand.

2d. Josephus, they allege, gives this interval variously as 592, 612, or 632 years, and Eusebius as 600 years, while other patristic writers give various other numerals. Evidently, this argument also has at best only a negative force, especially when it is employed in the interest of the shortened chronology; to say nothing of its being worthless by reason of the secondary and conflicting nature of the evidence on which it rests.

3d. It is alleged that the several genealogical lists contain an average of perhaps six names each for the period of the Judges, from the death of Moses to the birth of David; in other words, that they indicate a period of about six generations, that is, of something less than 200 years. This argument is admirably, though briefly, presented on page 111 of the Pulpit Commentary on Judges. It is the one argument for the shortened chronology which has some value.

But it has also decided elements of weakness. Lord Hervey, for example, counts ten genealogical lists, in all, crossing the period of the Judges. He counts these as containing from five to eight generations each. Now it is possible, and, from what we know of the Hebrew genealogies, not very improbable, that each of these lists may have omitted some of the generations. In that case, the omitted generations may be different in the different lists. It is possible that some may mention generations which some or all of the others omit, so that the true number of the generations may be larger than that of even the longest list. In fact, some scholars actually claim that some of the genealogies, that of Samuel, for instance, extend through double the above number of generations. See "Samuel," in McClintock and Strong. Questions like these can only be determined by tabulating the lists, in

the light of such additional information as we can find. Until this is correctly and carefully done, the induction from a few lists, each taken by itself and unchecked by other evidence, is a very precarious basis for argument. The assertion, therefore, that the number of the generations from the Exodus to the Monarchy does not exceed even the number mentioned in the longest of the genealogical lists cannot be accepted as final.

But suppose that the tabulation had been made, and had resulted in showing that we have no reason for lengthening the lists. Lord Hervey and others, counting the generations as four or five in the shortest lists, and eight or nine in the longest, proceed by averaging them, making the period to be that of six, or at the outside, of seven generations. Palpably, this is bad arithmetic. If we count the lists as genuinely historical, the whole number of generations cannot well be less than that which appears in the longest list. It would be competent for the advocate of the short chronology to show, if he could, that the generations in some of the lists were exceptionally brief, or were properly something less than generations; but it is not competent for him to dispose of them by arbitrarily averaging the longer lists with the shorter.

But even if we waive all this, most of these men who argue that the time from the entrance into Canaan to the birth of David did not exceed that of seven generations, and was therefore not far from 200 years, themselves assign a period of 400 or more years to the four generations of the sojourn in Egypt, Gen. XV., 13, 16; Ex. VI., 16-20. No one holds that the sojourn was less than 215 years; but it was a period of four generations in the Hebrew genealogies. This and other well-known instances prove that a comparatively short list of generations may cover several centuries of time. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that it was customary to omit, in the lists, some of the links in the chain of descent. We do not know on what principles the omissions were made; but the mere fact that they were made is sufficient to prevent such inductions from the genealogies, as those which we are criticizing, from being conclusive.

4th. The advocates of the shorter chronology say that their mode of procedure brings the Exodus within a few years of B. C. 1313, which is the traditional Jewish date for it. If this argument have any weight, it should lead them to adopt that date, which they seem not at all disposed to do.

5th. They say that their computation brings the Exodus to about the times of Menepthah, who is supposed to be the Egyptian Pharaoh under whom the Exodus took place; and that it is confirmed by the

coincidence. But this is reasoning in a circle. The chronology of the Egyptian kings of this period is itself greatly dependent on the data given in the Bible. Except by using the biblical data, we have no adequate means of determining when Menepthah reigned. Dates thus based upon a certain interpretation of the Bible cannot be made to serve, in turn, as a basis for that interpretation.

6th. They assert that if we add the periods of rest and oppression, as given in the history, the sum is much more than 480 years; and that there is no plausible selection from the smaller numerals, which will check, and thus prove, the larger. The first of these assertions is true; the second is mistaken.

The Book of Judges consists of five parts: 1st, Preparatory matters, chaps. I. and II., 1-5; 2d, the Connected History, chaps. II., 6 to XIII., 1; 3d, the Accounts of Samson, chaps. XIII., 2 to XVI.; 4th, the Account of the Founding of Dan, chaps. XVII., XVIII.; 5th, the Account of the Benjamite War, chaps. XIX. to XXI. The prefatory matters which compose the first part were probably prefixed after the rest of the book was written. The third, fourth and fifth parts are each a complete historical composition by itself. They begin alike with the formula: "And there was a man," introducing a narrative. In paucity of chronological materials, and in being evidently out of their proper chronological order, they resemble one another, and differ decidedly from the connected history of the second part. As they clearly belong to periods of time treated in the second part, it is remarkable that the events they relate are not there mentioned. This looks as if the author of the connected history had these three narratives in his possession, already written by himself or by some one else, before he wrote the connected history, and purposely omitted the facts contained in them from his main narrative, because he intended to append them in full to that narrative. They contain, however, sufficient notices of time to enable us to determine to what place in the chronology they belong, when once we understand the chronological system employed.

Now it is quite natural to assume that the 480 years of 1 Kgs. VI., 1 is intended to begin with the beginning of the forty years of the Exodus; but it puts no strain on the meaning to suppose that the intention is to date from the end of the forty years, provided we have evidence to that effect. Whether we have such evidence will appear as we pursue our investigation. If we have, the date in 1 Kgs. will become 480 years from the crossing of the Jordan, that is to say, 520 years from the crossing of the Red Sea.

The numbers 480 and 520 are each even multiples of forty. Taken in connection with the numerous periods of forty years which are ex-

plicitly mentioned in the historical account of those times, as given in the Bible, this fact is remarkable, and has always been so counted. The suggestion is very strong that we have here a peculiar mode of counting time, by periods of forty years; and that the expression: "The land had rest forty years," means had rest to the close of the forty year period then current.

The period of 480 years closes, approximatively, with the two forties of the reigns of David and Saul, 2 Sam. v., 4; 1 Kgs. II., 11; 1 Chron. XXIX., 27; Acts XIII., 21. The administration of Saul was preceded by an interval which included the administration of Samuel, and that by another period of forty years, during which Eli was judge, 1 Sam. IV., 18. We have, therefore, at the close of our long period, three forty year periods, with one interval of unspecified length.

Again, at or before the beginning of our long period, the life of Moses is described to us as consisting of three successive periods of forty years each.

Still again, the second part of the Book of Judges, which gives chronological data throughout, and therein differs from the other parts, calls our attention to the following forty year periods. It is convenient to designate them by the names of the distinguished persons or events mentioned in connection with them. We have the forty of Othniel, Judg. III., 11; the two forties of Ehud, Judg. III., 30; the forty of Deborah, Judg. v., 31; the forty of Gideon, Judg. VIII., 28, and that of the Philistine oppression, Judg. XIII., 1. Here, then, are six forties after the crossing of the Jordan. The first five are evidently consecutive; the sixth is separated from the fifth by an interval.

With the beginning of this interval, that is, at the close of the five consecutive forty year periods from the crossing of the Jordan, there begins another succession of numbers. It is, apparently, an enumeration of the successive chief magistrates of Israel, with the number of the years of the administration of each. Up to this point, there has been nothing of this kind; but here we have the following:

Abimelech.....	3 years, Judg. IX., 22.
Tola.....	23 years, Judg. X., 1.
Jair.....	22 years, Judg. X., 3.
Samson.....	20 years, Judg. XV., 20.
Ammonite Oppression.....	18 years, Judg. X., 8.
Jephthah.....	6 years, Judg. XII., 7.
Ibzan.....	7 years, Judg. XII., 9.
Elon.....	10 years, Judg. XII., 11.
Abdon.....	8 years, Judg. XII., 14.

117 years.

Except in the case of Samson, these numerals are here given in the order in which the writer of the Book of Judges gives them. The place assigned to Samson is that assigned to Bedan, 1 Sam. XII., 11. The years of the Ammonite oppression are given along with those of the Judges because the narrative so gives them, this being the only item of the kind. The result, as we shall see, seems to show that we are correct in this treatment of it.

In this aggregate of 117 years, we have three forties lacking three years. Add the previous five forties, and the result is eight forties lacking three years. Add the three forties of Eli, Saul and David, with the three years of Solomon's reign which had elapsed before the founding of the temple, in the second month of his fourth year, and we have exactly eleven forties. Then, if the interval within which Samuel was judge lasted forty years, we have, in it, the twelfth forty of a period of 480 years from the crossing of the Jordan.

This fitting together of the numbers is too complete to be accidental. Its completeness and exactness are quite in contrast with the complicated and inexact combinations of numbers in most of the articles on this subject. Look at it again. In the numerals for the administrations of Abimelech and his successors, we have three complete forties, lacking three years. At the close of our long period, we have a succession of forties, plus the three years which preceded the fourth year of king Solomon. The deficiency in the one series balances the excess in the other, making the forties even. We are able distinctly to identify eleven of the twelve forties needed to make up the number 480, and we have an interval remaining which, from the events which occurred in it, must have been about forty years, and is likely to have been just the missing period of forty years required to make up the 480.

This finds additional confirmation in Jephthah's assertion that, in his time, Israel had dwelt for 300 years in the cities across the Jordan, Judg. XI., 26. Of course, the 300 here is naturally expected to be a round number, and not exact. Now, of the 117 years above mentioned, 86 preceded the accession of Jephthah. Add the 86 to the five forties of Othniel, Ehud, Deborah and Gideon, and we have 286, making about 287 years during which Israel had dwelt in the cities east of the Jordan, up to the time when Jephthah was negotiating with the Ammonites. This is sufficiently near to the round number 300 to confirm the validity of both.

If our position is well taken, the forty years of the Philistine oppression, mentioned above, are probably the same with the forty years of Eli, or rather with the forty year period which terminated three years after the death of Eli; since they are mentioned at the point when the

narrative is brought up to that date, and since we know that the period of Eli was a period of Philistine oppression, 1 Sam. iv., 9. But several other plausible hypotheses might be formed, and, among them, that the Philistine forty years was the earlier forty year period which included the time of Samson.

Our theory seems to require us either to assign forty years to the period after Eli, during a part of which Samuel was chief magistrate, or else to count that period as entirely overlapped by those of Eli and Saul. Now the Bible does not tell us the length of Samuel's administration. Josephus, Ant. VI., XIII., 5, says that it covered twelve years before the accession of Saul and eighteen after that accession. The latter numeral he repeats, Ant. VI., XIV., 9. But it is inconsistent with better established numerals, and is therefore mistaken. Saul reigned 40 years, Acts XIII., 21. David began to reign at 30 years of age, 2 Sam. v., 4; Jos. Ant. VII., XV., 2. David was therefore born about the tenth year of Saul, and was about eight years of age when Saul had reigned eighteen years. But Samuel, instead of dying at that date, lived long enough to be associated with David after David had become a man and a celebrated hero, 1 Sam. XIX., 19-24; Josephus Ant. VI., XIII., 5 and VI., XI., 5. The numeral 18, being thus fictitious, detracts from the trustworthiness of the numeral 12 which Josephus connects with it, as giving the years of the separate administration of Samuel. Besides, Josephus seems to have regarded the twelve years as being the whole interval after Eli's death. But the narrative makes the impression that Samuel was a young man at the death of Eli, and explicitly says that he was an old man before the accession of Saul, 1 Sam. VIII., 1. His administration was marked by a long interval of supremacy over the Philistines, 1 Sam. VII., 13, 14. His circuits as judge, 1 Sam. VII., 15, 16, and indeed, the whole tenor of the accounts concerning him, point to a considerable length of time during which, as judge, he was the sole chief magistrate of the commonwealth of Israel. Further, we are explicitly informed, in 1 Sam. VII., 2, that a part of this interval was twenty years. The whole, therefore, must be longer than the twelve years which Josephus seems to give to it. If we understand the twenty years as dating the beginning of Samuel's administration, and the twelve as giving its duration, making the interval to be 32 years, plus whatever time had elapsed before the twenty years began (1 Sam. v. and VI., especially VI., 1), we get numerals that are much more plausible. But since this is a rather unnatural interpretation of the Josephus numeral 12, and since we have found that this numeral is somewhat discredited by the bad company it keeps, and since it is uncertain whether the seven months during which the ark was in the *country* of

the Philistines is inclusive or exclusive of the time during which it was in the Philistine *cities*, the proof that the interval was limited to about 32 years is of but little weight. Still less have we any other testimony that can be depended upon as to the length of time between Eli and the Monarchy. From our scheme of forties we infer that it was forty years; and the inference, at least, agrees with all the known facts in the case, and is contradicted by no trustworthy evidence.

7th. The advocates of other views assert that the numeral 480 in 1 Kgs. is contradicted by the 450 of Acts XIII., 19, if the latter numeral applies to the period of the Judges; for, they say, Acts XIII., 20 makes the reign of Saul to be 40 years, and this, with the 40 years of David, 2 Sam. v., 4, and 1 Chron. XXVI., 31 and XXIX., 27, and the 4 years of Solomon, 1 Kgs. VI., 1, added to the 450, makes a period much longer than 480 years. Hence many of them regard it as probable that the 450 years is the period of the sojourn in Egypt and the wandering, and not that of the Judges; while others hold that either the 480 or the 450 must be regarded as erroneous.

It is true that the passage in the Acts is obscure, but it is most natural, on any reading, to refer the numeral to the period of the Judges. Thus referring it, we sufficiently remove all difficulties, if we count it to be, in a merely general way, identical with the number in Kings. Nothing in the apostle's purpose required that he should be more exact than this. Or, the 450 years may begin earlier than the 480, and so terminate with the accession of Saul or the death of Samuel or the birth of David. On the scheme just sketched, Paul's "about 450 years" correspond well with the 437 years from the crossing of the Red Sea to the beginning of Saul's reign.

8th. Finally, it is alleged that, if the biblical numerals are correct, they designate long periods of time which are not marked by any historical events. If this were true, it would have no great weight as argument against the numerals; for long periods might naturally elapse without any events which would call for record in so brief a history. But, as it happens, the allegation is mistaken, as well as inconclusive.

In presenting our scheme, we have already presented an amount of evidence for it which far outweighs that for the schemes that contradict it. But the application of any such scheme to the facts of the history ought to give us the means of testing it somewhat more decisively. It is supposable, at the outset, that the facts may be found to be absolutely inconsistent with it. Or they may be found to be barely capable of being adjusted to it, in which case, they must be regarded

as, on the whole, confirming it, unless they can be shown to agree better with some other equally plausible scheme. Or again, they may be found to fit it so readily, and to be so illuminated by it, as to make the confirmation altogether decisive. The actual state of the case approaches at least as near to the third as to the second of these alternatives.

According to the scheme just presented, the events of the first forty years after the crossing of the Jordan were the fighting of the great battles of the conquest, the accomplishing of certain of its minor details, mentioned in Joshua and in the first chapters of Judges, the distribution of the land west of the Jordan, followed, after a little, by the oppression of Cushan Rishathaim, lasting eight years, and the deliverance under Othniel, Judg. III., 9.

The events of the second and third periods of forty years were the eighteen years' oppression by Moab, with the deliverance under Ehud, Judg. III., 12-30; then the Danite expedition, Judg. XVII., XVIII., and after a little, the Benjamite war, Judg. XIX.-XXI. That the Danite expedition was previous to the times of Samson appears from the fact that it gave the name to the place Mahaneh-Dan, Judg. XVIII., 12, which name it still bore when Samson lived, Judg. XIII., 25. That it was before the time of the Benjamite war appears from the fact that it established Israelite settlements in Dan, where they had not been before, Judg. XVIII., 29 and context, and that the Benjamite war found the settlements there, Judg. XX., 1. That the Benjamite war was early in the times of the Judges appears from the fact that "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron" was then living, Judg. XX., 28. Moreover, the remnant of Benjamin obtained their wives largely from the maidens who attended the out-door dances in connection with the Lord's feast at Shiloh, Judg. XXI., 19-23. In the nature of things, these women must have been mostly Ephraimites; and their homes in Benjamin were not very far from those of their Ephraimite relatives. It follows that, for a generation or two after, and never at any other time in history, the people of Benjamin might be counted as "among the peoples" of Ephraim. They are so counted in the song of Deborah, Judg., v., 14. This shows that the Benjamite war occurred long enough before the middle of the forty year period of Deborah, so that then a generation of Benjamite warriors had already sprung up, whose blood relation to Ephraim had not yet become distant. Other items of evidence might be added, but these are sufficient to show that the eighty years of Ehud were not an empty period in history, but were marked by stirring events. We must not omit to notice, however,

that the war with Benjamin was bloody and demoralizing; and must have left Israel in a condition which afforded his enemies a tempting opportunity to band together against him.

Such a banding together was, in fact, the characteristic event of the fourth forty year period from the crossing of the Jordan. In the north was the oppression for twenty years by the Canaanite king Jabin, from which Deborah and Barak delivered Israel, *Judg.* IV., 3. Contemporaneous with this, and probably a part of the same movement, was a Philistine oppression in the southern parts of the country, from which Shamgar was the deliverer, *Judg.* X., 11; V., 6 and III., 31. The mention of this is very brief, but it seems to have been a severe oppression. Shamgar's weapon was an ox-goad. In *Judg.* V., 8, Deborah asks:

"If a shield may be seen, or a spear
Among forty thousand in Israel?"

These seem to be indications that the Philistines, at this early period, employed the same policy of disarmament which they afterward enforced in the days of Saul.

The events of the fifth period were the Midianite oppression of seven years, and the deliverance under Gideon, *Judg.* VI.-VIII. This was followed by the unsuccessful attempt to establish a kingdom, with Gideon for the first monarch, *Judg.* VIII., 22, 23.

The sixth period opens with the short reign of Abimelech. That so weak and bad a king as Abimelech should have succeeded in maintaining himself even for three years, with sufficient prestige to entitle his name to be in the list of Israel's chief magistrates, is a fact which shows how strongly the idea of monarchy had taken hold of the minds of the people. Gideon's refusal and Abimelech's folly prevented the idea from being then realized; but from that time, the chief magistrates of Israel followed one another in regular succession, and the years of each successive judge appear in the record.

At the time of the close of the sixth period, the Philistines had so far recovered from the chastisement they received under Shamgar, that they were again oppressing Israel, *Judg.* XIII., 5, and X., 7; 1 *Sam.* XII., 9, 11. During the first decade of the seventh period, Samson's public life began. At that time, the Philistines had secured from Israel an acknowledgement of allegiance, *Judg.* XIV., 4 and XV., 11, etc. By his exploits, especially at his death, Samson appears actually to have accomplished the promises of deliverance that were made through him. At least, the violence of the Philistine oppression was broken. But this oppression was at once succeeded by another not less distressing—that of the Ammonites, which lasted eighteen years, that is, till

after the close of this period, Judg. x., 7, 8, 9, etc. The seventh period may fairly be called that of Samson, and the sixth, the period next before that of Samson.

The eighth period begins during the Ammonite oppression. It includes the deliverance under Jephthah, the civil war that followed, the three brief administrations which succeeded, and the first three years of Eli. Perhaps it was near the close of this period, after the bitterness caused by the Ammonite war had subsided, that Elimelech went to the country of Moab to sojourn, Ruth i. This period is naturally named after Jephthah.

The ninth period is that of Eli, extending to three years after his death. It was a period of religious corruption, 1 Sam. i.-iv., and of servitude to the Philistines, 1 Sam. iv., 9. Near its close, a determined effort was made to throw off the yoke, 1 Sam. iv. The Israelites were signally defeated, and the ark captured.

The tenth period is that of Samuel. When it opens, Israel is in subjection, the ark and the sanctuary are separated, and Israel has no chief magistrate; but Samuel is already universally recognized as the Lord's prophet, and as a man of prime influence. For more than twenty years, he labors to elevate the public sentiment of the nation to a degree which will render it feasible to make a movement for independence and public reforms. At the end of that time, he places himself at the head of a carefully planned movement, accepts the chief magistracy, 1 Sam. vii., 6, achieves independence by a single decisive victory, and enters upon a remarkably successful administration, 1 Sam. vii., ix., x., xii. Three years before the close of the period occurred the bloodless revolution by which the theocracy was transformed into a monarchy, with Saul for the first king.

The eleventh period is that of the reign of Saul. It is a time of vicissitudes such as Israel has never before seen. Under their new king, the people are sometimes victorious, and sometimes reduced to servitude of unprecedented severity, 1 Sam. xi., xiii., xiv., etc.

The twelfth period of forty years covers the last thirty-seven years of the reign of David, with the first three of Solomon. Israel, hitherto a loose confederacy of tribes, maintaining a precarious existence, within narrow limits, on the two banks of the Jordan, became a strong empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.

So brief a sketch, of course, does not exhibit the historical sequence of the events as they would be exhibited in a fuller presentation of them. But even this sketch is sufficient to complete the proof which has been given, in this article, of the following four propositions:

First, it is possible to make a complete scheme of the biblical num-

erals for the period of the Judges, including every one of them, without a discrepancy or an improbability, or a word of special explanation for any special case. Merely upon the pointing out of the principles which govern the chronological statements of this period, every date falls at once into place. After the crossing of the Jordan, there were five consecutive periods of forty years each, defined as such; then three periods of forty years each, defined by other numerals; then four periods of forty years each, defined approximately by the terms of office of Eli, Saul and David, and by the historical facts concerning Samuel; making in all the required 480 years from the crossing of the Jordan to the Founding of the Temple. So far as the periods are concerned, however, it would still be supposable that some of them may have been contemporaneous instead of successive, thus reducing the aggregate to 480 years from the crossing of the Red Sea, or even bringing it within yet shorter limits. But the remaining three propositions seem to weigh against this.

Secondly, on applying this chronology to the events, it becomes at once clear that all the persons who are called Judges of Israel were in good faith, actual chief magistrates of the nation. No two administrations were contemporaneous. We have no further occasion for guessing that one was military judge, and another merely civil judge, and that one officiated only in Northeast Israel, and another only in Southwest Israel. We need waste no further ingenuity in trying to combine into one the four separate Philistine oppressions of the days of Shamgar, of Samson, of Eli, and of Saul; or in explaining away the supposed incongruities of the four accounts, since these have no existence, but are mere results of an attempt to identify things which are different.

Thirdly, using this chronology, all the recorded events of the period, without exception, readily find their places in an intelligible order; while, to a large extent, the order is such that we can trace the sequences, and see how one condition of affairs sprang from another.

Fourthly, except in the case of the undated events recorded in the three separate treatises which narrate the history of Samson, that of the Danite expedition and that of the Benjamite war, our chronology finds the events to have occurred in substantially the order in which they are related in the narratives.

As much as this can hardly be said of the other current schemes. From the Egyptian monuments or from other sources, we may sometime obtain more explicit evidence on many of these points. Nothing much short of new and explicit evidence can set aside such proof as has just been sketched of the true interpretation of the biblical chronology for the period of the Judges.

SOME FEATURES OF MESSIANIC PROPHECY ILLUSTRATED BY THE BOOK OF JOEL.¹

BY REV. EDWARD L. CURTIS. A. B.

Instructor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, Chicago.

II.

Joel links not only the most distant future to the present, but he represents it also in terms of the present. Jehovah judges in the valley of Jehoshaphat.² Tyre and Sidon and Philistia are the subjects of judgment.³ Egypt and Edom are particularly punished.⁴ The redemption promised also is the restoration of children sold into slavery,⁵ great fertility,⁶ peace and security in dwelling in Judah and Jerusalem,⁷ Jehovah enthroned in Zion.⁸ This then illustrates the law of prophecy that descriptions of the future are in terms of the present, or grow out of conditions and circumstances of the present. This is natural because the immediate design of Messianic prophecy was to comfort and admonish cotemporaries. The work of the prophets was not simply to foretell, to utter predictions, which afterwards verified would prove the divine origin of their message. This was secondary, subordinate, though not unimportant. Their immediate object was to preach righteousness, to reprove, exhort, especially urging steadfast adherence to Jehovah that calamity might be averted, that prosperity might be secured. Prophecy came in a day of trouble. The direct occasion of Joel's prophecy was the terrible locust plague. Calamity gave it birth, and so in general. In the midst of oppression, and disasters from foreign enemies, violence and corruptions from rulers at home, people needed comfort and consolation, and then God chose to give promises of future redemption. The development of prophetic revelation was in precise proportion to the decline of Israel. This refers, of course, to direct prophecy. Days of joy and gladness could give typical prophecies. The marriage song written for a Solomon or Joram passes over into a description of the future anointed of Israel.⁹ And one, celebrating in all probability the defeat of Sennacherib, becomes a prediction of Jehovah's reign over all the earth.¹⁰ But in general the darkest hours gave the brightest hopes. Indeed, in the other instances the prophetic element arose from the somewhat similar cause. The incompleteness, the imperfection of that celebrated by the psalmists, led to the deeper meaning. The original subjects came not up to that demanded

¹ A paper read before the Hebrew Summer School (1883) at Morgan Park, the first part of which appeared in the December No., 1883.

² Joel iv., 2, 12. ³ iv., 3. ⁴ iv., 19. ⁵ iv., 7. ⁶ iv., 18. ⁷ iv., 15. ⁸ iv., 17. ⁹ Ps. xlv. ¹⁰ Ps. xlvii.

by the covenant promises of God. In general, however, to repeat, the darkest hours gave the brightest hopes. In the reign of the wicked Ahaz came the promise of Immanuel, and of the child, wonderful counselor, everlasting father, prince of peace. No prophecies also are richer and fuller of brighter blessings than those of the new covenant given by the weeping Jeremiah. And who does not know of the Gospel of the second portion of Isaiah so intimately associated with the Babylonian captivity?

But to warn and admonish, to console and comfort, blessings promised and judgments threatened must be intelligible, adapted to the circumstances in which they were uttered, and hence, as has been said, must be given in terms of the present. Joel thus began his prophecy with the assurance of deliverance from present troubles. The army of the locusts will be destroyed.¹ Fertilizing and seasonable rain will come.¹ A blessing of wonderful fruitfulness is twice repeated.² The kingdom of Judah had suffered much from neighboring enemies, from Egyptians, Edomites, and more recently by Philistines.³ The royal city had been plundered and Phœnicians as slave merchants had sold captives to the Edomites and distant Javanites.⁴ Joel therefore especially threatens with divine judgment these nations and gives assurance of the deliverance and return of captives.⁵ This is the way in which he beheld the last times. These events were to take place and then Jehovah was to reign in Zion and the fullness of blessing come. Micah illustrates the same principle. He associates the last days with the chastisement of Assyria the leading enemy, in his time, of God's people, and the Messiah, the ruler out of Bethlehem, would be a deliverer from Assyrian oppression.⁶ Isaiah belonging to the same epoch, in his earlier prophecies, has a similiar view of the future. Immediately after judgments upon Assyria shall there come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots.⁷ Then follow promises of restoration from Assyrian captivity.⁸ The question now might arise, whether under these nations others are typified, or whether we have the prophecy of a judgment which actually did befall them, but did not bear the relation anticipated to the redemption through the Messiah. As far as one enemy of God's people is the type of another, other nations may be typified. But the Edomite or the Assyrian or the Phœnician does not represent *particularly* some far distant people, the Roman for example, who lived in the commencement of the Messianic period. The literal fulfillment of prophecies in all detail is not to be insisted upon. Many doubtless were so fulfilled. The exact corres-

¹ Joel ii., 18-27. ² ii., 18-27; iv., 18. ³ 1 Kgs. xiv., 25, 26; 2 Chron. xxi., 16, 17; xxii., 1. ⁴ Amos i., 9, 10. ⁵ Joel iv., 1-8. ⁶ Mic. v., 2-6. ⁷ Is. xx., ff, xi., 1. ⁸ Is. xi., 11.

pondence between subsequent history and many predictions justifies in a certain degree the definition of prophecy as history written beforehand. 'But of some prophecies we have no knowledge of such fulfillment, and in the letter they may always remain unfulfilled. Exactly how divine judgment should be executed, or when and how redemption should come was a matter of minor importance. "It may have been," says Prof. Green,¹ "of little consequence to Isaiah or to Micah or to their cotemporaries to have the political changes disclosed to them by which Assyria was to be superseded on the map of the world or erased from the roll of nations, but it was of vast moment to them to know that whether the ancient Assyria should survive or whatever new Assyria might arise to take its place, the strife between the great empires of the world should hereafter give way to peaceful and amicable intercourse, and instead of their present animosity toward the people of God they should heartily be united with Israel in the service of Jehovah, and should any future Assyria venture to molest Israel or disturb his peace his Messiah would effectually protect him and avenge his cause."

In idea, then, prophecy must always be fulfilled. How far the prophet expected or looked for such a fulfillment rather than a literal one, no one can positively state, but that to him the idea was the main thing is evident from the frequent use of symbol and figure, the play upon words and events. Joel places the final judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Here is a play first upon a valley where a great victory had taken place under Jehoshaphat and secondly upon the name itself, meaning Jehovah judges. Hosea plays similarly upon place and the meaning of words, in choosing the valley of Jezreel as the place of decision,² and also Zechariah, when he assigns mourning to the valley of Megiddo.³ The writer of Revelation makes use of Ar Mageddon in the same way.⁴

Joel also passes from the declaration of the judgment of the particular enemies of Judah,—Tyre, Sidon and Philistia,—which the times in which he lived demanded, to a wider and fuller judgment,⁵ placed also in the valley Jehoshaphat, when he mentions no nation by name, showing that the idea was the main, and most important element of his prophecy,—that he wished to set forth the ever present enmity between the heathen powers and the power of God, and the assurance that the kingdom of God through severe conflict should attain final victory and peace.⁶ This idea is taken up and presented repeatedly by the other prophets.⁷

¹ In the *Princeton Review*, July 1878, p. 363. ² Hos. i., 4, 5; ii., 2, 24. ³ Zech. xii., 11. ⁴ Rev. xvi., 16. Ar Mageddon is מגידון, the hill of Megiddo which with Jezreel is a locality of the plains of Esdraelon, the battle-field of Northern Palestine. ⁵ Joel iv., 9-17. ⁶ See *Messianic Prophecy*, by Dr. Richm., p. 60. ⁷ Mic. iv., 11-15; Zech. xii., 1-13; xiv., 3-5; Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.

Symbol is also doubtless found in Joel's allusion to commotions of nature.¹ What is the meaning of those mysterious portents borrowed and repeated so often from this source both in the Old Testament and in the New? Did the prophet expect such appearances in nature? Possibly, probably; yet their real significance is that they are the attendants of a theophany. The idea lying beneath them is that Jehovah would manifest himself. Peter alluded to them as though they had already been accomplished when the Spirit was poured out on the day of Pentecost.² As Jehovah had appeared on Sinai so thought the prophet of subsequent appearances, and they depicted them in similar imagery. It was their way of emphasizing the advent of Jehovah. Similarly, in the likeness of the passage through the Red Sea and the wilderness, future redemption was pictured.³

Consider also Joel's promise of wonderful fertility, that the mountains shall drop new wine, and all the hills flow with milk.⁴ Now to his cotemporaries it may be that there could be no conception of a glad time of future redemption without such actual fertility. This may have been all which he meant to prophesy. And yet even to himself was there not something more wrapt up in this promise? Did it not stand directly upon the threshold of having a higher meaning, however vague and dim, to the prophet and those for whom he wrote? He says, a fountain shall come forth from the house of the Lord and water the valley of Shittim.⁵ The mention of this fountain suggests a spiritual meaning. For why for the purpose of mere agricultural irrigation should the house of the Lord be chosen as the source of a fountain? Ezekiel and Zechariah use this fountain or stream flowing from the house of God as a symbol of spiritual blessings and in the N. T. it appears as in the pure river of the water of life, clear as crystal proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb.⁶

Again Joel in common with the other prophets speaks of Jehovah dwelling in Zion.⁷ Zion is the centre of the Kingdom of God, and Jehovah actually dwelling among his people is an essential element of the O. T. representations of the Messianic times. The O. T. saint could grasp in no other way the thoughts of the establishment of the divine kingdom. But when one asks from the N. T. point of view for its fulfillment, the idea is found to be the main thing. How was this prophecy fulfilled? In the incarnation of the Son of God. He became flesh and dwelt among us.⁸ So "I am with you even unto the end of the world."⁹ N. T. fulfillment far outstrips the O. T. promise. It casts

¹ Joel iii., 3, 4. ² Acts ii., 19, 20. Compare David's description of his deliverance in Ps. xviii., 8-10. See Perowne and Murphy on the same. ³ Is. xl., 15, 16. ⁴ Joel iv., 18. ⁵ Ezek. xlv., 18. ⁶ Ezek. xlvii., 1-12; Zech. xiii., 1; xiv., 8; Rev. xxii., 1, 2, 1v., 17. ⁷ Jno. i., 14. ⁸ Matt. xxviii., 20.

aside the terms, the forms in which the promises were clothed, and gives something better. The idea is taken up and, as it were, glorified. The Jerusalem of earth is but a type. We are come unto Mt. Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.¹ The holiness² is that of the city into which there shall no wise enter anything that defileth or maketh a lie.³ And the final fulfillment of Jehovah's dwelling there is in the reigning of God and the Lamb forever and ever.⁴

THE LAW OF RELEASE,
As Understood and Practised in the Apostolic Age.

BY RABBI B. FELSENTHAL.

Chicago, Ill.

P R E F A T O R Y .

The knowledge of the post-biblical history and literature of the Jews is of very great importance,—not only to him who makes the essence and history of Judaism his special object of study, but, both to the historian of the apostolic age and to the historian of the pre-conditions of Christianity. We shall have a true insight into, and understanding of the then existing actual life of the Jews and of the mental atmosphere, in which they breathed, only after we have become familiar with the Jewish usages, and customs, and statutes, the Jewish cult and rites, and other religious institutions of those times. It is an error to suppose that, for this purpose, a knowledge of the legal contents of the Pentateuch is sufficient; that the so-called Mosaic Law remained the unaltered regulator of Jewish life. An historical development, a gradual growth of the same took place, and the Mosaic statutes were but the roots, from which an excessively rich outgrowth of post-biblical Jewish law organically developed itself. And if any of the readers should once inquiringly visit, e. g., the library of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, or some other larger Hebrew library, he would be shown *hundreds* of volumes treating of Jewish law,—institutions, and pandects, and novellae, and opinions without number.

There *was* a time when Christian scholars studied and cultivated this Jewish law. This was during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. But—with regret it must be said—this study has fallen into neglect. In our times we have neither a Selden, nor a Lightfoot, neither a Buxtorf, nor a Reland. It would certainly be a step in the right direction if such a highly developed system of law, as the Jewish, would be more appreciated, and if a thorough knowledge of the same would be striven after.

In Cambridge, England, Professor Schiller-Szinessy, an erudite Jewish scholar, has taught for many years the Talmud and kindred branches with great success. English scholarship in this field has had a wonderful growth during the last 25 years. Could not, and should not, a Professor's chair for the talmudical studies also be created in one of the more pretentious American Universities? Shall this

¹ Heb. xii., 22. ² Joel iii., 17. ³ Rev. xxi., 27. ⁴ Rev. xxii., 1.

branch of learning forever remain locked up in a ghetto, so to speak, forever remain inaccessible to Christian students?

But enough of these prefatory remarks; we shall proceed now to our historical comments upon the Law of Release.

The Bible (Deut. xv., 1, 2) contains the following law :

At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth ought to his neighbor shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbor, or of his brother; because it is called the Lord's release.

It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss the question, whether the original intent of the legislator was that the payment of debts should be *suspended* only in the seventh year, and the debts stand over to be paid in subsequent times, or whether the release of these debts should be *total and final*. So much is historically certain; that in post-Maccabean times, from the middle of the second century B. C., and perhaps earlier, the law in Deuteronomy was understood and practiced in the sense that in every Sabbatical year all debts should be totally released, and payment of the same could not be insisted upon if this year had intervened.

Such a law, dictated by the most humane considerations, was well enough in a primitive society, where money is only borrowed by really poor people, and for the purpose of procuring the absolute necessities of daily life. But as soon as a nation rises so far as to pursue commerce and industry to some extent, the possession of money will bring to its owner some usufruct, and wealthy men will not be so ready to lend their money to the poor if they are in danger of losing not only the usufruct, but also the principal. Instead of being beneficial to the poor, the law became, in the course of time, burdensome and detrimental to them, as they found it difficult to get any loan in days of need.

What was to be done? Circumstances had altered, the law had become impracticable. But there it stood, inflexible, unrepealed, and (in the eyes of every Israelite then living) as a biblical statute, unrepealable. What was to be done?

The same thing has taken place in every period and in every country where a law, yet standing in the Code, has outgrown the former conditions of life, under which, and with reference to which, it had been enacted, and is no longer adaptable to the altered circumstances. The same thing happens daily in our own times and in our own country, when any judge, or any other officer of sound common sense is called upon to apply obsolete and impracticable statutes. The

law was so construed as to suit the new order of things, the new conditions of civil society.

In such cases, it must be admitted that the letter of the law is often stretched, and the new constructions often forced.

At an early day it was generally held that the law in Deut. xv., 1, 2 should not find application if the debt was for goods bought, or for servants' hire, or for fines decreed by a court, or for any indemnity to be paid to an offended party, or if the debt was secured by a pawn,* or if the borrower had waived his right of release in the seventh year,† etc. It is interesting to read the discussions in the Talmud concerning this matter,‡ and to observe how the Rabbis and jurists in that remote past tried to justify these constructions. As I do not desire to write an exhaustive monograph on the subject, I omit reproducing these talmudical discussions.

Hillel, who lived in the century preceding Christ, and died as the president of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, instituted another facilitating custom in order to free the people from the embarrassments which arose from the law under discussion; aye, he made it thereby altogether illusory.§ This new institution consisted in the issuance of the so-called *Prosbul*, that is, a written or verbal declaration by the creditor before the court, that he reserves to himself the right to claim his debt even after the intervening of the Sabbatical year. To preserve the appearance, as though the Mosaic law were not abolished by Hillel's *Takkanah*, it was ordained that a *Prosbul* could only be executed if the debtor, or his warrantor, possessed some real estate. The formula of such a *Prosbul* is still known. It is to be found in Shebiith x., 4, and in Gittin 36, a.

Some readers may perhaps desire to learn how, in the times of Christ and the apostles, such judicial papers read, and how they were executed. To gratify this desire, let us suppose for a moment that, on the wings of our imagination, we are carried back 1900 years. We are in a Galilean city. We enter the court room and are in the midst of a large gathering of people, amidst tradesmen, agriculturists, and mechanics. Behind a large table we behold the court, consisting of three venerable judges, in the midst the *Abh Beth Din*, the president of the court, to his right and left the *Dayyanim*, the associate judges.|| At one end of the table is the *Sopher*, ready to perform the clerk's duties.

It is Monday forenoon. A boy, of a pensive countenance and wondrous blue eyes,—Jeshua, son of Joseph, is his name—has attracted

* Mishnah Shebiith x., 1, 2. † Talm. Bab. Maceoth 3, b. ‡ Gittin 34 and sq. § Shebiith, x., 3.

|| A court, competent in such matters, had to be composed of three judges; Mishna, Sanhedrin, i., 1.

our attention as soon as we have entered. Him we approach, and, upon our inquiry, he informs us that it is one of the courts' standing rules to sit regularly on Mondays and Thursdays in civil matters.* The official business of the court begins, and we listen to the proceedings. Could we tarry long enough, we might observe many things interesting. But our time is limited. The first case called is that of Joseph, the carpenter, against Hyrkanos, the blacksmith. Without delay one of judges rises, turns to the president, and respectfully says. "Rabbi, I am incompetent to sit as judge in this case; the plaintiff rendered me some services of friendship sometime last winter, and although I am firmly resolved to pronounce justice without looking to the right or to the left, yet, unwittingly, I might be biased in favor of the man.† I must, therefore, vacate my place." The *Dayyan* is excused, and the *Abh Beth Din* calls upon Eliezer, a learned Pharisee, who happens to be present in the hall, to take a seat at his side, and fill the chair of the conscientious judge‡ who has just vacated it by his own free will.

A somewhat similar circumstance we note in the next case. Gamliel, the defendant, calls the attention of the court to the fact that one judge is incompetent on account of his being related to Simon, the plaintiff.§ The judge leaves his seat, and another man, learned in the law, occupies it for the time being upon invitation of the president.

After the statements of the litigants and the depositions of the witnesses have been heard, and after the various interrogations of the judges have been answered satisfactorily, the court renders judgment.

These two civil suits have been finally disposed of, and another citizen of that Galilean town now appears. We call him Antigonos. He will occupy the court's time but a few minutes. He states that Jochanan, the shoemaker, owes him one hundred Shekels. The Sabbatical year is approaching, and he wishes a *Prosbul* to be written, so that he may ask payment even after this year has elapsed. The president questions, "Has Jochanan some real estate upon which you can have a lien by virtue of the *Prosbul* asked for?" Antigonos replies that his debtor owns a small vineyard near the neighboring city of Sepphoris. "That is sufficient," says the judge, and he directs the *Sopher* to issue the document. It is short and we may insert it here. Thus it reads:

* Among the ten new *Talkkanoth* (regulations and institutions), ascribed by a talmudical tradition to Ezra, was also the one that the courts should hold regularly sessions on Mondays and Thursdays; Babba Kamma 82, a.

† A judge who had received any service, or present, or favor whatsoever from any of the litigants, could not sit in a case in which the person, who had thus befriended him, was a party; Kethubhoth 105, b.

‡ No one could officiate as a judge who was a relative to one of the parties; Compare Mishnah, Niddah vi., 4, in connection with Sanhedrin iii., 4; Shebhuoth iv., 1, etc.

מוסר אני לכם איש פלוני ופלוני הר"נים שבמקום פלוני שכל חוב שיש
לי שאגבנו כל זמן שארצה.

(Signatures of the judges or witnesses.)

(In translation: I lay down the declaration before you, N. N. and N. N., judges of the city of N., that I shall claim every debt, due me, at any time when I may desire to do so.)*

We have been long enough in the old Palestinian court. Let us now again look upon the matter under consideration from our nineteenth century standpoint.

For many years after Hillel, the written document had to be shown when payment was asked for a debt contracted before the preceding Sabbatical year.† At a later period this, too, was declared unnecessary.‡

Such is the power of progressive life over the dead letter of the law. By and by, feature after feature of such antiquated laws falls into neglect, and in some case, as, for example, in the one under discussion here, the old law becomes even imperceptibly perverted to the contrary. It is known that some Rabbis shook their heads to the Prosbul-innovation, so, e. g., the eminent jurist *Samuel*, president of the Academy in Nehardea, in Babylonia, in the beginning of the third century. He said, "Prosbul is an unwarranted assumption of the judges; if I should have the power, I would certainly abolish it."§ But how could the opinions of some theorists stem the onward moving mighty current of a new-conditioned life?

Before I close, I beg to make a remark concerning the etymology of the word *Prosbul*. I believe that Benjamin Musafia (in his *Addimenta to the Aruch*, s. v. פט IV.) gave the right explanation 200 years ago; and Geiger, Sachs, Graetz, Jost, and others, adhere in the main to it. According to these authorities, "Prosbul" is a word borrowed from the Greek, *προσβολή*, (a declaration before the court).

* It is proper to remark that Rashi, Maimonides, and other post-talmudical authorities take the first three words in our Prosbul-document in another sense than I did. According to them I should have translated: "I hand over to you"—*sc.* the notes and other similar papers which are evidence of debts due me. But I have reasons to think that my interpretation is the right one. To state these reasons would, perhaps, occupy too much space here.

† Kethuboth ix., 9. ‡ Ibid. § Gittin 36, b.

A PARAPHRASE OF THE NINETIETH PSALM.

BY PROF. O. S. STEARNS, D. D.,

[Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass.]

To paraphrase a psalm requires a fourfold process: a careful study of the whole psalm in Hebrew, grammatically; a similar study, exegetically; an analysis of it; and an historical setting of it. This work being done we are prepared to recast the thought into our own language, and reproduce it paraphrastically. In the following paraphrase I have assumed that even if the Psalm is not of Mosaic authorship, it belongs in thought to the last days of the Mosaic era.

In order that the course of thought may be more clear, I will preface it with an analysis of the Psalm.

GENERAL SUBJECT.

The frailty and brevity of human life, as a consequent of sin, a motive to repentance and obedience.

SUBJECT UNFOLDED BY REFLECTIONS.

1. God's eternity is apparent by comparing it with man's mortality and transitoriness, vs., 2-6.
2. The reason for this transitoriness is the wrath of God against sin, vs. 7-10.
3. Ignorance of this terrible fact should lead us to pray for true wisdom, vs. 11-12.
4. God being the eternal home of his people, notwithstanding he may justly cut us off for sin, we may urge our plea for his compassion: (a) to give joy for sorrow, (b) to give success to our endeavors, vs. 13-17.

PSALM XC.

O Lord, thou hast been the home of thy people in successive generations. Thou art the eternal God. Thou art the all-creating God. This globe which men deem their home, and which with its ancient hills might seem to be permanent, compared with the generations who live upon it, and pass away from it, is but a thing of a day, compared with the eternity of its Creator. It is therefore in the Creator, and not in the created, that man must find his true and safe home. And well he may when he considers how frail he is. By the fiat of his Creator he crumbles quickly to dust, and by the fiat of the same Creator others appear to take his place. "One generation goeth and another cometh," but "thy years know no end." Thou art "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." What in fact is man's duration on this permanent globe? Could he live a thousand years, that period compared with God's eternity is like a dream when one awaketh. A thousand years in the mind of God glides away as imperceptibly as a yesterday, when it is vanishing, irrecoverably gone, and almost unnoticed; yea, more, it is as a watch in the night, a third part of the night, wherein one sleeps and wakes, and knows absolutely nothing of the passing of time. And this rapidity with which he passes away is by thy decree. Thou, O Lord of the universe, sweepest them away as with a storm. When thou dost this, they are as a sleep, there is no trace of their existence. Or to change the figure, they are like the grass which after a night's invig-

orating rain, shoots up fresh, and green, and blossoms, but in reality, soon passes away. In the morning it blossoms, and fades, in the evening one mows it down and it withers. And so man bursts into life, flourishes a short time, is full of vigor and promise, but death soon cuts him down, and he is gone. Surely when we consider man's frailty, compared with God's immutability, none but the eternal God can be a sufficient refuge. Moreover our case as a people is a peculiar ⁷one. While man at his best estate is as a sleep compared with thy infinite duration, our days have been shortened in consequence of thy wrath against us. We clamored for Egypt. We forsook the God of our fathers, and worshiped a calf. Massah and Merribah, and Merribah-Kadesh,—temptation and striving, and striving repeatedly, have stirred thine anger against us. "We remembered not the multitude of thy mercies," but continued to provoke thee. "We envied Moses in the camp; and Aaron the saint of Jehovah." "We joined ourselves to Baal-peor and ate the sacrifices of the dead." "Forty years long wast thou grieved with this generation, and didst say, It is a people that do err in their hearts; and they have not known my ways." And as a consequence, we have been consumed by thine anger, and by thy hot wrath have we been terrified with the dread of death. Nor was this causeless. Justly have we met the result of our own sin. Thou hast seen us just as we are, and it is because of our iniquities—iniquities, the very depths of which, and the inexcusableness of which, were under the gaze of thine eye. Yea, though we thought to cover them, and supposed they were so low in the abyss of our natures, that they could not be perceived by thee, thou didst cast the revealing light of thyself upon them, as the sun once pierced through the misty veil which enclosed our globe, and the pollution which is hidden from the human eye, was quickly manifest to thee. Oh! how the whole matter now seems to us! So different from our expectations! All our days have fled from us in consequence of, or by means of, thy just, but overflowing wrath. Our forty years, nay, our whole life now seems to us but a single thought. The days of our years, this life, the sum of it, what is it? Some of us have had seventy years of it. Others by means of unusual vigor, have stayed here seventy and ten years. Yet the whole period has been one of anxious toil and nothingness; for its honor and glory, and boasting hopes and terrible vexations, have quickly disappeared, and on the wings of the past we fly into the unknown future.

[✓]Oh! who can know, so as to thoroughly comprehend, the strength of thy anger against sin? Who can so use this knowledge, as to acquire a heart unto wisdom, and secure the prime design of life? To whom is revealed the strength of thine overflowing wrath against sin, so as to beget within him a perpetual reverence for thee, such as is thy just due? Alas! no one regards thee as the immutable, holy God, who can by no means spare the guilty! We are ever resisting thy just decrees. We deem ourselves the arbiters of our own fortunes, and think that our times are in our own hands. "Oh! That men were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end." But such knowledge is too high for us, unaided by divine enlightenment. Lord! cause us to know in the most practical way the number of our days, their brevity, their fleeting nature, their vast importance to the final issues of life. Give us, O Lord, the real connection between thy wrath and our own mortality, and we will bear the harvest with us, and bring the acceptable sacrifice—a heart, where "the fear of the Lord is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding."[✓] O Jehovah! turn from thine anger against us as a people! "Why shall the Egyptians speak in derision of us,

saying, for evil hath he brought them out, to slay them among the mountains, and to consume them from off the face of the ground?" Turn back from the heat of thine anger, and repent from the evil against thy people. Remember Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and thy strong, repeated promises, through them, to bless the whole earth. Ex. XXXII., 12. How long shall thy fury burn against thy chosen servants? Oh! concerning thine own elect, show thy compassion. A long night of fear, discontent and remorse has been ours. Let a new morning dawn upon us. Let the darkness of thy displeasure pass away, and let thy mercy, as the food of our souls, revive us, yea, satiate us. We are hungry for thy favor. Let our hunger be relieved, and we will sing out our gratitude, and be glad, with a radiant heart, the remainder of our days. Yes! compensate our sufferings by proportioned joys. Let these forty years of sorrow and sad apprehension, find their counterpart in our subsequent prosperity.

We pass away. Soon all the rebellious ones, against whom thine anger was kindled will pass away. Though we go, let those who come after us enter into thy rest. That is thy purpose. That is thy work of mercy. Let it appear. O, thou whom we have called by the majestic name of Lord, and whom now we call by thine endearing name Jehovah, and thy name of power Elohim, let thy promised work unto thy chosen ones appear, and thy splendor and glory descend upon their children.

O thou ruler of the universe, thou covenant keeping God, thou God of the whole earth, our fathers had the pledge, let the fulfilment descend upon their children. Let thy promised inheritance be theirs: an inheritance we have forfeited.

But do not, indeed, cast utterly off even us. Let thy condescending loveliness and grace descend upon us, who are about to pass away. Let our work, imperfect as it is, and confirmed as it is by our departure, be not fruitless. Yea, the work of *our* hands, establish thou it. Then shall we not have lived in vain, nor shall we have died in vain. Then wilt thou prove, that thou hast been the home of thy people in all generations, and that thou wilt continue to be their home until time shall end.

➤CRITICAL ❖ NOTES.◀

On the Study of the Old Testament.—This is an age of knowledge and it must in justice be added, in spite of occasional superficiality, an age of widely-diffused learning. The Christian believer is liable at any time to discredit the personal influence he might otherwise exert, if he exhibit a lack of intelligent acquaintance with the varied information which has been brought to bear upon all the subjects centreing in the Bible.

It is no doubt true, that God has no need of our learning, and that he can use the simplest and weakest instrument to confound the wisest, but he has still less need of our ignorance, and it is for us to offer him the best services at our command.

I wish to plead for a more critical study of the Old Testament, and I address myself to two classes of readers: 1) To intelligent laymen and those of the clergy,

who not being *versed in Hebrew*, are, for this very reason discouraged from beginning any critical work. 2) To clergymen, of scholastic training, who are fully aware how necessary it is for an expounder of the Bible to be able to read it in the original languages.

I. For the encouragement of the first class be it said, *a)* that we have no right to say that the study of the original languages of the Old Testament is dry and pedantic. The first difficulties are the greatest. The man who firmly faces and overcomes the initial difficulties may never indeed become a learned Hebraist, and may never be competent to give a decided opinion on a difficult text, (few can do that,) but he will be able to appreciate the learning of others; he will know where to look for a solution; he will avoid pitfalls into which those who cannot read Hebrew are frequently tumbling; he will learn to take pleasure pictorial in the beauty, the philosophic depth, the stately grandeur of the Hebrew Scriptures, and he will become more and more an accurate interpreter, a scribe, who brought out of his treasures, things new and old.

b) That it is the uniform testimony of those competent to judge, that except in the case of the *most advanced scholars*, to whom the use of the original may have become a second nature, much more may be learned from the careful study of the Old Testament in a critical English version than from the *laborious* perusal of it in an *unfamiliar* tongue. But in the present day, in which an intelligent knowledge of the text of the Scriptures is widely spread, in which we have on all sides the discussion of various translations, it is particularly necessary to be on the guard against quoting a text on any critical point without knowing whether the original will bear the interpretation which the English version may seem to suggest.

II. To the second class of readers, we would simply say: *a)* Pursue a systematic, exegetical study of the Old Testament. There are very few clergymen, who deliberately study through whole books of the Bible for their own private edification.

If after the most careful inquiry into all the historical, chronological, geographical, biographical, and social questions which arise in the peculiar circumstances connected with the portion of Scripture under consideration, we would analyze, and examine critically the force of every word and particle, and consider its grand harmonies with the entire body of divine truth, every faculty of our minds would be called into exercise, grander views of divine truth would be communicated, and the varied doctrines of God's Word would shine out in a new lustre.

b) Some of the most important critical questions of the day centre around the Old Testament, and he who would be an authority in these subjects, must have mastered the Hebrew language, not only in its classical form, but also in those cognate dialects which so frequently illustrate both the thought and the idiom of the Old Testament. He must know Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and the composite tongue which is the language of Jewish tradition and Jewish Exegesis.

Prof. R. F. WEIDNER.

The Remission of Debts.—Was it temporary or final? Most readers of the passage in Deut. xv. have thought the command of Moses to enjoin the total cancellation of pecuniary obligations. The ambiguity lies in the word "remission" or "release." The passage reads as follows: *At the end of seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release. Every master of the lending*

of his hand (i. e., creditor) who lendeth to his neighbor, shall make release. He shall not urge his neighbor and his brother, for a release unto Jehovah has been proclaimed.

It is evident that nothing can be decided from the English word "release" as to the point under consideration. Will the Hebrew word help us? It is the same word as that used in Ex. xxxiii., 11, where it is commanded that the fields *lie fallow* in the seventh year. It also is found in 2 Kgs. ix., 32 in the command to *throw down* the wicked queen from the castle window. But this idea is equally ambiguous. Is the debt to *lie fallow*, to be *thrown down*, only for a time, or for ever? If the former, for how long? If the release were to be made at the beginning of the seventh year it might seem plausible that it was to continue only during that year, but as the statement is expressly made, "*at the end* shalt thou make a release," it would be difficult to place any limit to the temporary release since none is mentioned in the text itself. Would it be for a week or a year? The law as it stands would on this hypothesis be so vague as to be ineffective.

Giving up then the expectation of finding help in the settlement of the problem from any examination of the words, our hope lies in the careful analysis and weighing of more general considerations. The lawgiver in the entire passage seems to have in mind not the ordinary transactions of trade and commerce between those who are able to pay their obligations, but those loans, whether of food or money made by the rich to their poorer brethren. The whole aim of the legislator is thus stated: *to the end that there be no poor among you*. The command to establish the release *at the end* of the Sabbatical year would then afford great relief, as during the enforced season of idleness when the fields were lying fallow the poor Israelite would naturally be quite dependent upon his richer neighbor who by reason of his wealth was enabled to make much more adequate preparations for this vacation-season. Moses accordingly, in the verses that follow, urges the rich not to be unconcerned about the distress of the poor. But should the rich man after lending to his neighbor during the seventh year, at the close of it and the beginning of the new season urge and press his poorer brother for payment, the poor man would be disheartened and weighed down at the outset of the labor with a burden too great for him. Hence the command to cancel all such debts is seen to be a wise and merciful provision of the great lawgiver. He makes the law in the interests of a beneficent and brotherly charity. It is another form of securing the closest fraternal unity. Nor was this command likely to be abused. The rich would be restrained from indiscriminately lending by the very law which demanded from him the freest benevolence. Should this law indeed be considered to apply to all transactions it would as a matter of course destroy all business credit. It would deal a death-blow to commercial progress. Such was not the aim of Moses. The whole spirit of the command limits it to the class of transactions which have been mentioned, loans made to the poor whether in the unavoidable business inactivity of the Sabbatical year or on earlier occasions of distress, want or misfortune. At the close of the seven years' cycle, his crushing burdens are removed and he can once more pluck up courage to labor with the hope of success.

G. S. GOODSPEED.

The Bible.—Certainly we should have no jealousy of what is called the Higher Criticism. It concerns itself with the authorship of the books of the Bible, the times when they were written, the manner in which they came to have a place in

the Sacred Canon, and such like questions. Lovers of the Bible can lose nothing by such criticism; and they may gain much from it. True it is not always serious or reverent. It is not always fair. The spirit of much of it is anti-supernaturalistic. If men set out with the idea that they are to find neither miracles nor prophecy in the Bible, they will probably account for the miracles recorded in it by ascribing them to the superstition of the times when the books of the Bible were composed; they will view them as simply the popular conception of natural events; and as to the prophecies, as one of the school said to the writer of this paper, they must have been written just after the events took place. But this irreverent, unfair spirit,—this spirit which proceeds on false assumptions, will injure most those who cherish it. Certainly, if there is truth in the Bible, it cannot injure that. If the Bible as itself declares, is “given by inspiration of God,” and if the God who is believed to have inspired holy men of old to write it, “makes the wrath of man to praise him, and will restrain the remainder thereof,” its inspiration will be all the more evident and luminous for this criticism. The Bible has stood many tests in its past history. We may be assured that it will come out of the ordeal to which it is now subjected, not only unscathed, but victorious.

It is useful in times of trial and mental strain to disencumber our minds of wrong conceptions. Like useless lumber these are apt to be in the way. It has been found useful to distinguish between revelation and inspiration. “Revelation is the communicating from God to a mortal, of knowledge which could not be, or had not been, obtained in any other way, by his immediate influence on the human mind.” Inspiration is “the qualifying a recipient of revelation to communicate the revealed knowledge to his fellow creatures with perfect certainty or accuracy.” “That which was not communicated by revelation, but which a person might have previously known by any of the providentially appointed means of acquiring information (such as personal observations, bearing a part in transactions, memory, traditions, conversation, written documents or public notoriety) might be matter appointed by God to be conveyed to others: in which case the due selection of the matter, and the faithful transmission of it to others by speaking or writing, would be the object of inspiration, though without revelation, as well as the former case of inspiration resting upon a revelation.” These definitions are taken from a note in Dr. John Pye Smith’s “Scripture Testimony to the Messiah.” p. 24, vol. I., ed. 4th, 1847. According to them, “All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.” but “all Scripture” is not revelation. It is not claimed that the whole Bible has been directly revealed by God; but that the writers of the Bible had an influence exerted on them by God, by which they were taught what and how they should write and speak. Truth which the human faculties could never have reached, was revealed to them; this truth they were inspired to make known; it is believed to be contained in the volume, which, because of its incomparable excellence, is called the Bible—The Book.

Another distinction is very useful,—that between inspiration as a fact, and theories of inspiration. Very much of the opposition to the religion of the Bible has been directed, not against that religion itself, but against human conceptions of it. We must not suppose that a person impugns the inspiration of the Scriptures, because he assails some theory of inspiration, which lovers of the Bible, in their zeal to defend its truth, have advanced. A person may be a sincere believer in the Atonement though he may refuse assent to some theory as to the nature of the work of the Redeemer of men, which some school of theologians has advocated. A per-

son may devoutly believe in the work of the Holy Spirit on the human soul to produce regeneration, though he may be unwilling to accept all that some school of theologians has set forth on that subject. And so it is possible to accept the Bible as an inspired book, though some theory of inspiration that has long held sway be rejected as inconsistent with the facts of the case. A man must not be branded as an infidel because he does not believe in *verbal* inspiration. Extreme theories, false, because they are extreme,—are mischievous. Not only do they foster a narrow spirit in those who advocate them, they repel the sincere inquirer after truth, and confirm in his position the sceptic, who in his keen-sightedness, sees their inconsistency with facts.

One thing, in regard to the Bible, cannot be disputed. It is in existence. The question is, How are we to account for it? If it has not been given to us by men whom God inspired for the purpose, how has it come into existence? Is it such a book as man either could or would have produced?

It is a book which has greatly influenced men wherever it has been circulated. It has stimulated the human intellect. It has quickened and refined the human sympathies. The highest culture and civilization of the age is the effect of the influence of the Bible on man. This ought to be taken into account in forming a judgment as to its character.

It is a book, to elucidate and explain which many books have been written. This is one of the ways in which it has quickened the human understanding. The literature to which the Bible has given rise is no inconsiderable part of the literature in existence. Nor does there seem to be any diminution of the power of the Bible to produce other books. More books are being written in this age in defence and in illustration of the Bible than in any previous age: and yet the Bible is ahead of them all and maintains its place as the book for the ages. Not only this: but, in every age, books have been written against the Bible, which have no more effect towards destroying it, than the beating of the surf against the rocky coast. Books *versus* the Bible written in past ages are comparatively unknown, while the Bible is as much loved as ever, and marches on in its conquest of the minds of men. This fact also should be weighed in forming an estimate of the book.

The Bible is a book too, which many people are trying to circulate all over the earth. Men have combined to translate this book into all the languages spoken by men (and have succeeded in translating it into a great many of them) and to give it to all peoples. And what is strange, if the book be of man, these translators and circulators of the Bible claim that the motives which constrain them in this work are derived from the book itself. They do it not for selfish ends: to increase their gains, or to acquire power, or to obtain the ascendancy over men politically. This work of Bible diffusion (and we may add of extending the religion of the Bible) is the greatest and purest benevolent movement of the age. The end contemplated is gained when the book is read, its truths understood and believed, its spirit imbibed and its precepts practised. If men, without divine help, have produced a book which has led such multitudes to accept itself as a Book from God, and which has awakened in them such enthusiasm to spread it and disseminate the religion which it inculcates, they have certainly achieved a great wonder.

Such considerations may well beget in us a desire to examine the Bible so that we may ascertain what there is in it different from other books. We may discover that it is a book which bad men could not have written, and which good men would not, unless by the inspiration of the Almighty.—REV. G. ANDERSON.

▷GENERAL NOTES.◁

Jotham's Fable.—The oldest fable of which we have any trace is that of Jotham, recorded in Judg. ix., 7-20. The trees are represented as going forth to choose and anoint a king. They invite the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine to come and reign over them, but these all decline, and urge that their own natural purpose and products require all their care. Then the trees invite the bramble, which does not refuse, but, in biting irony, insists that all the trees shall come and take refuge under its shadow! Let the olive-tree, and the fig-tree, and the vine come under the protecting shade of the briar! But if not, it is significantly added, "Let fire go out from the bramble and devour the cedars of the Lebanon." The miserable, worthless bramble, utterly unfit to shade even the smallest shrub, might, nevertheless, well serve to kindle a fire that would quickly devour the noblest of trees. So Jotham, in giving an immediate application of his fable, predicts that the weak and worthless Abimelech, whom the men of Shechem had been so fast to make king over them, would prove an accursed torch to burn their noblest leaders. All this imagery of trees walking and talking is at once seen to be purely fanciful. It has no foundation in fact, and yet it represents a vivid and impressive picture of the political follies of mankind in accepting the leadership of such worthless characters as Abimelech.—*From Terry's Biblical Hermeneutics.*

Characteristics of the Chokma.—The tendency of the age of Solomon in relation to the tendency of that of David, may be compared to the tendency of Alexandrian Judaism in relation to that of the Palestinian. It is directed to the human, the ideal and the universal elements in Israel's religion and history, and connects the essence of the Israelitish religion with the elements of truth in heathenism. As knowledge (*gnosis*) goes forth from faith (*πίστις*), so the age of Solomon is the new age of wisdom (*chokma*), which has gone forth from the age of David. While prophecy serves the process of redemptive history, *chokma* hastens on before it, and anticipates the universal ideas, through which the adaptation of the religion of Jehovah to become the religion of the world is recognized. The Book of Proverbs, the Book of Job, and Solomon's Song are products of this intellectual, and, to a certain degree, philosophical tendency. In the Book of Proverbs the name of Israel nowhere occurs, but that of man (*adam*) is found all the more frequently. The hero of the Book of Job is a personal and actual proof of the grace which is also active outside of Israel, and the entire book is a protest against the legal pride of orthodox Phariseeism, which, having run fast into the dogma of retribution, is not able to keep sin and suffering apart. And Solomon's Song is a circle of dramatic pictures which place before our eyes the love of man and woman in its monogamous and divinely sanctified ideality. All these three books treat of the relation of man, as such, to God and man. From this we perceive how little there is that is specifically Israelitic in the Solomonic literature.

We see the preparation for this largeness of heart, and for the removal of the husk of nationality from humanity in the Psalms; for (1) in them the desire is expressed in many ways that the heathen may be drawn into the fellowship of salvation; and (2) in them the ceremonial of the Tora is already broken in pieces, so that the spirit does not recognize it at all except as symbolic. Samuel gave expres-

sion to a thought which in this respect can be considered as one of the productive germs of the poetry of the Psalms, 1 Sam. xv., 22, 23: "Hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of Jehovah? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, to hearken than the fat of rams; for disobedience is the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is teraphim-wickedness."

There are scarcely two books which furnish a greater contrast in their contents than Solomon's Song and the Book of Job; the former bounds like a gazelle in the spring-time and sunshine, the latter wades through the mire of deep suffering and enigma; and between them the Book of Proverbs moves with a cheerful earnestness through the "vanity fair" of life. But all three books are of one character. They are not specifically Israelitic, but place themselves upon the basis of pure humanity. The allegorical interpretation of Canticles makes Solomon a prophet or a mystic, but he was neither the one nor the other.

The epos and the drama are peculiar to the Indo-Germanic race. The peoples of Islam first received epics and dramas through the Persians who were converted to Islam; but in the time of Solomon the Israelitic literature was removed only a step from the development of the drama. The Song of Solomon and the Book of Job are dramas: the one, even as the ancients called it, is a comedy, the other a tragedy. But the one still lies in the swaddling-clothes of lyric poetry, and the other in the swaddling-clothes of historiography. The Book of Job also resembles the classic tragedy in other respects. Job is a tragic hero. He maintains an unshaken consciousness of his innocence before the decree which crushes him like fate. But the result of the drama is not here, as in the ancient tragedies, that the fate destroys him, but that Job's idea of the fate (*decretum absolutum*) itself, that is, his false conception of God, is annihilated as a phantom of temptation.—*From Delitzsch's O. T. History of Redemption.*

The Sources of the Chronicler.—I. It is clear that when the Chronicler refers to the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, 1 Chron. ix., 1, 2 Chron. xvi., 11, xxv., 26, xxvii., 7, xxviii., 26, xxxii., 32, xxxv., 27, xxxvi., 8, or to the Book of Kings, 2 Chron. xx., 34, or to the Midrash (Commentary) of the Book of Kings, 2 Chron. xxiv., 27, he does not intend our Book of Kings, for many reasons, of which we give the following examples:—

1. The canonical Books of Kings do not contain the registration of all Israel, which is assigned to the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, 1 Chron. ix., 1: "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies: and, behold, they were written in the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah."

2. If we translate 2 Chron. xx., 32, "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which were received [instead of 'mentioned,' as in the English version] into the Book of the Kings of Israel," we find that while Jehu is mentioned as prophesying against Baasha, he has nothing to say about Jehoshaphat.

3. The rest of the acts of Amaziah, first and last, 2 Chron. xxv., 26, and the rest of the acts of Jotham, xxvii., 7, and all his wars and his ways, are not found in the canonical Books of Kings, since the same material, in almost the same form, and more complete, is found in Chronicles (compare 2 Kgs. xiv., 1-20 with 2 Chron. xxv.; 2 Kgs. xv. 32-38 with 2 Chron. xxvii.).

4. Manasseh's prayer unto God, and the words of the seers that spake to him,

2 Chron. xxxiii., 18, are not given in our Books of Kings (compare 2 Kgs. xxi., 1-18 with 2 Chron. xxxiii., 1-20).

II. It is certain that the Chronicler refers to works which are not contained in our canonical books.

1. The visions of Iddo (or Jedo, who was perhaps another person from those who follow) the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat, 2 Chron. ix., 29; the words of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies, 2 Chron. xii., 15; and the Commentary (Midrash) of Iddo, 2 Chron. xiii., 22, do not occur in our Books of Kings, but probably refer to writings of the persons named which were used by the Chronicler.

2. The acts of Uzziah, which were written by Isaiah the son of Amoz, 2 Chron. xxvi., 22, are neither to be found in the canonical Books of Kings nor in the prophecy of Isaiah, who, to be sure, mentions Uzziah, Isa. i., 1, vi., 1, as he does Jotham and Ahaz, i., 1, vii., 1, 3, 10, 12, xiv., 28, xxxviii., 8. But it is clear that the writing of Isaiah in regard to Uzziah is entirely independent of such a passing notice as he gives him in his prophecy.

3. The Commentary on the Book of Kings, which is quoted as giving particulars respecting the sons of Joash, the greatness of the burdens laid upon him, and the repairing of the house of God, 2 Chron. xxiv., 27, is no longer in existence, but was still accessible to the Chronicler and his contemporaries.

4. Since we have established the independence of these sources, it seems to us in the highest degree improbable, that when the Chronicler mentions other authorities whose names appear in our Books of Kings, he simply refers, after the Jewish fashion, to sections where their names occur.

(1) When he quotes the words of Samuel the seer as one of his authorities for the life of David, 1 Chron. xxix., 29, he evidently refers to one of the sources of our two canonical books which were originally one.

(2) If, however, we understand him as quoting historical documents of Samuel, what is to prevent us from understanding that Nathan the prophet and Gad the seer were the authors of other documents, from which the Chronicler might have derived his account of the activity of the priests and Levites in the time of David? This supposition derives some probability from 2 Chron. xxix., 25: "And he set the Levites in the house of the Lord with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet, for so was the commandment of the Lord by His prophets." Since Gad's words are as fully given in 1 Chron. xxi., 9-19 as in 2 Sam. xxiv., 11-19, we have good reason for believing that, as we have already intimated, he is author of an independent work.

(3) The Chronicler cites Shemaiah with Iddo as containing the acts of Rehoboam first and last, 2 Chron. xii., 15; but he could not have referred to 1 Kgs. xii., 22-24, where Shemaiah's prophecy occurs, which he repeats with slight variations, 2 Chron. xi., 2-4. Shemaiah has undoubtedly given fuller accounts of Rehoboam's reign than are found in these three verses.

(4) We have no warrant for understanding that one original Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel is indicated under the different authorities which are quoted. This conclusion has been drawn from 2 Chron. xx., 34, which mentions that the Book of Jehu the son of Hanani was embodied in the Book of Kings, and from xxxii., 32, where many read, "In the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." The singling out of these two books

as being reckoned under the Book of Kings would naturally lead us to suppose that the others were not reckoned in the same category. Besides, it is doubtful, in the second case, whether the vision of Isaiah is not to be understood as an authority besides the Book of Kings. This meaning is favored by the translation of the Septuagint, which, together with Chaldee, is followed by the English version.

(5) When we duly weigh all these points, we do not wonder that Graf was at last inclined to admit that he had gone too far in maintaining that the Chronicler had only freely adapted our Books of Kings to his own views. We have, as it seems to us, abundantly shown that the Chronicler had reliable authorities, and that the assumption that he has deliberately changed the historical facts for a didactic purpose, is entirely without foundation.

(6) The question now remains, In what shape did he consult these authorities? Professor Dr. Franz Delitzsch, my honored friend and teacher, answers the question as follows:—The Chronicler had (1) our two Books of Samuel; (2) our two Books of Kings; (3) a *Midrash Sepher ha-Melakim*.—that is, a commentary on an older Book of Kings,—in which this older book was illustrated by excerpts out of the official annals of Judah and Israel, and out of many prophetic documents of different times. It is probable that Ezra was the compiler of this great work, which closed with the history of his own time.

While we hold, with Professor Delitzsch, that the Chronicler had our Books of Samuel and Kings, we find no adequate proof that the mass of the material was comprehended under a compilation from the older documents named, or that that the expression *Midrash Sepher ha-Melakim* is equivalent to *Sepher Malche Israel ve Jhuda*. (a) As we have already observed, there is no evidence that *Dibre Nathan*, *Dibre Gad*, *Nebuath Ahijah*, *Chazoth Yedo*, *Dibre She-maiah*, *Dibre Iddo*, and *Midrash Iddo* were contained in one work. Indeed, it is far more probable that they existed as independent documents. The fact that the work of Jehu the son of Hanani is mentioned as being embodied in the Book of Kings, 2 Chron. xx., 34, does not indicate that those above mentioned were collected in the same work; it rather shows that the others were not included in it. (b) Although the Chronicler does not quote his main source without some slight variations, yet we cannot argue from this that he considers *Midrash Sepher ha-Melachim* equivalent to *Sepher Malche Israel*, which he mentions twice, or to *Sepher Malche Jhuda ve Israel*, to which he refers four times, much less that the above-mentioned documents of Nathan, Gad, etc., were all constituent parts of a larger work.

(7) Our theory is that the Chronicler had access to these documents, which all illustrated the history of the regal period, and with which he was perfectly familiar. Since we cannot identify the *Sepher Malche Jhuda ve Israel* with *Dibre ha-Yamin*, which is so often quoted in the Book of Kings, it is probable that our present Books of Samuel and Kings lay before our author, from which he took the basis of an enlarged and modified work, which was enriched by the sources already mentioned, and which truly represents the course of history during the regal period from a Levitical standpoint.—From Curtiss' *The Levitical Priests*.

The Historical Standpoint.—It is of the first importance, in interpreting a written document, to ascertain who the author was, and to determine the time, the

place, and the circumstances of his writing. The interpreter, should, therefore, endeavor to take himself from the present, and to transport himself into the historical position of his author, look through his eyes, note his surroundings, feel with his heart, and catch his emotion. Herein we note the import of the term *grammatico-historical* interpretation. We are not only to grasp the grammatical import of words and sentences, but also to feel the force and bearing of the historical circumstances which may in any way have affected the writer. Hence, too, it will be seen how intimately connected may be the object or design of a writing and the occasion which prompted its composition. The individuality of the writer, his local surroundings, his wants and desires, his relation to those for whom he wrote, his nationality and theirs, the character of the times when he wrote—all these matters are of the first importance to a thorough interpretation of the several books of Scripture.

A knowledge of geography, history, chronology, and antiquities, has already been mentioned as an essential qualification of the biblical interpreter. Especially should he have a clear conception of the order of events connected with the whole course of sacred history, such as the contemporaneous history, so far as it may be known, of the great nations and tribes of patriarchal times: the great world-powers of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, with which the Israelites at various times came in contact; the Macedonian Empire, with its later Ptolemaic and Seleucidæic branches, from which the Jewish people suffered many woes, and the subsequent conquest and dominion of the Romans. The exegete should be able to take his standpoint anywhere along this line of history wherever he may find the age of his author, and thence vividly grasp the outlying circumstances. He should seek a familiarity with the customs, life, spirit, ideas, and pursuits of these different times and different tribes and nations, so as to distinguish readily what belonged to one and what to another. By such knowledge he will be able not only to transport himself into any given age, but also to avoid confounding the ideas of one age or race with those of another.

It is not an easy task for one to disengage himself from the living present, and thus transport himself into a past age. As we advance in general knowledge, and attain a higher civilization, we unconsciously grow out of old habits and ideas. We lose the spirit of the olden times, and become filled with the broader generalization and more scientific procedures of modern thought. The immensity of the universe, the vast accumulations of human study and research, the influence of great civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and the power of traditional sentiment and opinions, govern and shape our modes of thought to an extent we hardly know. To tear oneself away from these, and go back in spirit to the age of Moses, or David, or Isaiah, or Ezra, or of Matthew and Paul, and assume the historic standpoint of any of those writers, so as to see and feel as they did—this surely is no easy task. Yet, if we truly catch the spirit and feel the living force of the ancient oracles of God, we need to apprehend them somewhat as they first thrilled the hearts of those for whom they were immediately given.—*From Terry's Biblical Hermeneutics.*

Jesus and Mosaism.—When we compare the estimate which Jesus makes of Mosaism with the claims made for it in the Old Testament, we observe certain points of coincidence and also certain points of contrast. That the Mosaic law contained a revelation of the divine truth and the divine will: that it therefore

brought to all men elements of absolute ethical and religious verity in successive self-disclosures of God; and that it was especially the means of divine pedagogy to Israel, through which the theocratic nation became possessed of those great Messianic ideas that underlie the kingdom of God on earth,—these truths Jesus teaches in no equivocal fashion. But that he was capable of distinguishing between the elements of human weakness and error with which they were mingled, in a manner altogether impossible for the writers and teachers of the Old Testament, we are also not permitted to doubt. And, in fact (as we have already seen), he made this important distinction. We can scarcely fail to believe that he might have carried the same distinction into many other details of the Mosaic law, had not a wise reticence, due to his times and to the nature of his mission, prevented him. As far as he has spoken, we are left to notice how widely his manner diverged in many respects from that of the Old Testament. The *jus talionis* to which Mosaism gives a place in the Book of the Covenant, as belonging to the words which Jehovah spoke to Moses and as part of the national compact with God, Jesus characterizes rather as one of those concessive and morally imperfect enactments which were spoken by Moses and his successors to the men of old time. (Compare Matt. v., 38 and Ex. xxxi., 24). The law of divorce which Deuteronomy gives among the other statutes of Jehovah commanded through Moses, Jesus regards rather as a statute of Moses, necessitated by the hardness of the human heart, and indeed no better than a virtual permission of adultery. (Compare Matt. v., 31. f., xix., 8, 9, and Deut. xxiv., 1.) How different, moreover, is the entire manner of Jesus when speaking of the Mosaic law, from that of the unqualified praises of the latest books of the Old Testament, with their peculiar tendencies to insist rather upon the ceremonial and sacerdotal provisions of the written Tora! The spirit of his words accords with that view which upholds the principles of righteousness embodied in the Mosaic law, and its symbolic testimony to the great Messianic ideas; while, at the same time, it relatively depreciates that which is distinctively ceremonial and sacerdotal. The scribe, with his growing importance, due to an increasing number of minute and often seemingly conflicting legal enactments, and with his superlative regard for manuscript authority is rather pushed into the background by the teaching of Jesus. But the genuine and living word of Jehovah, which this scribe is quite too likely to overlook in his zeal for the written law, is brought forth from its hiding-place in the manuscript. Thus does Jesus differ in his estimate of Mosaism from both its earlier and later claims in the Old Testament, although drawing in spirit decidedly nearer to those earlier claims. He does not, however, so differ as to abrogate in the least his own declaration, “Until heaven and earth shall have passed away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise have passed away from the law, until all things shall have come to pass.”—*From Ladd's "Doctrine of Sacred Scripture."*

➤ EDITORIAL NOTES. ◀

Our readers are requested to make the following verbal corrections in the article of Professor Lyon published in the December Number. On page 104 in the sentence beginning "On any given ethical question," for "ethical" substitute "critical." On page 105 the "itinerancy of the wanderings" should read "the itinerary of the wanderings."

The Use of Commentaries.—How is a commentary to be used? Are commentaries generally used or abused? These are practical questions?

Some students use the commentary first; if any time remains, and this is seldom the case, they take a glance at the portion of Scripture which they persuade themselves that they have been studying. Some read the passage under consideration hastily, glance over the first lines of each paragraph in the commentary, and wonder why commentaries are so dry. Some go nervously from a word in the text to the comment upon it, or from the comment to the word, twisting and confusing various comments and different words. Some, though but a moment of time is at their disposal, decide absolutely upon many questions; if the commentator seems to hesitate, if he fails to present a positive solution, he is regarded as loose, and unworthy of confidence. Some, finding that various explanations have been offered in the case of a certain expression, conclude at once that it is not worth while to give much attention to the study of the Bible, about which there may be held such divergent views. Some have no regard whatever for the views propounded in a commentary, and seek to ascertain those views only that they may be able to adopt one which the commentary does not suggest. It is probably true that by nine persons out of ten the use of a commentary is rather an abuse.

But what is the commentary for? When? As often as there is need. How? By complementing and supplementing the knowledge of common sense of which the ordinary Bible student is supposed to be possessed. There is a use of commentaries which is worthy of consideration. Study the portion of Scripture *first* without assistance. Read it carefully, examining every word, if possible, in the original, at least in the translation. Read it a second time, marking the relation which exists between the sentences and parts of sentences. A third reading will throw much additional light upon the matter in hand. Now note those words or phrases which you do not seem perfectly to comprehend. And again, those words and phrases of the meaning of which you can obtain no satisfactory idea.

There are three elements, (1) that which you seem to understand; or (2) that which is more or less doubtful; (3) that which is entirely uncertain as to meaning. *Now*, but not until now, refer to the commentary, and see what solutions or explanations are suggested for those points of greatest difficulty. Weigh the views that are presented, and decide, with the light which you have, i. e., in view of all the circumstances, upon that which is the most satisfactory. Examine the remarks touching the questions which were partly but not entirely understood. Finally read over whatever else may be said in the commentary, and note everything suggested, which did not occur to you. Read over the passage with all the light which has thus been shed upon it. If you have several commentaries, pur-

sue the same method. Use them (1) to solve difficulties which you could not be expected to solve: (2) to throw light upon that which is more or less doubtful: (3) to suggest that of which you might not have thought. Use commentaries, but do not *abuse* them.

In Reference to Higher Criticism.—The publication of Dr. Lyon's article on *The Results of Biblical Criticism* in the December STUDENT has started one or two questions in the minds of some of our readers: What is the position of THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT on this subject? If its position is a conservative one, does it do right to publish the views of those who are not so conservative? The Editor of the STUDENT appreciates the fact that these are important questions. They are the test-questions which are put to every instructor in the Old Testament department. It is true, as has often been said, that the position of no religious instructor is so delicate and difficult as that of the Professor of Hebrew in our theological seminaries. The difficulty of the position, however, varies somewhat, a greater amount of freedom being allowed in some denominations than in others. What seems necessary to be said in this connection may be classified under the head of facts and under that of conclusions which are thought to be clear in consideration of these facts.

It is a *fact* that, in Germany, every scholar, of any considerable reputation, save one, has accepted to a greater or less extent the results which Higher Criticism claims to have reached.

It is a *fact* that among these scholars, no matter what may be said to the contrary, the degree of unanimity which has been reached in reference to the more important points is, indeed, remarkable.

It is a *fact* that in England a large proportion of the most reputable clergymen and scholars, even in the denominations which pride themselves upon their strict orthodoxy, have adopted in whole or in part these views.

It is a *fact* that in America a respectable number of the most esteemed Old Testament scholars sympathize in a few cases openly, in many cases privately with these views.

It is a *fact* that just as the general view of the interpretation of important portions of Scripture, [e. g., the interpretation of Genesis 1., has undergone a radical change within a quarter of a century, so that the opinion which was formerly accepted unanimously, is now treated almost with ridicule.] so the general view of the composition, authorship and literary character of certain books has, in the minds of those who have given these questions any considerable thought, become quite different.

It is a *fact* that entirely correct views as to any of these questions have not as yet been attained, nor may they be expected so long as human knowledge remains finite.

It is a *fact* that they who oppose most strenuously the claims of Higher Criticism take as representatives of that science those who hold the most extreme views. It is not right to suppose that all critics are Kuenens and Wellhausens. There are men like Delitzsch, Strack, Briggs and Curtiss, who accept to a greater or less extent these results, yet remain strictly evangelical.

It is a *fact* that the results which Higher Criticism *claims* to have reached have more in their favor than the majority of persons are willing to concede, and that

these so-called results are objected to rather on the ground of their tendency, than because of a lack of proof.

It is a *fact* that many of those who make the loudest outcry against the so-called results are, for the most part, those who have not, and indeed, can not have a clear conception of the basis on which they rest.

It is, however, a *fact* that a large portion of what are called *results*, rest upon a very uncertain foundation; that although in many cases there seems to be some plausibility in the arguments adduced, absolute proof has as yet been presented for a very inconsiderable number of these results.

It is a *fact* that even if these results, at least those of a less radical character, should be shown to be true, it is possible, while accepting them to maintain a strict view as to the general truth and inspiration of the Bible.

And now, granting these to be *facts*, we believe

1) that it is the duty of every minister of the Gospel to acquaint himself with investigations, whether the results be true or false, which are attracting so largely the attention of the church.

2) that these questions can be settled only by free and open discussion.

3) that if these results are true, we ought to know it; if they are false we ought to prove it.

4) that the places for the discussion of these questions, and for obtaining a knowledge of the facts in the case are (1) the lecture-room of the theological seminary, and (2) the pages of professional journals. The weekly religious paper, read by every member of the family, is, of course, no place for the publication of such views. But a journal published in the interest of Old Testament study, aiming to present the current discussions of the day, circulating almost exclusively among ministers and the higher class of laymen, such a journal furnishes certainly the best, and indeed, the only medium for presenting and refuting these views.

5) that in no way can a greater mistake be made, supposing the conclusions to be absolutely false, than by prohibiting all presentation of such conclusions.

6) that, whatever may be the outcome of this discussion, it can only result in benefit to biblical study, and in more firmly establishing the authenticity and credibility of the Sacred Scriptures.

In the Prospectus, published in the first number of the *STUDENT*, there appeared the following notice:—

“In its attitude towards ‘new theories,’ the Journal will be conservative. Judicious discussion of questions of criticism will be encouraged, but in no case will the editor be responsible for views expressed by contributors.”

Up to this time there has occurred nothing to occasion any change of policy, nor has anything appeared in the *Journal*, contrary to the spirit of this announcement.

▷BOOK : NOTICES.◁

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOHS.

Among the most valuable of recent works upon ancient Egypt is that whose title we give below.* The author enjoyed during a period of thirty years exceptional opportunities for research among the antiquities of that most interesting country of which he writes. Connected officially with the government of the then Khedive, Ismael Pasha—whence his title of "Bey"—and encouraged and aided in his explorations and studies by that prince, who seems to have himself cherished an enlightened interest in what relates to the ancient history of the land he ruled, Dr. Brugsch, in association with his friend and associate, Mariette-Pasha, prosecuted during the thirty years of his residence in Egypt the researches whose fruits are given in these two noble volumes. The work was first published in French, in the year 1857, though not by any means in its present complete state. In 1877, it appeared in German, the French edition having been entirely re-written, and the plan of so much of the whole work as relates to Egypt under the Pharaohs having been fully executed. It is from the German that this translation is made. The value of the work is much enhanced, in its English form, by the discourse upon "The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments," which is given at the end. In September, 1874, Dr. Brugsch, as a delegate of the Khedive, attended the meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists in London. This discourse was delivered on that occasion. The "Additions and Original Notes by the Author," which accompany the work as we now have it, also supply matter of great interest and value.

It is exceedingly gratifying to find Dr. Brugsch treating his subject in a spirit of entire fairness toward Bible history, so far as that history comes into relation with his general theme, as it often does. His interpretations do not always agree with long accepted ones: yet the original record is always treated and spoken of by him as if recognized fully in its claim to be inspired and infallible. What his personal views upon the subject of Scripture inspiration are is not, anywhere, expressly indicated. It is in any case to his credit that he respects the convictions of those who hold the Christian doctrine in that regard; while he is so express and clear in showing how the monuments confirm the Bible narrative at every point where they bear upon each other, that one is led to hope that it is from the Christian point of view that all such questions are seen by him.

The work itself is strictly a history, as it imports to be. One does not find in it details upon the ancient language and literature of Egypt as in Osburne, nor like details as to the customs, mode of life, agriculture, government and religion

* *A History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*. Derived entirely from the Monuments. To which is added a Discourse on the Exodus of the Israelites. By Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Translated and edited from the German by Philip Smith, B. A., author of "The Student's Ancient History of the East." Second edition, with a new Preface, Additions, and Original Notes by the Author. Maps and Illustrations. London: John Murray.

of the ancient Egyptians, as in Wilkinson. The reader may, at first, feel a degree of disappointment on this account. It seems to be in some measure assumed that what lies back of the history proper is already known, and it is only in rapid allusion that we find mention made of the astonishing achievements of this ancient people, even as far back as the time of Abraham and Moses, in those works to which a high degree of civilization is essential; only in those incidental and brief descriptions which help rather than hinder the continuous flow of the narrative, that we have brought into view the mighty temples, with their pylons and walls covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions; the tombs, and palaces, and great cities which even in their ruins make the land of the Nile the world's wonder; the antique literature stored in papyri thousands of years old, or covering pillars, and obelisks, and palace walls and gates, and even the entrances and enclosures of tombs with painted records whose colors are as brilliant to-day as when first laid on. The reader as he follows the narrative in these volumes is supposed to have all these things, more or less, in his consciousness. And still as the great story proceeds he is often made to realize, in brief and vivid allusions, in what a theatre and on what a stage the mighty drama went forward.

It consists best with the purpose of our magazine, that we occupy ourselves principally in this brief review with so much of the contents of these volumes as connects the testimonies of the Egyptian monuments with the narrative of Hebrew history, in the Bible. The Scripture personages named in that connection are chiefly three, Abraham, Joseph and Moses, and the event in Hebrew history which is most dwelt upon is that of the Exodus. Dr. Brugsch is very express and emphatic in maintaining that all which has yet appeared in researches such as his own, confirms the Biblical narrative in every case where the two come into relation with one another. In speaking of the Exodus he says: "My discussion is based, on the one hand, upon the texts of Scripture, in which I have not to change a single iota; on the other hand, upon the Egyptian monumental inscriptions, explained according to the laws of a sound criticism, free from all bias of a fanciful character." He finds it necessary to say that for "almost twenty centuries the translators and interpreters of Holy Scripture have wrongly understood and rendered the geographical notices contained in that part of the Biblical text which describes the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt;" yet adds, "The error, most certainly, is not due to the sacred narrative." In translating the noble poem of Pentaur, a contemporary of Moses, the oldest heroic poem in the world, celebrating the victory of Rameses II. (the Greek Sesostris) over the Khita, Dr. Brugsch says: "Throughout the poem the peculiar cast of thought of the Egyptian poet fourteen centuries before Christ shines out continually in all its fulness, and confirms our opinion that the Mosaic language exhibits to us an exact counterpart of the Egyptian mode of speech. The whole substance of thought in minds living at the same time, and in society with each other, must needs have tended towards the same conception and form, even though the idea which the one had of God was essentially different from the views of the other concerning the nature of the Creator of all things." The perfect consistency of the story of Joseph with what the monuments and the papyri show of the history of Egypt in that period, the famine of which the monuments themselves have a record, and the character of the people at that time, is most strikingly shown. Like testimonies, though not so full, appear with reference to Abraham. In fact, a candid and careful reader of these volumes should find it very difficult to believe that the books bearing the

name of Moses can have been written by any one save himself, or at any other time than that very period to which they import to belong.

If space would allow, we should be glad to present in full the theory of Dr. Brugsch with regard to the Exodus. His Discourse, at the end of the History, shows in statements made by himself that this subject was with him for years a special study. Three times he traversed the region indicated in the Scripture narrative, carefully noting those indications which might be of service in such an inquiry. The result is the conviction that interpreters have hitherto been quite at fault as to the line of march taken by the Hebrews, and as to the point at which their miraculous deliverance occurred. He does not think that the crossing took place at the head of the Gulf of Suez, as has so long been held; but that the march of the people as led by Moses, starting from a more northerly point, at the city of Ramses, near the borders of Goshen, having taken first a south-easterly direction, turned northward, after crossing the Pelusiac branch of the Nile at Pitom, passed Migdol, and continued northward until the Mediterranean was reached. Between the Mediterranean and the Lake Serbonis, long known as "the Serbonian Bog," he shows that there was a passage which under certain conditions was dry and safe, yet under others became exceedingly dangerous. Northerly winds brought the Mediterranean down upon this passage, covering it with raging waves, and sweeping whatever came in its way into the deep gulfs of the Serbonian lake. An easterly wind drove back the waters of the great sea, and left the passage clear. Along this road he conceives that the Hebrews passed, the "strong east wind" which the Lord gave, driving back the waters. When the Egyptians sought to follow them, the wind changed, "the sea returned to his strength, and the Lord overthrew" them.

This theory of Dr. Brugsch has been much criticised, and there certainly are objections to it. His treatment of it, however, while deeply interesting, is rich in information concerning the geography of that part of lower Egypt, east of the Pelusiac Nile branch, where the Goshen of Israel lay, and that other district between the Pelusiac and Tinitic branches, where lay the land of Succoth, and where Pharaoh's "treasure cities," Pitom and Ramses were built by the enslaved Israelites. It should seem that he holds his theory as to the miracle of the deliverance consistently, in his own mind, with a recognition of that special divine interposition which the Hebrews celebrated in their song of triumph. The theory does avoid some difficulties in the received interpretation, while it is true that divine power and purpose might work a miracle on the shore of the Mediterranean as easily as at the Gulf of Suez. Whether the Lake of Serbonis could be rightly understood as "the Red Sea," or any part of it, and whether this account as a whole meets the conditions of the Bible narrative, the readers of the Discourse are not as yet, all of them, by any means convinced.

We have not brought this work to the attention of readers as a new one; but with a view to recognize it as one of the foremost in value of recent contributions to those archaeological studies in which just now so many are interested. It is a book which one peruses with pleasure no less than with profit, the admirable narrative style of the original being so reproduced in the translation as to charm the reader's attention and hold it unwearied.

J. A. SMITH.

HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.*

This latin tract of 108 pages treats of the origin of the Sabbatic institution, with special reference to the new light derived from Assyrian inscriptions, of which the author is master. Incidentally the theories of Wellhausen and "the Higher Criticism" receive condemnation from the Euphrates valley. The stones cry out in honor of the much abused Scriptures of the Old Testament. The following summary of the book is made by the author.

1. The principal signification of the word Sabbath is "quiet."
2. The Old Testament does not say plainly that the week and the Sabbath were used before Moses.
3. Other ancient peoples besides the Israelites and Babylonians did not observe sabbaths or reckon by seven days, except in astrology.
4. Our week arose from the combination of the Hebrew and astrological seven days.
5. Fortuitously the Jewish Sabbath and the astrologer's day of Saturn were the same.
6. The Hebrew Sabbaths were not in principle days of Saturn.
- 7 and 8. The astrological week was invented by the Babylonians but used, not by the public, but only by astrologers.
9. The Babylonians commonly used a week that originated by the fourfold division of the lunar month.
10. Their Sabbaths occurred the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of each month.
11. The Sabbaths were not evil days, not at all sad, but rest was severely enjoined.
12. The Sabbaths did not pertain principally to the worship of the moon.
13. Six was the principal number of measures in Babylon, so that in six days labor was full and a day of quiet must follow.
14. The Israelites received the Sabbath from the Babylonians, Moses accommodating it to the religion of Jehovah.
15. From the days of Moses each seventh day was a Sabbath.
16. From the historical and prophetic books it appears that from the time of Moses the Sabbath was regarded as a day in which it was wrong to transact business of any kind, and that in the time of Amos the intermission of business was not more negligent [as Wellhausen says] but more diligent than in the time of Nehemiah.
17. All writers of the pentateuch demand the intermission of all kinds of labor on the Sabbath.
18. It cannot be proved that the laws of the Elohist (PC) book commanded sabbatic rest any more severely than other laws.
19. Sabbath rest is considered by the prophets and the writers of the laws as of all things most sacred.
20. The cause of Sabbath rest is always chiefly this that the Sabbath as sacred to Jehovah is profaned by the labor of man.
21. They did not consider that the prescribed rest was a sequence of the sanctity of the Sabbath as of other feast days, but that the Sabbath from the beginning was made sacred that it might be a day of rest.

* *Quaestiones de Historia Sabbati. Scripsit Guilelmus Lotz, Lipsiae, 1883.*

22. God did not set apart the day chiefly for the sake of slaves and beasts but that it might be celebrated with homage to God.

23. But it was not a mere ordinance. It was a benefit also.

24. The reason for the sabbatic rest given in the decalogue makes the sabbatic rest signify both an ordinance and a benefit.

25 and 26. The writer of Deuteronomy makes the reason for sabbatic rest both an ordinance and a benefit. He probably knew the reason given in the decalogue but omitted it to make room for another.

27 and 28. "Liber sanctitatis" predicates rest on the sanctity of the day to Jehovah.

29. There is no occasion for us to suppose that Ezechiel was the first to lay down this reason for sabbatic rest.

30. Even if Ezechiel had invented that reason it could not be contended that the nature of the Sabbath was different in his day from what it had been.

31. Exod. xxxi. 16-17 are later than Exod. xx., 11 and were inserted into the "librum sanctitatis" before it was received into the "librum elohisticum" (A. PC.).

32. Even if the writer of A. PC. had been the first to give this reason for sabbatic rest it does not follow that he thought differently from earlier writers concerning the nature of sabbatic rest.

W. W. EVARTS, JR.

THE TALMUD AGAIN.

The hue and cry against the Jews has brought forth a considerable literature. In this a peculiar place must be given to the work entitled "An Opinion on the Talmud of the Hebrews."* It was written in the year 1802 and not intended for publication but for the information of a personal friend. The author Karl Fischer was censor of the press for the department of Hebrew, was a thorough Hebrew scholar, a devout Christian and a strongly upright man—these particulars are taken from the brief introduction to the present work.

The work itself begins with a statement as to the wide variety of opinions expressed concerning the Talmud; wherefore the author thinks there is room for one more. He does not propose to go at length into the history of the work, but simply describes its form, then passes to the great controversy of the fifteenth century between the monks and Reuchlin. This is related at considerable length. The opinion of Christian scholars is quoted—Fabricius, Wageuseil, Buxtorf, Lightfoot and others with a reference to the literature of the subject.

The author next gives a number of Talmudic passages which resemble sayings of Christ or of the Apostles. He considers the charge that the Talmud carries on a polemic against Christians and shows that, at least in a majority of instances the charge is false. He gives at length (with a translation) the disclaimer of the Austrian Jews published in 1767 in view of such an accusation. One might think this protest composed with a special view to the slanders of Rolding. A second charge (that the Talmud makes it lawful for the Jews to cheat and rob the Christians) is considered at some length and refuted from Jewish sources.

* *Gutmeinung ueber den Talmud der Hebræer.* Verfasst von KARL FISCHER, k. k. Zensor, Revisor und Translator im hebræischen Fach zu Prag. (Nach einem Manuscript vom Jahre 1802.) Wien, 1883. (VII and 112 pages 8vo.)

The rest of the book is occupied with a consideration of legendary or fabulous passages on account of which reproach is brought against the Talmud. They are justified in part as having a basis of fact (how many specimens of animals have been exterminated!), in part as being parallel to the myths of Classic literature (at which no one takes offence), in part as being allegory or containing a higher sense. In accordance with the opinion thus expressed the author declares that he will so administer his censorship as not to compel the Jews to publish mutilated editions of their Talmud and not to take away any copies already in their possession. The whole book makes an agreeable impression as being a well considered expression on the part of a competent judge. It is besides interesting for the amount of information it contains on a subject of which the most of us must confess extreme ignorance.

In this controversy as in every other allowance must be made for party feeling. The Christian reader will feel less sympathy with Dr. Jellinek* than with Censor Fischer. The Jewish Rabbi is carried away by his affection. He finds all perfection in the venerable code of the Oral Law. His first discourse entitled, "What is the beginning and what is the end of the Talmud" proposes to make us acquainted with the "intellectual keenness, the spiritual wealth, the readiness, the wit and wisdom, the mildness, the kindness, the pitying and compassionate heart of our ancient sages." One feels at once that the case is prejudged. The method of proof (if such it may be called) does not destroy this impression. The lofty Jewish conception is dwelt upon, as embodied in the **שניע ישראל**—but it need not be said that this is a Biblical verse and not distinctively Talmudic. The second discourse on "The Talmud full of Life" errs in the same direction. "He who studies in this work with zeal becomes a man of free and independent spirit[!], is trained to make full use of his intellectual powers, to analyze all things, to seek their origin, their composition, and their relations."

It will be said that allowance must be made for a preacher in the presence of a sympathetic congregation. The reply is—a preacher must preach the truth; and especially when he publishes his statements must expect them to be criticized if too strongly colored.

H. P. SMITH.

THE REVISION OF LUTHER'S BIBLE. †

This is an address on the progress of revision in Germany, by one of the committee engaged in the work. The author speaks first of Luther's own ideal of a translation of the Scriptures, in accordance with which he introduced changes in each new edition published during his life. Since his time of course there have been many changes in the use of language, and recent editors have followed Luther's example not always with his skill. The variations in copies of what is known as Luther's translation are consequently numerous and there is great need that the text be at least fixed so as to secure uniformity. Some years ago the question was raised whether this might not be done by a commission who should also be competent to correct at least obvious mistakes. After considerable discussion a commission was appointed. Their first meeting was held in 1865. The

* *Der Talmudjude*. Reden von Dr. AD. JELLINEK. I (14 pages), II (14 pages). Wien, 1882.

† *Die Revision der Lutherischen Bibel-Uebersetzung* von Lic. Ernst Kuhn. Halle 1883.

New Testament was finished in 1868. In 1869 the various Bible Societies took steps for the revision of the Old Testament, and among those engaged on the work we find Kleinert, Riehm, Schlottmann, Delitzsch and others almost equally well known. Their aim is stated in the following particulars :

1. To correct errors which have crept into the standard text [as such, was taken that of the Canstein establishment].

2. When Luther gave two or more different renderings of the same passage to choose the best—namely the one nearest the original.

3. To change obsolete or now offensive words.

4. To bring nearer the original passages misunderstood or not clearly understood by Luther, and in such cases to use so far as possible Luther's vocabulary in the new expression.

The commission has met nearly two hundred times and the work is about complete. In fact it was hoped that the first impressions might be ready by the anniversary of Luther's birth. It is proposed to issue first a proof [*probibibel*] in which all changes will appear in heavy faced type. After sufficient time has elapsed for calm criticism of the work, the commission is to be called again together to consider suggestions and fix the text in its final form. II. P. SMITH.

HEBREW RIDDLES.*

Dr. Wuensche the translator of the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* here gives an essay on riddles and conundrums among oriental peoples including the Hebrews. The material in the Bible is not very extensive it must be confessed. Besides the well known case of Samson, our author finds riddles (or conundrums we should call them) in the Book of Proverbs:

(The question) "Three are insatiable.
Four say not: enough."

(The answer) "Sheol and the barren womb,
The earth which is never full of water.
And fire which never says enough."

This will serve as a specimen. There are several others in the same chapter. It seems hardly proper to put in the same category the fine parable of the eagles and the cedar in Ezekiel xvii. 1-10. The Talmud and later Jewish literature is much richer in this sort of production. A specimen or two from *Juda ha-Seir* may not be unwelcome here.

"What is blind, yet has an eye: it is constantly occupied in clothing others, yet itself is always naked?"—(Answer: The needle.)

"What weeps without eyes or eye-lashes, and when it weeps, parents and children rejoice; but when its eye smiles and weeps not, all hearts are sad?"—(Answer: The rain.)

The latter would be more appropriate in some climates than in others.

Dr. Wuensche has given us an entertaining essay, if not a contribution to the advancement of science.

II. P. SMITH.

* *Die Raethselweisheit bei den Hebraeern mit Hinblick auf andere Voelker dargestellt* von Lic. Dr. AUG. WUENSCHÉ. Leipzig, 1886. (65 pages 8vo.)

THE MIDRASCH OF DEUTERONOMY.*

The entire religious literature of the Jews may be divided into two great classes, *Halacha* and *Midrasch*. The former comprises those legal precepts which were grafted upon the law of Moses, with the necessary comments thereupon, and appears preeminently in the *Talmud* and the *Tosefta* (supplementary to the *Mischna*). The latter is devoted to Interpretation of the Scripture whether expounded in the Schools of Theology or in the Synagogues before the Congregation. To be sure, the two elements are found in all Jewish writings and, e. g., the lectures in the School were perhaps predominantly *Halacha*, being given to the justification of the *Mischna*-rules by exegesis. Still a writing, so far as it was Law, was called *Halacha*; so far as it was Interpretation, was *Midrasch*. The *Midrasch* is contained in three classes of writings. 1. In the *Targums*, in so far as they pass the bounds of translations. 2. In the *Halacha* literature, whenever they give themselves to Scripture interpretation. 3. In the *Midraschim*, in the narrower sense, in which the several books of Scripture are interpreted homiletically, for the edification of the Congregation, this homiletical element being termed *Haggada*. To this third class belongs the *Midrasch* of Deuteronomy which is now under consideration.†

The book before us contains 5 pages of Introduction, followed by a literal translation of 117 pages, 3 pages citations of sources and parallels, closing with 15 pages of remarks and corrections by Rabbi Dr. J. Fuerst and by D. O. Strassman. An appendix furnishes, in 47 pages, 25 extracts from the *Pesikta Rabbathi*, a *Midrasch* of the 9th century, in age and quality closely related to our *Midrasch*, though it embraces the treatment of sections from various books of Scripture.

From the Text and Introduction we learn the following:

This *Midrasch* contains many extracts from both *Talmuds* and from the *Midrasch* of Genesis and Numbers; also from the *Haggadas* of Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song. We can not certainly say that it was written before A. D. 1150, and it is the latest of the *Midraschim* on the Pentateuch.‡ It is divided into 27 nearly equal sections (*Paraschoth*), 11 of which are named (corresponding in content with *Paraschoth* 44-54 of the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy.—B.). In each of the 27 sections, a verse, or verses are expounded in the following manner. First, a *Halacha* consisting of some question of casuistry, with the answers of the several Rabbis, quotations of Scripture and parabolical teaching upon the same, is introduced; then comes the *Midrasch* proper, a *Haggada*, or homily upon the passage, embracing Scripture parallels, opinions of Rabbis, stories, legends, parables, covering reminiscences of the past, meditations of the present and hopes for the future, a mass of matter, occasionally terse, original and beautiful, but, oftener, diffuse, fanciful, contradictory and silly. The *Halachoth* were evidently chosen as Introductions kindred in character to the *Haggada* portions which followed them. Sometimes, the similarity is apparent as in Sections 5, 15 and 19; at other times very remote, if not far-fetched as in 4 and 7.

* *Der Midrasch Debarim Rabba*, das ist, Die Haggadische Auslegung des Fuenften Buches Moses. Zum ersten Male ins Deutsche uebertragen von Lic. Dr. AUG. WUENSCHÉ. Leipzig: Otto Schulze. 1882.

† For a fuller description of these terms see Weber's "System der Altsynagogalen Palaestini-schen Theologie," Leipzig, Doerfling & Franke, 1880.

‡ According to Weber, this *Midrasch* dates from the 9th century and is older than that of Exodus, Numbers and Ecclesiastes.

In expounding the Scripture there were very wide differences of statement, due to play upon words, and other strained attempts to gather a meaning entirely new. In this effort, words are "cleft in twain," letters transposed and vowels altered, at pleasure.

The substance of a single section will be sufficient to set forth the method employed; pp. 37, sqq.:—

Deut. VI., 4. *Hear O Israel! The Eternal our God, the Eternal is one.*

Halacha. Has an Israelite done his duty who reads the pattern (Schema) without strict attention to the letters (sounds, pronunciation, &c.)? The wise-men have taught thus: R. Jose says: "Yes, he has done his duty." R. Jehuda, on the contrary says: "No, he has not done his duty." What are we to understand by the careful reading of the letters? The Rabbis have taught; e. g., in **ככל לבבכם**, there must be a separation between the two letters **ל**, since the first word ends with the same letter with which the second begins. R. Jehuda says: "He who reads the pattern (Schema), walking, must standing, take upon himself the Kingdom of Heaven." What is the Kingdom of Heaven? "The Eternal, our God, the Eternal is one." How long since the Israelites began to read the Schema? R. Pinchas bar Chama says: "Since the giving of the law." How so? Thou findest that God began with these words on Sinai. "Hear O Israel! I am the Eternal, thy God," and all the Israelites chimed in with the words: "The Eternal, our God, the Eternal is one," and Moses added "Blessed be the name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever." According to the Rabbis, God spoke to the Israelites: "My children, all that I have created have I created *in pairs*. Heaven and earth are a pair, sun and moon are a pair, Adam and Eve are a pair, this world and that world are a pair, My honor however is one and alone in the world." How do you prove that? From the words "Hear O Israel! &c."

Or: "Hear O Israel! &c.," in connection with Ps. LXXIII., 25: "Whom have I in Heaven? &c." According to Rab there are two firmaments, the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens; according to R. Eleasar, however, there are seven, **שמיים** the heaven, **שמי שמים** the heaven of heavens, **רקיע** the expanse, **שחקים** clouds **מעין** dwelling, **זבול** dwelling and **ערפל** cloudiness, and God opened them all to the Israelites to prove to them that "There is no other God than He." The Congregation of Israel spoke before God: "Lord of the world! whom have I in the heavens, besides thy honor. As I have only thee, so desire I no other upon the earth. As I join with thee no other God in the heaven, so on earth, but I go daily into the houses of assembly and testify that besides thee there is no God and I say: 'Hear O Israel! the Eternal, our God, the Eternal is one.'" **וּמֶלֶךְ**

Or: "Hear O Israel! &c.," in connection with Prov. XXIV., 21, "Fear the Eternal, my son, and the king and meddle not with innovators." What means **וּמֶלֶךְ**? Have I not caused Abraham who feared me, to rule in the world, as it says in Gen. XIV.: "In the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's valley?" And Joseph, as it says in Gen. XLII., 6, "Joseph was governor over the land?" Or: "Fear the Eternal, my son; **וְלֹדְךָ**" that is:—"and rule over thy passion." R. Simeon ben Eleasar went once to a city in the South. came to a Synagogue and asked the Scribe: "By thy life! is there wine for sale?" "To be sure, Rabbi, in this city are Samaritans, they do not deal in pure wine, however, as my ancestors did." The other said: "If thou hast any wine left, I will take it." The

Scribe answered: "If thou art master of thyself, do not taste it." R. Simeon replied: "I am, and have been master of myself." That is the sense of **וּמְלֹךְ**, namely **וּמְלֹךְ**.

Or: "Fear the Eternal, my son **וּמְלֹךְ**. What means **וּמְלֹךְ**? **וּמְלֹךְ לְמוֹלֵךְ**, as it says in Lev. xviii., 21: "and thy seed shalt thou not devote to Moloch."

* * * * *
 Or: "Hear O Israel!" The Rabbis say: "When Moses mounted the heights of heaven, he heard the angel say to God—'Praise the name of His glorious Kingdom for ever.' This expression he brought back to the Israelites." Why do the Israelites not repeat it publicly? "For the same reason," said R. Asi. "that a man who has pilfered an ornament from the King's palace and given it to his wife says to the latter, 'Do not ornament yourself with it publicly, but only within the house.' But on the day of the Atonement, when the Israelites appear as innocent as the angels, then they say aloud 'Blessed be the name of his glorious Kingdom for ever.'"

A brief Haggada upon v. 5 closes this section.

Historically the Midrasch is valuable, otherwise it is nearly worthless.

C. R. BROWN.

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MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM. ITS PRACTICAL BEARINGS.

BY J. A. SMITH, D. D.,

Editor of the *Standard*, Chicago.

The Bible offers itself to the student under two chief aspects,—as a literature and as a revelation. I suppose I may assume that, as a revelation, the Bible is not a subject of criticism at all. That is to say, it is not the purpose—cannot be—of rightly guided biblical study to criticise, or subject to rationalistic tests of any kind whatever, *ascertained* revelation. There may be, and is often, a question as to what *is* revelation: as to what is the *meaning* of language, made the vehicle of the divine thought or message. But surely, it is no violent assumption to take it for granted that, once ascertained, the revelation is a subject, not for criticism, but for faith.

Another preliminary view which seems to require no argument is that what we have to preach and teach, in our efforts to bring others under the sway of Bible truth, is not the Bible as literature, but the Bible as revelation. The literary element may be a great help to us in teaching, or in seeking to illustrate and impress the revealed truth; but that which we aim at, as the ultimate, real purpose, is not to interest others in the Bible as literature, but to make them feel its power as truth; or, if the former of these may be to some extent proposed and sought, it must always be in subordination to, and in the service of, the latter.

I. Now, the first point which seems to offer itself for more extended consideration is this,—that we ought, in dealing practically with the work and results of biblical criticism, to frankly admit that such criticism, applied to the Bible as literature, is, in itself, entirely legitimate; and that it is in no wise inconsistent, when rightly conducted, with

due reverence for the Bible as revelation. Of course, we use the word "criticism" here, in that sense which has come to be conventionally an accepted one, in this connection. There is a process of this nature through which all ancient literatures need to pass, not so much—as in the case of that which is modern—to ascertain its worth and value, or to test its conformity to admitted rules of literary excellence, but with a view to settle a variety of questions, which must necessarily arise in connection with writings whose date lies perhaps thousands of years back of our own, and which are due to conditions radically unlike existing ones. When the gates of the Sanskrit, swinging wide, gave admission to that wonderful domain of ancient intellectual life, no one can be surprised that the favored explorers who entered there, felt that more was required of them than simply to discover and admire. Those who were not thus favored had, indeed, the right to expect of them that they would bring reports of researches on that field in which should appear the results of intelligent scrutiny, assignments of that old literature to its appropriate dates, exhibitions of it in due mutual relations, with real and valuable accessions to our knowledge of that dim old world, as found in what there remains of its thought, its worship, and its life. So with the Egyptian papyrus, or the Chaldæan tablet. The rich results of exploration and decipherment simply provide new work for the critic. Archæology without him would be scarcely better than a pathless jungle, in which any ordinary student must infallibly lose his way.

Now, we have long since ceased to feel any strong impression from the fact,—which nevertheless is a notable one,—that the Bible which lies on our tables, or in our pulpits, is a literature, in the earlier portions of it, belonging to a past as ancient, perhaps more ancient, than any of these others. While these books—for the Bible is more a library than a book—while these books were in course of preparation, Chaldæa, and Babylon, and Egypt, and Assyria, and Phœnicia, and Greece, and Rome, each played its great part on the scene of empire. The Hebrew writer was contemporaneous with the Aryan, the Chaldæan, and the Egyptian. The Hebrew nation had a literature long before the date of any that survives of the Greeks. The roots of this literature, in fact, lie far back in the world before the flood; the oldest, most truly primitive utterance anywhere to be heard in human speech.

Such, at least, as this the Bible presents itself to us. If there are those who are interested to examine into the evidences of this high antiquity, either for the whole, or for portions of the earlier books; if scholars, competent to the task, feel themselves called to a scrutiny of

this old literature, somewhat of the same nature as that applied to other literary monuments of the same general period; even if their conclusions are, in some instances, out of harmony with what has perhaps been long accepted without scrutiny,—it seems to be a line of inquiry to which the very antiquity of these books necessarily invites, and a form of service which, for those prepared for it, may be even a duty. Even where it may seem to us that the enthusiasm of the specialist carries him away, or that the critic fails to set forth upon his career of scrutiny from first principles sufficiently sound and safe, we ought, in any case, to admit without demur that the work itself, so undertaken, is equally legitimate and necessary. We ought not to demand that, in an age when archæological research is achieving such wonders in every part of that ancient world where the first human abodes were built, the book in our hands which is, even in an archæological point of view, so significant in all its relations, and so precious in itself, shall remain for purposes of learned inquiry with a jealous seal of pre-appropriation upon its every page. Whether we agree with him at all points or not, must we not grant, in a spirit of warm and high appreciation, that the reverent and careful biblical critic devotes himself to one of the noblest functions to which scholarship and genius can be called?

II. The second point upon which I dwell for a little time is, that the findings of the critics are themselves, even for us who are not critics, fairly and justly open to scrutiny. This sounds so much like a truism, that I hesitate to state it in this form; and still I can think of no other way in which to put succinctly what I have in mind. And besides, after what has just been said, this which I now urge cannot be omitted. It is another truism, perhaps, in some sense, to say that the conviction of another mind, however gifted or well informed, cannot be a conviction for us. Yet, in certain cases, we find occasion to affirm this to ourselves, if not openly.

To take an instance lying close at hand, where a certain critic denies the Messianic character of the Second Psalm, we may any of us have a right to feel astonished at finding him reasoning in this way: "This psalm is quoted in the New Testament, and applied to Messiah by the early Christian disciples in Jerusalem (Acts iv., 25); by Paul (XIII., 3); and by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1., 5). We may therefore presume that it was the current interpretation of the day. Yet internal evidence is against the exposition." It is certainly competent for any one of us in such a case as this to decide for himself whether to accept Dr. Davidson's ideas as to the "internal evidence" of the psalm,—what he understands it to say for itself as to its own

Messianic character or otherwise,—as against the usage of inspired men, witnesses appointed and endowed by Messiah himself. We may even go so far as to judge for ourselves what the psalm does really mean, and whether the king seated upon the holy hill of Zion is not far more likely to be, in the sublime phraseology used, the King of kings than either David or his son, whether a strain so lofty and so exulting can be fairly treated if belittled to the proportions of an earthly sovereignty and a material throne, though it should be that of a Solomon or a David.

Some use might be in point here of the fact, how seldom it is that critical judgments of this nature carry with them the suffrages of enlightened Christian opinion to such an extent as to give them justification or endorsement. They meet with much the same fortune as we observe, under like conditions, in general literature. The destructive critic, even when he is in the right, sets himself a hard task: much more when he is in the wrong. Even the poems of Ossian seem hard to discredit; for ever and again some cultured scholar comes forward, if not to justify Macpherson, nevertheless to treat the poems themselves as representative of what may belong to the literary annals of a primitive people. That Homer was a genuine personality, and that both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were his own matchless achievements in epic song, the world goes on believing, in spite of the German critic who first denied both the one and the other of these, and in spite of all who have laboriously followed in his steps. It required all the genius, all the learning, and all the immense fighting capacity of Richard Bentley to pull down the "Letters of Phalaris" from the high place where Temple and Boyle had set them; while even Bentley's learned and caustic criticism of the various editions of *Æsop* leaves the Phrygian fabulist just where he was before in the world's homage and faith. It seems a difficult matter to displace from among even the dramas of Shakspeare plays manifestly not his; and, as to the Shakspearean authorship of these dramas as a whole, it is doubtful if a mathematical demonstration could really put Bacon in the place of the Stratford miracle, whom the world has wondered after so long. As for instances more germane to the present subject, doubtless there are those who are thoroughly convinced that the author of the Fourth Gospel and the author of the *Apocalypse* cannot have been one and the same person, and still, do we see any signs of this judgment of the matter prevailing as a final one? Ewald's recent testimony on this point shows that even the critical mind finds satisfactory evidence for at least the Johannan authorship of the Gospel named,—a point which so many have either doubted or denied. Is it not singular that a work of such striking lit-

erary merit as Renan's "*Vie de Jesus*" should be such a failure as to all the ends for which it seems to have been mainly written? And that the mythical theories of Strauss as to the same Man of Nazareth should be, as to any real effect in shaping opinion, very much as if they had never been invented? I suppose that Homer will be Homer so long as the Greek language survives, and Shakspeare will be Shakspeare till the last English book has perished out of the world; and we may feel equally certain that Moses will be Moses, and Isaiah will be Isaiah, and John will be the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, and the life of Jesus will be the centre of all history, the manifestation of God in the flesh, "very God of very God," till Bible history, and promise, and prophecy, have their final consummation in the millenium.

It is true enough that a man, whether the author of some critical theory, or of some new view in physical science, or of some invention in the application of mechanics, may be right, and still not succeed in mastering the general conviction of mankind. But the point is, that very confident theorists do fail in this way; that very brilliant performances in the way of attempts at revolutionizing opinion do often remain as brilliant performances merely; and that therefore no theorist can claim dominion over us just by right of genius or by right of learning, however super-abounding and miraculous. And this the more when, as is so often the case, the vital point in the whole issue, whatever that may be, is assumed or supposed, and then reasoned from as if already proved. There is no such magical incantation in the letters "Q. E. D." as will change theory and hypothesis into demonstration.

III. And then, while, let me next observe, we, as Christian workers and teachers, claim the right to judge for ourselves as to the findings of biblical critics, there are reasons why we should, at the same time, see in the modern biblical criticism, in its general character and tendency, what reveals in it, or in connection with it, a Providential purpose. We remember how Voltaire, in his old age, once said to an English visitor: "When critics are silent, it does not so much prove the age to be correct, as dull." So we may say that the worst possible attitude of the world toward the Bible is that of dull indifference. While it is painful to see valued men carried to dangerous extremes by their zeal as specialists; and perhaps the scepticism, even the infidelity of the age, encouraged and supported by the critical theories of scholars who probably are far enough from having any such purpose, still, even this is better, or rather is not so bad as that stupid unconcern which would treat the Bible, whether as literature or as revelation,

as something so slight as to be not even worth attacking. And meanwhile, the critical spirit of the time takes directions in which we may well rejoice. It reaches men fully equal in genius and scholarship to those whose self-appointed mission it seems to be to pull down, and who, upon the other hand, find a far higher mission in building-up. In the hands of such as these, what threatened mischief is turned to good: they catch the weapon as it flies, and use it in courageous and effective defense. The Bible does not suffer in the long run, even when men say the worst they can of it; and when the sincere, but mistaken critic sets some before unnoticed peculiarity in a strong light, so as to fix attention upon it, there is all the more an opportunity for one his equal in ability and his superior in soundness of view, to show what, and no more, the thing in question really imports. Besides, we may say with emphasis that the adversary never overreaches himself more fatally than when by instigating attack upon the Bible, or upon any part of it, he makes Bible-students, where otherwise Bible-study might never have been thought of as having attractions.

IV. It seems to belong to the line of remark here followed that I should say a few things upon what I may call the self-vindicatory element in the Bible. We may thus encourage ourselves by taking note how the Bible itself meets and deals with the unfriendly or mistaken critic. It is with the Scripture somewhat as with that marvelous personality sketched for us in the gospels. Is it because so many wise and able and good men have borne testimony in his behalf that the Man of Sorrows has, more and more, age by age, revealed the form and feature of divinity; out of the depths of humiliation once, and now from the heights of infinite enthronement, manifesting God? Or, is it because that personality is its own best witness? And that other word of God, which in another sense was "in the beginning;" and which, in its own way, is "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." Can you find any scar on the radiant face, so often smitten? Do you see any sign of weakness or wavering in the attitude in which it stands before the world, even in this time, when atheist and materialist and rationalist are all in arms against it? Save as seen in the calm, self-contained, loving, and sovereign reign of the Christ, I know of nothing in this world so sublime as the simple steadfastness of the Bible, rising like a rock out of the roaring sea of human hate and obloquy.

It may be in place for me to notice here two of the various ways in which the self-vindicatory element in the Bible reveals itself. (1) The first is in the fact that what seemed at the outset a question touching what is most radical in our faith in the Bible as a whole, or in particular books, or in what seems to be vital matters of date, authorship,

authenticity, or even truthfulness, is so often found to be, after all, mainly or wholly a question of interpretation. I need not dwell upon this. There are many yet living who can recall the feeling of sensitive alarm with which the criticism by geologists of the Mosaic account of creation was at first viewed. Darwinism seemed at first so formidable in its attitude as to call for the marshalling of the whole phalanx of theological defense. As we have seen Moses, Isaiah, and John, called before these tribunals of modern criticism, we have perhaps listened with nervous anxiety for their answer. Somehow, it is seldom, indeed, that the apprehensions of those who hold by the faith of the Fathers are justified. The question at issue turns out to be a question of interpretation, or of the way in which to explain some peculiarity, or some other point of difficulty, which, just because it arises so naturally in the study of a literature such as this of the Bible, is so much the less to be fairly viewed as an impeachment of its genuineness or of its veracity. Who imagines, now, that "the divine legation of Moses" must depend upon the possibility of our believing that God made the world in six literal days? Who, save some reckless infidel, tests the inspiration of the whole Old Testament by the question whether in answer to the prayer of Joshua, God made the sun and moon to actually stand still in the heavens? Who thinks that the inspiration of the author of Genesis is impeached, even if it shall turn out that he used in his writing historical material in the form of ancient documents, or even tradition? Inquiry upon such matters is useful, as helping us know the Bible better; but at bottom they have so far been mostly, and I believe will ultimately be all found to be such in their nature, and the result of the inquiry such as to change what seemed like serious arraignment, into questions of exegesis, or points for critical study and elucidation.

(2) The only other form of this self-vindictory element in the Bible as literature, of which I shall speak, is in its character as a revelation. Not only does the Bible as literature illustrate the Bible as revelation, but the Bible as revelation supplies an important principle for estimating it as literature. Every divine work exhibits symmetry, a due order and law in the adjustment of its parts. God's buildings are all examples of a perfect divine architecture. It is admitted that we cannot, in a fair method of argument, assume the inspiration of the Bible, and then infer this or that as to the order, or authorship, or other peculiarity, of the several books. But this seems legitimate, to view the two great features of the Bible in their connection, and to mark how in mutual harmony and mutual alliance they are. Now, as a revelation, the Bible is a perfect system. Take the several books in their now

accepted order,—that order which they seem to have had in all the centuries in which their literary consecution can be certainly traced,—and revealed religion, in its two grand dispensations, with another, the millennial one, yet to come, grows from the dim and faint beginning of the first Edenic promise, age by age, along the line of patriarchal, Mosaic, and prophetic ministry, till the seed of the woman at last appears, and that is seen and heard which kings and prophets waited for. It is not a system mechanically constructed. The adjusting agent is not a *mechanism*, but a *principle*. We need not be surprised if critical study of the several parts raises questions, upon which equally honest inquirers may differ. But of this we may be certain: not only does “the firm *foundation* of God stand,” but the whole building stands, its own justification. There is no more danger that any essential dislocation of the structure will ever take place, than that the order of nature will be essentially disturbed, till it is time for the new heavens and new earth to appear, if even then.

V. From all this, now, I venture to draw a few inferences as to the practical bearings of modern biblical criticism, considered with reference to those of us who are not critics, but simply workers and teachers.

(1) The first is suggested by the fact to which attention has been drawn,—that it is the Bible as revelation which we are really to teach, and not the Bible as literature, any further than as this second aspect of it may be available for the high uses of the first. There would seem to be, therefore, no good reason why Christian work, in any of its spheres, should be in any way embarrassed, while debate upon critical questions goes forward among those whose studies, or whose special forms of service, give occasion for critical inquiry. In the pulpit or in the Bible-school, and in similar spheres of Christian labor, we shall find enough that is beyond debate, and this what is infinitely the essential matter in our Christianity, to fully occupy us, and to answer, better than doubtful disquisitions of any kind, the ends of our calling as Christians, and as Christian teachers.

(2) At the same time, secondly, the Christian intelligence of the age, whether in the ministry or elsewhere, must not ignore these debates among critics as something which it can afford to wholly disregard. While, as already noticed, such critical studies in the literature of the Bible are legitimate and useful, their ascertained results are of real value, and our practical Christianity cannot be thoroughly intelligent, unless more or less well-informed with regard to them. I would not, certainly, have such matters brought to the attention of immature minds, or of those whose religious convictions are in process of growth

and determination, any further than may be necessary to meet such casual suggestions of difficulty as may occur. But the point is, that a well-informed Christian should be well-informed upon those subjects of current investigation in which results of study and research and exploration are utilized in the interests of Christian truth. Especially should every Christian minister be thus well-informed, if for no other reason, because every teacher ought to know, so far as possible, all there is to know upon that which he teaches, whether he has occasion to teach it all, or not.

(3) What I would next infer from the general view taken in this paper, is, that it should be kept always in mind, that there will ever be, in such inquiries as are here under view, more or less that must be held, for the time being, in a state of suspense. While in one way there is a tendency with us to be suspicious of what is new, in the form of fact or theory, there is also, in another way, a tendency to favor what is new, if at the moment it impresses us agreeably, simply because it is new. That is to say, we get rather tired of the old view with its difficulties, large or small, and welcome a new one, even though it, also, has its difficulties, because, at least, these difficulties are themselves new, and because finding the enemy on another flank, we can bring fresh troops into the field. Or we may imagine that the new banner is the banner of a friend and join ranks where we ought to resist. I do not know that there will ever be a time when all the perplexities of biblical study shall be disposed of. I am not sure but it has been providentially so arranged, that there may always be things of this kind to stir human inertness, to move and rouse sluggish minds, always so apt to be sluggish where the things of religion are concerned. Let us settle it beforehand, that there are questions in biblical criticism which it is equally rash for the critic and for ourselves to settle categorically, and at once. Let us be sure not to forget that the holding of such questions in a certain attitude of suspense is not to impeach the truth of the Bible, nor the truth of such portions of it as are thus under examination. The truth is always the truth; and whether we reach it to-day or to-morrow, in this century or the next, it will still be truth when we do reach it at last.

(4) Finally, I cannot better conclude all, than in those words of Bacon's "Student's Prayer," with which the scholarly Farrar closes an able paper, upon a subject somewhat in kindred with this which we have here considered: "This {also we humbly and earnestly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine: neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, any thing of incredulity or intellectual might may arise in

our minds, towards divine mysteries; but rather that by our minds thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the divine oracles, there may be given unto faith such things as are faith's."

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THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS AND THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH.

BY REV. NEWELL WOOLSEY WELLS,

Brooklyn, E. D.

In a series of articles lately published in the *Independent*. Professor Francis Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, gave the testimony of the New Testament Scriptures concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch. The conclusion at which the Professor arrived was that no warrant is to be found in those Scriptures for regarding as the literary composition of Moses other than a few scattered texts in the first five books of the Bible, and that, therefore, the inference that our Lord and his apostles held to the generally accepted view of the authorship of the Pentateuch has no basis in fact.

Though not acquiescing in the conclusion of the Professor it is not our desire to canvas the ground so thoroughly gone over by him. Our purpose is rather to ascertain, if possible, what was the conviction of the early church as it found expression in the writings of the Fathers. Certain is it that no conviction, whatever its character, attains wide currency in a brief period of time unless it may have the forced development that ensues upon a supernatural revelation. Ideas, like seeds, in order to their dissemination require the processes of successive seasons. Growth is a factor that must be taken into account in every harvest. And if we shall succeed in showing that the Fathers, following close upon the footsteps of the Apostles, held to the Mosaic origin of the greater portion of the Pentateuch, we shall certainly feel ourselves warranted in ascribing a like conviction to the Apostles themselves.

Our method will be to trace the evidence back from the close of the third century toward the days of the Apostles, taking first the testimony of the later writers, then that of those immediately preceding them, and so on until we come to that of those whose lives overlapped the period known as Apostolic.

In beginning our study we remark this fact, that in but one volume of all the early writings of the church is there to be found an out-and-out denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and this is but a denial that the manual work of writing was performed by Moses in person. This denial may be found in the second "Clementine Homily," chap. xxxviii., and in the third Homily, chap. xlvii. The latter passage is interesting enough for quotation in full. "And Peter said: The Law of God was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men, to be handed down, that the government might be carried on by succession. But after that Moses was taken up, it was written by some one, but not by Moses. For in the law itself it is written, 'And Moses died; and they buried him.' etc. But how could Moses write that Moses died?" It will thus be seen that the modern "higher critic" is but treading the path marked out for

him by the forger of the "Clementines." The scientific instinct seems to have had a more extended development than has generally been believed to be the case. The marvel is, the tardiness with which it has reached the present status.

We take up first such testimony as may be found in the "Apostolical Constitutions," written for the most part about the close of the third century. Among other sentences occur these which we quote as pertinent to the subject in hand. "As Samuel made constitutions for the people concerning a king and Moses did so concerning priests in Leviticus, so do we also," etc. (Bk. II., Sec. 34). Again, "We believe Moses when he says: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth'" (Bk. V., Sec. 7). Here, therefore, we find references to the book of Leviticus and the history of creation in Genesis as the literary compositions of Moses.

Archelaus, bishop of Carria (A. D. 278) uses these words in his *Disputation with Manes*: "In Genesis, where Moses gives an account of the construction of the world, he makes no mention of the darkness either as made or not made" (22). Again: "When as yet there was no law embodied in writing God had compassion on the race of man and was pleased to give through Moses a written law to men" (28).

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom during the Valerian Persecution, A. D. 258, in his *Testimoniorum adversus Judæos* wrote as follows, ascribing to Moses words spoken by Jehovah: "That the dead rise again Moses intimates when he says in the bush, The Lord, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." And again in his Essay on Mortality he quotes Deut. VIII., 2 and XIII., 3, as the warnings of the Holy Spirit through Moses.

Novatian, than whom none was ever more loyal to what he conceived to be the truth, and who readily sealed his attachment to the truth under the Emperor Valerian, in his treatise *Concerning the Trinity* (chap. XVII.) uses these words: "What if Moses delivers to us in the beginning of his sacred writings, this principle by which we learn that all things were created and founded by the Son of God Moses introduces God commanding that there should be light at the first."

Lactantius, who though a layman, was pronounced by Jerome the most learned man of his age, was born near the middle of the third century and died about 330 A. D. His references are far more frequently to the Greek and Latin classics than to the Hebrew Scriptures. Still he gives us his idea as to the authorship of certain portions of the Pentateuch. Thus, in his *Divine Institutes* (Bk. IV.) we find: "Moses, in Numbers, thus speaks: 'There shall arise a Star out of Jacob and a Scepter shall arise out of Israel,' words which, it will be remembered, occur in the prophecy of Balaam." Again: "In Deuteronomy he (Moses) thus left it written," whereupon follows a citation of the passages occurring in chap. XVIII., 17-19. Still again: "Moses spoke to this effect in Deuteronomy; 'And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee: and thou shalt fear day and night and shalt have none assurance of thy life.'" Concerning this passage fairness requires us to state that the meaning of the Father may have been simply that Moses spoke the words recorded in the Book of Deuteronomy. But even should this prove the case the force of the other citations will not be invalidated thereby.

Going still farther back in the patristic line, we come to Origen, born 185 A. D., died 253 A. D., one of the most eminent names in the early church. In his *De Principiis* (Bk. I., chap. I.), we meet with this sentence: "In the writings of Mo-

ses they find it said, 'Our God is a consuming fire' (Deut. iv., 24). Again: "Concerning then the creation of the world what portion of Scripture can give us more information concerning it than the account which Moses has transmitted concerning its origin" (Bk. III., chap. 5). Still again: "This is pointed out by Moses when he describes the first creation of man in these words: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness'" (Bk. III., chap. 6): "The divinity and inspiration both of the predictions of the prophets and of the law of Moses have been clearly revealed and confirmed." "In Deuteronomy the legislation is made known with greater clearness than in those books which were first written" (Bk. IV., chap. 1). And in his work *Against Celsus* (Bk. IV., chap. 4) we read of "the first book of Moses entitled Genesis," in which Moses wrote an account of the deluge and "the Mosaic cosmogony of the six days."

Ippolytus, whom Photens makes a disciple of Irenaeus, and who wrote in the early part of the third century, says, in his "*Refutation of all Heresies* (Bk. V., chap. 15) "..... Moses confirms their doctrine when he says, 'Darkness and mist and tempest'"—alluding to chaos—"or when he states that three were born in Paradise, Adam, Eve and the Serpent: or when he speaks of three, Cain, Abel, Seth: and again of three, Shem, Ham, Japheth." "Moses has spoken of the six days in which God made heaven and earth" (Bk. VI., chap. 9). "In reference to this very law each of his books has been written as the inscriptions evince. The first book is Genesis. The inscription of the second book is Exodus." Having dwelt in chaps. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 upon the contents of the several books of the Pentateuch he alludes to them in chap. 14 as "the writings of Moses." In chap. 25 we read, "Moses asserts, 'The earth was invisible and unfashioned.'" Again, in Bk. VII., chap. 10, "..... that which has been stated by Moses, 'Let there be light and there was light.'" "Moses mentions this fiery God as having spoken from the bush" (Bk. VIII., chap. 2). "Moses mentions that the rod is changeably brandished for the plagues throughout Egypt" (Bk. VIII., chap. 7).

Among the prominent writings of the opening years of this century are those of Tertullian, who is known to the church as the most ancient of its Latin Fathers. He was born at Carthage in the year of our Lord 160 and died about 230 A. D. Among his polemic writings that have come to us, his treatises "*Against Marcion*" and "*Against the Jews*," are perhaps best known. In Bk. I., chap. 10 of the first mentioned work we find these words: "Although Moses. seems to have been the first to introduce the knowledge of the God of the Universe in the temple of his writings, yet the birthday of that knowledge must not, on that account be reckoned from the Pentateuch; for the volume of Moses does not at all initiate the knowledge of the creation, but from the first gives out that it is to be traced from Paradise and Adam." In the fifth chapter of his tractate "*Against the Jews*," the words occur: "When the sacerdotal law was being drawn up through Moses in Leviticus." But it is characteristic of Tertullian that he rarely alludes to the books of the Bible by their individual names, but prefaces the majority of his allusions thereto with the phrase, "The Scripture saith." The above quotations however sufficiently indicate his conviction that the Pentateuch was Mosaic in its origin.

Theophilus of Antioch, writing in the last quarter of the second century, says *To Antolyceus*, a well-informed heathen: "Moses, who lived many years before Solomon, or rather, the Word of God by him as an instrument says, 'In the begin-

ging God created the heaven and the earth" (Bk. II., chap. 10). Having cited at length various portions of the opening chapters of Genesis, Theophilus writes: "All these things the Holy Spirit teaches us, who speaks through Moses and the rest of the prophets" (Chap. 30). "Moses, our prophet and servant of God, in giving an account of the genesis of the world, related in what manner the flood came upon the earth," etc. (Bk. III., chap. 18). "Moses showed that the flood lasted forty days and forty nights" (Bk. III., chap. 19).

Clement, known as "of Alexandria," though probably an Athenian by birth, a Platonist in his philosophy, makes very frequent allusion in his *Exhortation* to the heathen to "the commands of Moses," "the law of Moses," "the words of Moses," and "the precepts of Moses," but there are very few passages that can be cited as of interest to us in our present study. In his *Stromata*, however, we find many indications as to his conviction concerning the authorship of certain portions of the Pentateuch. He asks his readers to "mark the epochs by comparison with the age of Moses and with the high antiquity of the philosophy promulgated by him." In chap. 5 of the first Book he speaks of Plato as "aided in his legislation by the books of Moses." "The all-wise Moses indicated by employing repetition in describing the incorruptibility of body and of soul in the person of Rebecca," etc. (Gen. XXIV., 16). "As Moses says 'Melchizedek, King of Salem,'" etc. (Bk. IV., chap. 25). "We find in Moses, 'No man shall see me and live'" (Ex. XXXIII., 20). "The philosophers of the Greeks have taken without acknowledgment their principal dogmas from Moses and the prophets" (Bk. V., chap. 1). "Moses; describing allegorically the divine prudence calls it the tree of Life planted in Paradise" (chap. 2). "Moses says that the body was formed of the ground." Deut. XXXII., 39, is quoted by Clement as occurring "in Moses" (Chap. 14).

In the Epistle of Barnabas which is known to have been in existence prior to Clement's time, although its exact date is uncertain, we read of the elevation of the serpent in the wilderness (Num. XXI.) as described "in Moses."

In chapter ninth of his *Legatio pro Christianis*. Athenagoras an Athenian philosopher wrote: "I think you cannot be ignorant. of the writings of Moses, or of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Spirit making use of them as the flute-player breathes into the flute," the standing illustration of "verbal inspiration" from his day until this present. Thereupon follows the quotation of Ex. XX., 2, 3, as among the writings of Moses.

Tatian, an Assyrian by birth, as is generally supposed, a sophist by profession, rarely alludes to the separate books of the Old Testament, but in his *Address to the Greeks* speaks of Moses as "the oldest of poets and historians" (chap. 31), and also says that "many of the sophists.endeavored to adulterate whatever they learned from Moses" (Chap. 40).

Melito, bishop of Sardis, in a communication addressed to Onesimus, and quoted by Eusebius, makes this very interesting statement: "Having made myself accurately acquainted with the books of the Old Testament, I have set them down below and herewith send you. Their names are as follows. The five of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy;" etc. No clearer evidence could be given as to the general mind of the early church with regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch.

Irenaeus, whose life extended from about 130 A. D. to 202 A. D. writing *Against Heresies*, penned these words (Bk. I., chap. 18): "Moses.says, 'In

the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." "Moses narrated the formation of the world" (Bk. II., chap. 2, sec. 5). "The Son of God is implanted everywhere throughout his (Moses') writings; at one time, indeed, speaking with Abraham, when about to eat with him, at another time with Noah, giving him the measurements (of the ark); at another inquiring after Adam; at another bringing down judgment on the Sodomites; and again when he becomes visible and directs Jacob on his journey and speaks with Moses from the bush. It would indeed be endless to recount the times in which the Son of God is exhibited by Moses" (Bk. IV., chap. 10, sec. 1).

This testimony of Irenaeus is rendered doubly interesting and important by the fact that an argument has been drawn by "higher critics" from a passage in Bk. III., chap. 21, sec. 2, in which it is asserted that, the Scriptures having been corrupted, Esdras was employed by God "to recast all the words of the former prophets, and to re-establish with the people the Mosaic legislation." The quotations which we have given go to prove conclusively that Irenaeus considered large portions, at least, of the Pentateuch to have come from the mind and hand of Moses.

But by far the greatest mass of testimony comes to us from the writings of the Samaritan Platonist, Justin, Martyr, who was put to death in 165 A. D. We quote at length from him for the double reason of the frequency of his allusions to the Mosaic Scriptures, and the intimacy of his connexion with Apostolic times and events.

In his *First Apology*, written A. D. 148, we read that the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. XIX.) is related by Moses (LIII.): that the prophet Moses was older than all writers and that the prophecy recorded in Gen. XLIX., 10, was predicted by him (LIV.). This passage, it will be remembered, occurs among the predictions of the dying Patriarch, Jacob. Again: "Through Moses the Spirit spake thus, 'In the beginning,'" etc. (LIX.). Num. XXI. is alluded to as "in the writings of Moses" (LX.). ".....the writings of Moses.....thus it is written in them; 'And the angel of the Lord appeared,'" the passage quoted being Ex. III., 2. "And if," continues Justin, "you desire to learn what follows, you can do so from the same writings" (i. e., those of Moses). "They were the first of all men to busy themselves in the search after God; Abraham being the father of Isaac and Isaac of Jacob, as Moses wrote."

In the *Dialogue with Trypho* we read, "Moses affirms" followed by quotations from Ex. XXXII., 6, and Deut. XXXII., 15. "It was told you by Moses in the book of Genesis" (xx.). "Moses declares," Gen. XVIII., 1-XIX., 28 (LVI.) "Listen to the words expressly employed by Moses," Gen. XXI., 9-12. (LVI.) "It is again written by Moses" Gen. XXXI., 10-13, (LVIII.). "The word of God by Moses," Gen. I., 26, 28. "The words narrated by Moses," Gen. III., 22 (LXII.). ".....the prophecy announced by the patriarch Jacob and recorded by Moses," (LXIX.). "We have it recorded by Moses in the beginning of Genesis that the serpent beguiled Eve and was cursed" (LXXIX.). We are told (xc.) that the battle with Amalek is recorded "in the writings of Moses." "Moses says somewhere in Exodus, the following" (CXXVI.). "Moses says that God appeared unto Abraham" (CXXVI.). See Gen. XVIII., 2. "What Moses wrote"—Gen. XIX., 24—"took place," (CXXVII.). "I would now adduce some passages which I had not recounted before. They are recorded by the faithful servant Moses in parable." Whereupon follows Deut. XXXII., 43, *sqq.* (CXXX.).

In his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* (XII.) Justin says: "The history of Moses is by far more ancient than all profane histories.....which he wrote in the Hebrew character by the Divine inspiration." "What the first prophet Moses said about Paradise" (XXVIII.). "Moses wrote that God spoke to him about the the tabernacle in the following words"—EX. XXV., 9, 40—(XXIX.). "Moses first mentions the name of man and then after many other creations he makes mention of the formation of man" (XXX.). "Moses' history, speaking in the person of God, says, "Let us make man," etc. (XXXIV.).

Our last citation is from Clement, bishop of Rome, the contemporary of some of the Apostles, who, in his First Epistle (XLIII.), wrote these words: "The blessed Moses.....noted down in the sacred books all the instructions which were given him."

Here then we have a volume of evidence as to the general conviction of the early Christian church which, it seems to us, leaves the matter in no uncertainty whatever. In the light of it are we not warranted in interpreting the words of the apostles and of our Savior as expressive of their convictions as to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch? If any weight should ever attach to circumstantial evidence we know of no case in which it might more deservedly do so than in that before us. How to account for the prevalence of the conviction which we have found existing in the church of the second and third centuries without holding the presence of the same conviction in the church of the first century is a problem which, we believe, Professor Brown would find it difficult to solve. It is but a quibble to urge the closing verses of Deuteronomy as a proof of the impossibility of a Mosaic authorship. As well assert that Paul Janet did not write "Final Causes" because Professor Flint has written an introduction to that work. The question as to whether Moses employed documents in his work of composing or constructing the Pentateuch has no bearing upon our present study. The one question which has engaged our attention has been: What was the generally received opinion at and immediately after the time of our Savior as to the authorship of the Pentateuch? Certainly if the Christian fathers truly represent the Christian view, and if Josephus and Philo truly represent the Jewish view, our answer need not long be delayed.



THE REINS.

BY REV. J. G. LANSING,
West-Troy, N. Y.

The word *Reins* occurs fourteen times in the Old Testament, and once in the New. The Hebrew word is כְּלִיּוֹת. The Greek word is νεφρός. In the Septuagint כְּלִיּוֹת is rendered νεφρός. From the fourteen times in which the word *Reins* occurs in the Old Testament, it is in one instance to be excluded, viz., in Isa. XI., 5, where we read concerning the Messiah and his government, "And faithfulness shall be the girdle of his *reins*." The word here is not כְּלִיּוֹת, but חֲלָצִים, a word which in every other instance is rendered, and is here also to be rendered, *loins*.

Lexicographers give the following definitions of the term. Gesenius defines כְּלִיּוֹת, first, *the kidneys, reins*; second, by metonymy, used of the *inmost mind*, as the seat of the desires and affections. The Greek νεφρός is defined simply *the kid-*

neys, reins. Our English word is derived from the Latin *ren*, pl. *renes*, signifying the kidneys. "Hence," according to Webster, "the inward impulses; the affections and passions; so called because formerly supposed to have their seat in that part of the body."

Commentators and psychologists have varied but little from and added but little to the definition given by Gesenius, in their critical expositions of the term. A summary of the prevailing views is given in the following quotations. "The *reins* are the seat of the emotions, just as the heart is the seat of the thoughts and feelings." "The *reins* are the seat of the blessed feelings that God is the individual's possession." "The *reins* are the seat of the lower animal passions." "The *reins* denote the sensational and emotional part of man." "The *reins* are the seat of strong impulses, feelings, inclinations." "The *reins* constitute that inner organ which is regarded as the seat of the tenderest, inmost and deepest affections." "The *reins* are the central organs, not in a physical, but in a psychological sense."

Great indefiniteness in the mind attaches itself to these interpretations. This indefiniteness arises in great measure from the manner in which the terms *emotions, feelings, passions, affections*, etc. are used, whereby the *reins* are defined and described as being both physical and psychological in their nature, and as simultaneously performing the parts of almost all of the organs of the spiritual being. We are unable to explain to ourselves or to others with any reasonable degree of accuracy and satisfaction what these *reins* really are,—where they are located, and what are their functions, in the spiritual man.

Moreover, these interpretations appear untenable for the following reasons based upon the Scriptural usages of the term.

1st. The *reins* are spoken of as a specific organ, performing a specific part in man's spiritual constitution.

2d. The *reins* and their functions are treated as something distinct from the heart, mind, etc., and the functions commonly assigned them.

3d. Instances of the Scriptural usage of the term *reins*, will not admit of the interpretations given as being either sufficient, or accordant with the context.

Let then an analogical and an exegetical argument be pursued in determining what the *reins* are.

I. *The Analogical Argument.*—The word כְּלֵיֹת is first employed in connection with the Levitical sacrifices where, as rendered, it signifies the kidneys. The same word, used not of the physical, but of the spiritual man, is rendered *reins*.

In determining then what the *reins* are, it would seem to be the most pertinent thing to ask.—What organ, with its functions, is there in man's spiritual constitution which corresponds to the kidneys and their functions in man's physical organism?

In answering this question note must first be taken as to what are the functions of the kidneys.

1st. The kidneys serve to separate and carry off from the blood certain effete substances. They free the blood of such impure matter as has become formed in the system by the decomposition of certain materials.

2d. The kidneys serve as a regulating valve by which the quantity of water in the system is kept to its proper amount, and by which also other soluble compounds existing in the system in a larger amount than is compatible with the normal constitution of the blood are eliminated. Did not the kidneys serve as

such an adjusting organ and power, continual and exceedingly injurious results would ensue.

3d. The kidneys serve as a most important, if not *the* most important, tributary factor in man, for the preservation of health and life, by reason of the vital relation which is thus seen to exist between them and the heart. If the kidneys fail to purify the blood of these injurious elements, diseased blood is infused into the heart, and by the heart sent throughout the system, causing the germination and spread of disease in various forms, and with speedy and fatal results, as in the case of uræmic poisoning.

4th. The kidneys thus serve not only to eliminate diseases from the system, but also to teach much about diseases when existing in the system, and for the purpose of their removal. By chemical and microscopical analyses of the secretions of the kidneys, the nature, locality and progress of diseases are detected and ascertained.

These are not simply facts about the kidneys, but the functions of the kidneys.

The question is then,—What specific and distinct organ, with its functions, is there in man as he is spiritually constituted, which corresponds to the kidneys and their functions in his physical organism? What specific organ in the spiritual constitution of man is that which acts to separate the bad from the good, and to free the spiritual life from impurities—sins? What is that specific organ in man as he is spiritually constituted, which acts as a regulator of the spiritual life,—to keep so much as is proper, and eliminate so much as is injurious to that life's well-being? What is that specific organ in the spiritual man which failing to act, or to properly and faithfully perform its part, disease—sin germinates and spreads throughout the spiritual life, speedily and fatally, through the unpurified and unchecked evil affections of the heart? What is that specific organ in the spiritual constitution of man which tells him of sin, which says, *this is sin*, which shows him how far sin has progressed, which does all this for the purpose that sin may be removed? The analogy is complete and unmistakable in furnishing us with the answer, in giving us to understand what the *reins* are, namely, *the conscience*.

In this connection, it is a noticeable fact that neither the word conscience nor any word that may be rendered conscience is to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures.

II. *The Exegetical Argument*.—It consists in briefly examining those passages of Scripture in which the word כִּלְיֹת occurs, as likewise proving that by the *reins* we are to understand the *conscience*.

Job XVI., 13. "His archers compass me round about; he cleaveth my *reins* asunder, and doth not spare; he poureth out my gall upon the ground." The facts are these: Job suffers severely at the hands of God and men. These sufferings of Job are on account of his sins. The truth of this,—which Job here withholds in an exaggeration of his innocence and a proclamation of his self-righteousness,—he yet expressly concedes in XIV., 4. So God delivers Job over to suffering as guilty,—to suffer on account of his sins. In part, this suffering consists in God's sending forth his arrows against Job, the terrible effect of which Job specifically describes as a cleaving of his *reins* without sparing. The facts and the description correspond precisely and exclusively to the working of conscience. The arrows of God sent against and into the guilty as guilty, whereby the guilty suffers inwardly and spiritually on account of his sins, can only be referred to the sin-smitten conscience.

Job XIX., 27. "Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another; though my *reins* be consumed within me." As in connection with the former passage, so with this, and throughout, Job has been most wisely and forcibly maintaining a dual conception of God. In the first place he is God who delivers Job over to suffering as guilty; but in the second place he is God who also cannot leave Job unvindicated, even though such vindication should come only after death. In the preceding passage, God is regarded according to the former conception; in this passage, according to the latter conception. In the preceding passage Job suffers at the hand of God as guilty. In this passage, Job is suffering at the hand of God as guilty, yet appeals to God as the one who shall vindicate him against such guilt, and free him of such sufferings. Accordingly he says:—Even though my *reins*, my conscience be consumed, carry on a work of ruin within me, because guilty, yet I appeal and look and trust to God, knowing that my Redeemer, my Avenger liveth, who shall vindicate me, so that after death I shall see God, standing before him justified. It is like Paul crying out in the unrest and pain of conscience, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" and then in the very next breath exclaiming, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Ps. VII., 9; XXVI., 2; Jer. XI., 20; XVII., 10; XX., 12; Rev. II., 23. These are those passages wherein God is declared as being, or is appealed to as being the one who tries, searches, sees the *reins*, or the reins and heart together. In the case of Rev. II., 23, *νεφρός* is equivalent to כְּלִיֹּת, and the expression in which it occurs is applied to God as in the case of Ps. VII., 9, and others, whence it was probably taken. In these passages then, God is represented as seeing, searching, trying, putting to proof the *reins*, in order, as we learn from the context, to bring about one of three results.

- 1st. For the purpose of further removing sin; or
- 2d. For the purpose of confirming and establishing the godly; or
- 3d. For the purpose of punishing the wicked.

The passages thus standing before us in their contexts, the questions to be asked are,—Wherein is God operative in the individual so that the individual becomes convinced of sin, and is thus led to forsake it? Answer, the conscience. How and wherein is the individual assured, confirmed, established as to peace with God, as to faithfulness before God, as to hope in God? Answer, in a *good* conscience. How and wherein does God search and prove the wicked so that it is seen and known they will not have God, and are visited with just punishment? Through the conscience which has become hardened, seared. In all these passages those things which God is said to do, or which man would have God do, are things which can only be predicated of the conscience.

Ps. XVI., 7. "I will bless the Lord, who hath given me counsel; my *reins* also instruct me in the night seasons." What kind of instruction is this given by the *reins*? The word rendered here *instruct* is derived from יָסַר, signifying *to correct, to admonish*. Thus Perowne and others render. The Psalmist is represented as anxiously listening to the voice of God, that he may thereby become corrected, admonished, warned as to that which is good, and that which is evil. By such admonition and warning the Psalmist would become conformed unto and settled in that which is good in God's sight. Of the office of what part of the spiritual man can it be predicated other than of the conscience?

Ps. LXXIII., 21. "Thus my heart was grieved, and I was pricked in my *reins*." The sense becomes evident when we consider the contents of the Psalm. The seeming prosperity of the ungodly had filled the Psalmist with doubts and anger, and had tempted him to fall away into an utter ignoring and disbelief of God. He had so far forth grievously strayed, seriously sinned. Then there was given to the Psalmist a solution of the problem, an explanation of the phenomenon of the apparent good fortune of the ungodly. In this passage and from the standpoint of the explanation received, the Psalmist speaks of a possible return of his temptation, and condemns it beforehand. He was pricked, pierced with pain in his *reins*, because of the temptation into which he had fallen, and the possibility of again falling into it. Manifestly the *reins* here constitute the conscience.

Ps. CXXXIX., 13. "For thou hast possessed my *reins*: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb." The Psalmist has been speaking (vs. 7-12) of the omnipresence of God. From that omnipresent God he cannot flee or hide. Why? Because God has formed and possessed his *reins*, whereby he has not only a *consciousness* of the existence of God, but a *conscience* continually producing painful or pleasing experiences with respect to the fact of God's omnipresence. And so throughout the Psalm, it is the power of conscience on the one hand, and it is the sense of sin and responsibility on the other hand, that are everywhere felt and acknowledged.

Prov. XXIII., 16. "Yea, my *reins* shall rejoice, when thy lips speak right things." The wise, pious and kingly father has just spoken of the necessity of withholding not correction from the child. And so if, by correction and chastisement, his own son's heart is made wise, the father's heart will rejoice; and if, by correction and chastisement, his own son's lips are made to speak right things, the father's *reins* will rejoice or exult. There will be an approval of conscience, and a rejoicing of heart on the part of the father if, in using correction and chastisement toward his son, his son is thereby led into the right. If correction and chastisement are withheld, and so the son goes astray, there will be sorrow of heart, and the regrets of a guilty conscience.

Jer. XII., 2. "Thou hast planted them; yea, they have taken root: they grow; yea, they bring forth fruit: thou art near in their mouth, but far from their *reins*." The prophet is speaking of the wicked, and their apparent prosperity and happiness in their treachery and wickedness. They seem, and indeed of God, to have been planted, to have taken root, to be growing and bringing forth fruit in prosperous wickedness. This condition of the wicked the prophet ascribes to God's being far from their *reins*, even though he is near in their mouth. What then are the *reins* in the which if God had been, the wicked would have been checked, stopped, turned from their wickedness? Can this be other than the conscience?

Lam. III., 13. "He hath caused the arrows of his quiver to enter into my *reins*." The explanation here is similar to that of Job XVI., 13. The prophet here speaks in his prophetic character; as one who stands between the people and their covenant God, to reveal the divine will to them; and as one who stands in their place, and presents their interests before the throne of grace. He is a representative man. He stands for the people; he speaks for the people; suffers for the people. The people are made to suffer at the hands of God for their sins against him. The arrows of God's quiver enter their *reins* causing them to suffer because of their sins. They are inwardly tormented, pierced with pain because of their great sins,

and God's great displeasure therefor. The description is such as can only be referred to the state and workings of a conscience painfully sensible of sin, and of the presence of an incensed Deity.

THE MESSIANIC ELEMENT IN THE PSALMS.

BY REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A.,

Fellow and Lecturer of Balliol College, Oxford.

There is much haziness in the minds of most persons as to the meaning of the words Messiah and Messianic. I have, therefore, first of all to state in what sense I here use these words. I would venture to define the word Messiah as meaning one who has received some direct commission from God determining his life's work, with the single limitation that the commission must be unique, and must have a religious character. Thus Cyrus will not be a Messiah, because his function was merely preparatory; he was to be instrumental in the removal of obstacles to the realization of [God's kingdom] (*I. C. A.*, p. 166). An individual priest will not be a Messiah, because he has received no unique personal commission; even the High Priest Joshua is only represented as typical of Him who was to be pre-eminently the Messiah (*Zech. iii.*, 8). David was a Messiah (compare *Ps. xviii.*, 50), because he was God's vicegerent in the government of His people Israel; the laws which David was to carry out were not merely secular, but religious, and of Divine appointment. Each of David's successors was in like manner theoretically a Messiah. The people of Israel was theoretically a Messiah, because specially chosen to show forth an example of obedience to God's laws (*Ex. xix.*, 5, 6), and to preach His religion to the Gentiles (*Isa. ii.*, 3; *Lv.*, 5). Above all, a descendant of David who should take up the ill-performed functions of his royal ancestors was to be, both in theory and in fact, the Messiah (*Isa. ix.*, 6, 7, &c.); and so, too, was the personal Servant of Jehovah (*Isa. lxi.*, 1), who was both to redeem His people from their sins, and to lead them in the performance of their commission.

Hence we may reckon five groups of Messianic psalms:—I. Psalms which refer to a contemporary Davidic king, setting him, either directly or by implication, in the light of his Messianic mission. II. Those entirely devoted to the future ideal Davidic sovereign. III. Those which relate to the future glories of the kingdom of God, but without expressly mentioning any Messiah. IV. Those which, though seemingly spoken by an individual, in reality describe the experiences of the Jewish nation in their unsteady performance of their Messianic commission. V. Those in which, with more or less consistency, the psalmist dramatically introduces the personal and ideally perfect 'Servant of Jehovah' (to adopt the phrase in *Isa. xlii.*, &c.) as the speaker.

On the first group there cannot be much difference of opinion. It contains Psalms *xx.*, *xxi.*, *xlv.*, *cl.*, *cxxxii.* The interest of the interpreter is more awakened by the second group, containing Psalms *ii.*, *lxxii.*, *cx.* In *Ps. ii.* we are presented first with a picture of the whole world subject to an Israelitish king, and vainly plotting to throw off the yoke; then with the divine decree assuring universal dominion to this particular king; then with an exhortation to the kings

of the earth to submit to Jehovah's Son.¹ It is, I know, commonly supposed that the psalm has a primary reference to circumstances in the life of David, but the ordinary Christian instinct seems to be much nearer the truth. Even granting for the moment that the chiefs of the Syrians and the Ammonites could be dignified in liturgical poetry with the title 'kings of the earth,' there is not the slightest indication in 2 Sam. vii. or elsewhere, that a prophet ever conveyed an offer to David of the sovereignty of the whole world. Even Jewish tradition, so zealous for the honor of the Davidic lyre, has not ascribed this psalm to David. Who, then, can the Son of Jehovah and Lord of the whole earth be but the future Messiah, whom the prophets describe in such extraordinary terms? Why should we expect the psalms always to have a contemporary political reference? If one psalmist (see below) takes for his theme the Messianic glories of Jerusalem, why may not another adopt for his the glories of the Messiah himself?

The same arguments apply to Ps. LXXII., which a Unitarian divine pronounces 'the most Messianic in the collection,' adding that it 'is applied by Bible readers in general, without hesitation or conscious difficulty, to the Messiah of Nazareth, as beautifully describing the spirit of His reign.'² The judgment of the plain reader is not to be lightly disregarded, and though Mr Higginson goes on to speak of 'its true historic marks, which assign it distinctly to the accession of Solomon,' other critics (e. g., Hupfeld) altogether deny these, and the Messianic interpretation has not yet been satisfactorily refuted. The psalm is not, indeed, a prediction (as King James's Bible makes it), but is at any rate a prayer for the advent of the Prince of peace and of the world, Ps. cx., again, is as a whole only obscure to those who will not admit directly Messianic psalms. How significantly the first of the two Divine oracles opens, with an invitation to sit on the throne, 'high and lifted up' (Isa. vi. 1), where the Lord Himself is seated! Can we help thinking of the 'El-gibbôr in Isaiah (ix. 6), and still more of the 'one like a son of man' who 'came with the clouds of heaven,' and was 'brought near before the Ancient of days' (Dan. vii. 13)? True, that 'son of man' is not said to be a priest, but he agrees with the personage in the psalm in that he is conceived of as in heaven, and as waging war and exercising sovereignty on earth from heaven. Neither in Daniel nor in the psalm is anything said about the Davidic origin of the high potentate, but his nature and functions are clearly those of the Davidic Messiah. The priestly character of the 'lord' in Ps. cx., 1, can be fully explained from Zech. iii. 8; vi. 11-13, where a priestly element in the Messianic functions is distinctly recognized.

Over the third group I may pass lightly. It contains some late psalms, such as xcvi.-c., in which the happiness of being under Jehovah's personal government is celebrated, and also Ps. LXXXVII., in which, chief among the Messianic privileges of Jerusalem, the conversion of the heathen is represented as their being 'born again in Zion' (compare Isa. xliv., 5).

The fourth contains a number of psalms commonly regarded as Davidic, and as typically Messianic, and some which are merely supposed to describe the sufferings of a pious individual. In both subdivisions the language is often hyperbolic, which is explained in the case of the former by the typical character of the writer, and the overruling influence of the Spirit. A similar explanation might plausibly

¹ The Aramaic *bar*, not admitting the article, suited the unique position of the personage spoken of.

² Higginson, *Eccle Messias*, p. 30.

be offered for the seeming hyperboles of the latter subdivision, for every pious sufferer is in a true sense a type of Jesus Christ. But it is much simpler to suppose that these psalms really describe the experiences of the Jewish nation in the pursuit of its Messianic ideal: the supposed speaker is a personification. This is no arbitrary conjecture. The Jewish nation and its divinely appointed ideal were, in fact, to the later prophets and students of Scripture a familiar subject of meditation. I need hardly remind the reader of the 'Servant of Jehovah' in some parts of 2 Isaiah, but may be allowed to state my opinion that one principal object of the book of Jonah was to typify the spiritual career of Israel, and that the so-called Song of Solomon was admitted into the Canon on the ground that the Bride of the poem symbolized the chosen people. Can we wonder that some of the psalmists adopted a similar imaginative figure?

One of the most remarkable of these psalms is the eighteenth. It is probable enough that the psalmist in writing it had the life of David in his mind's eye; but it would be unreasonable to suppose that he merely wished to idealize a deceased king, or even the Davidic family. The world-wide empire claimed by the supposed speaker, and the analogy of cognate psalms, are totally opposed to such a hypothesis. But when we consider that the filial relation to God predicated of David as king in 2 Sam. vii. is also asserted of the Israelitish nation (Ex. iv., 22; Hos. xi., 1; Ps. lxxx., 15), and that in Isa. lv., 3-5 the blessings promised to David are assured in perpetuity to the faithful Israel, it becomes difficult to deny that David may have been regarded as typical of the nation of Israel.—Another of these psalms is the eighty-ninth, which supplies further evidences of the typological use of David. The psalmist has been describing the ruin which has overtaken the Davidic family, but insensibly passes into a picture of the ruin of the state, and identifies 'the reproach of the heels of thine anointed' (v. 51) with 'the reproach of thy servants' (v. 50).—Ps. cii. may also perhaps be included in this group. The expression in vs. 3-9 are, some of them at least, far too strong for an individual, whereas in the mouth of the personified people they are not inappropriate. The words in v. 23 'he hath shortened my days' (virtually retracted in v. 28) remind us of Ps. lxxxix., 45; and those in the parallel clause, 'he hath weakened my strength in the way,' are perhaps an allusion to the 'travail in the way' of the Israelites in the wilderness (Ex. xviii., 8). There are some reasons, however, for rather placing this psalm in the next group.

The remaining members of the fourth group are the so-called imprecatory psalms¹ (e. g., v., xxxv., xl., lv., lviii., lxix., cix.). As long as these are interpreted of an individual Israelite, they seem strangely inconsistent with the injunctions to benevolence with which the Old Testament is interspersed.² If, however, they are spoken in the name of the nation—'Jehovah's Son,' their intensity of feeling becomes intelligible. Certainly it was not 'obstinate virulence and morbid moroseness' which inspired them, for 'each of the psalms in which the strongest imprecatory passages are found contains also gentle undertones, breathings of beneficent love. Thus, 'When they were sick, I humbled my soul with fasting; I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or brother.' 'When I wept and chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my reproach.' 'They have re-

¹ Some of these psalms, however (xxxv., xl., lv., lxix.), belong more properly to the fourth group.

² Ex. xxiii., 4, 5; Lev. xix., 18; Prov. xx., 22, xxiv., 17, 18, 29, xxv., 21, 22, compare Job xxxi., 29, 30.

warded me evil for good, and hatred for my love !¹ And, 'finally in the most awful of these psalms, the denunciations die away into a strain which, in the original, falls upon a modern ear with something of the cadence of pathetic rhyme (V'libbî khālāl b'qîrbî, "and my heart is pierced through within me").'²

Among the psalms not ascribed to David which belong to this group is the forty-first, from which a quotation is made in a Messianic sense in John xiii., 18. It is only the people of Israel which can at once confess its former sins (v. 4), and appeal to its present 'integrity' (v. 12).—The fifth and last group marks the highest level attained by the inspired poets. It contains Ps. xxii., xxxv., xl., lv., lxix., cii. I cannot think that the persistency of the traditional interpretation, at any rate as regards the two first of these psalms, is wholly due to theological prepossessions. In some of its details, the traditional Christian interpretation is no doubt critically untenable, but in essentials it seems to me truer than any of the current literary theories. Let me briefly refer to the twenty-second psalm, which presents such striking affinities with 2 Isaiah. In two respects it is distinguished from most others of the same group; it contains no imprecations and no confessions of sinfulness. It falls into two parts. The first and longer of these is a pathetic appeal to Jehovah from the lowest depth of affliction. The speaker has been God's servant from the beginning (vs. 9, 10), yet he is now conscious of being God-forsaken (v. 1). Not only are his physical sufferings extreme (vs. 14–17), but he is the butt of scoffers and a public laughing-stock (vs. 6, 7). Who his enemies are—whether heathen oppressors or unbelieving Israelites—is not here stated, but from a parallel passage (Ps. lxix., 8) it is clear that the hostility arises, partly, at least, from the sufferer's fellow-countrymen. Only after long wrestling with God does the psalmist attain the confidence that he has been heard of Him (v. 21). At this point the tone suddenly changes. The prayer becomes a joyous declaration of the answer which has been vouchsafed, and a promise of thank-offerings. 'But he does not end there. He treats his deliverance as a matter of national congratulation, and a cause of more than national blessings. He not only calls upon his fellow-countrymen to join him in his thanksgiving (v. 23), but breaks out into an announcement which draws the whole world within the sphere of his triumph (vs. 27, 28, 31).'³ I need not stay to point out how unsuitable is language of this description to any of the Israelites mentioned in the Old Testament, and how unnatural it is that the establishment of God's universal kingdom should be placed in sequence to the deliverance of an individual sufferer.⁴ The difficulties are strikingly analogous to those which meet us in 2 Isaiah.⁵ There, as here, some

¹ Bishop Alexander, *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*, 1876, p. 53 (Ps. xxxv., 13, lxix., 10, 11, cix., 4, 5).

² *Ibid.*, p. 57. (It is not necessary to assume that the faithless friends in Ps. xxxv., lv., are mere figures of speech.)

³ Maitland, *The Arguments from Prophecy* (S. P. C. K.) pp. 95, 96.

⁴ Hupfeld, I know, denies that the anticipations expressed in vs. 27–31 stand in any relation to the deliverance of the speaker. But by this denial he destroys the unity of plan of the poem; it is certain, too, that the later O. T. writers often connect the conversion of the heathen with the sight of the wonderful deliverance of Israel. And the very connection which Hupfeld denies in Ps. xxii., he grants in the parallel passage in Ps. cii. (vs. 16–18).

⁵ It would be instructive to make out a list of the numerous parallels in these psalms to 2 Isaiah and the book of Job (for the author of Job, as we have seen, is not without flashes of Gospel light). Comp. for instance, Ps. xxii., 6, 'I am a worm,' with Isa. xli., 14; Job xxv., 6; *Ibid.*, 'and no man,' with Isa. lii., 14, liii., 2; *Ibid.*, 'despised of people,' with Isa. xlix., 7; vs. 16, 17, with Job's descriptions of his sickness; vs. 26, 28, with Isa. lv., 1, 21. Vs. 27–29 also find their best commentary in Isa. lii., 14, 15.

features of the description seem to compel us to explain them of an individual Israelite, while others remain unintelligible unless referred in some way to the people of Israel, with its Messianic, missionary functions. There, as here, the deliverance of the sufferer has a vital influence on the spiritual life, first of all of his own people, and then of all mankind. There, as here, the newly-acquired spiritual blessings are described under the figure of a feast. Is it so very bold to explain Ps. xxii. and the psalms like it as utterances of that ideal and yet most real personage, who in 2 Isaiah is the fruit, from one point of view, no doubt, of special revelation, but from another equally justified and perfectly consistent with the former, of an intense longing for the fulfilment of Israel's ideal? To assume that both the sacred poets and the poet-prophet are feeling their way (not, however, at random) to the presence of the Redeemer? That they have abandoned the hope of an earthly King of Israel, and are conscious, too, that even the noblest members of the nation are inadequate to the Messianic functions? And that hence they throw out in colossal outlines an indistinct because imaginatively expressed conception of One who shall perfectly fulfil these functions for and with his people?

[From Commentary on Isaiah.]

→GENERAL NOTES←

The Place of Biblical Theology.—Biblical Theology belongs to the department of Exegetical Theology as a higher exegesis completing the exegetical process, and presenting the essential material and principles of the other departments of theology.

The boundaries between Exegetical and Historical Theology are not so sharply defined as those between either of them and Systematic Theology. All Historical Theology has to deal with *sources*, and in this respect must consider them in their variety and unity as well as development; and hence many theologians combine Exegetical Theology and Historical Theology under one head—Historical Theology. It is important, however, to draw the distinction, for this reason. The *sources* of Biblical Theology are in different relation from the sources of a history of doctrine, inasmuch as they constitute a body of divine revelation, and in this respect to be kept distinct from all other *sources*, even cotemporary and of the same nation. They have an absolute authority which no other sources can have. The stress is to be laid less upon their historical development than upon them as an organic body of revelation, and this stress upon their importance as *sources* not only for historical development, but also for dogmatic reconstruction and practical application, requires that the special study of them should be exalted to a separate discipline and a distinct branch of theology.

Now in the department of Exegetical Theology, Biblical Theology occupies the highest place, the latest and crowning achievement. It is a higher exegesis completing the Exegetical Process. All other branches of Exegetical Theology are presupposed by it. The Biblical Literature must first be studied as sacred literature. All questions of date of writing, integrity, construction, style, and authorship must be determined by the principles of the Higher Criticism. Biblical Canonics determines the extent and authority of the various writings that are to be

regarded as composing the sacred canon, and discriminates them from all other writings by the criticism of the believing spirit enlightened and guided by the Holy Spirit in the Church. Biblical Textual Criticism ascertains the true text of the writings in the study of MSS. and versions and citations, and seeks to present it in its pure primitive forms. Biblical Hermeneutics lays down the rule of Biblical Interpretation, and Biblical Exegesis applies these rules to the various particular passages of the sacred Scriptures. Now Biblical Theology accepts all these rules and results thus determined and applied. It is not its office to go into the detailed examination of the verse and the section, but it must accept the results of a thorough exegesis and criticism in order to advance thereon and thereby to its own proper work of higher exegesis; namely, rising from the comparison of verse with verse, and paragraph with paragraph, where simple exegesis is employed, to the still more difficult and instructive comparison of writing with writing, author with author, period with period, until by generalization and synthesis the theology of the Bible is attained as an organic whole.

Biblical Theology is thus the culmination of Exegetical Theology, and must be in an important relation to all other branches of theology. For Historical Theology it presents the great principles of the various periods of history, the fundamental and controlling tendencies which, springing from human nature and operating in all the religions of the world, find their proper expression and satisfaction in the normal development of Divine Revelation, but which, breaking loose from these salutary bonds, become perverted and distorted into abnormal forms, producing false and heretical principles and radical errors. And so in the Biblical unity of these tendencies Biblical Theology presents the ideal unity for the church and the Christian in all times of the world's history. For Systematic Theology, Biblical Theology affords the holy material to be used in Biblical Apologetics, Dogmatics, and Ethics, the fundamental and controlling material out of which that systematic structure must be built which will express the intellectual and moral needs of the particular age, fortify the church for offence and defence in the struggle with the anti-Christian world, and give unity to its life, its efforts, and its dogmas in all ages. For Practical Theology it presents the various types of religious experience and of doctrinal and ethical ideas which must be skilfully applied to the corresponding differences of type which exist in all times, in all churches, in all lands, and indeed in all religions and races of mankind. Biblical Theology is indeed the *Irenic* force which will do much to harmonize the antagonistic forces and various departments of theology, and bring about that *toleration within the church* which is the *greatest* requisite of our times.—*From Briggs' Biblical Study.*

Recent Literature in the Department of Old Testament Theology.—Of the learned works in this department recently issued, one of the most important is the *Old Testament Theology* of H. Schultz, 2 vols. 1869, a second edition of which appeared in one vol. in 1878. The religion of the Old Testament is regarded as the religion of revelation in its gradual progress, the religion of redemption coming into being, in distinction from redemption completed, as it is in Christianity. The special revelation which lies at the basis of both the Old and the New Testament religion is recognized as corresponding to the special connection of the two. Hence, while it is strongly affirmed on the one hand that the Old Testament religion is historically conditioned and prepared by the general prior development of mankind, and

especially by the religious development of the Semites, and also that it follows historical laws in its further advance, the firm position on the other hand is taken, that its origin and development are by no means to be explained as barely proceeding from historical relations, but from revelation in the special historical sense of the word. Still it must be confessed that Schultz's idea of revelation is burdened by an unbiblical restriction (cf. § 6, note 2).

II. Ewald, in his comprehensive work, *The Doctrine of the Bible concerning God, or Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, 4 vols., Leipsic, 1871-76, believing with the Christian Church in all ages, "that the books of the two Testaments as Holy Scripture constitute an inseparable unity in respect to their contents and aim," but keeping in view also the difference both between the two Testaments and the individual books, exhibits the unity of doctrine in the Old and the New Testaments. He regards revelation, on which all religion, and especially the religion of the Bible rests, as the illumination of the human spirit, in its search after God, with new religious thoughts and intuitions. On this view revelation is rather an achievement of the human mind than a thing received. It looks more like a psychological phenomenon than as an act of God. F. Hitzig, in his posthumous *Lectures on Biblical Theology and Messianic Prophecy in the Old Testament*, Karlsruhe, 1880, holds, in distinction from this, that there is no need of a special revelation. He conceives the God of Israel to be the product of human reflection resting upon the basis of a religion held by Arab nomads, and the religion of Israel as the creation of the Hebrew mind, "constituted from the beginning for the true religion."

What is usually styled the Graf hypothesis, according to which the priestly legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch is a post-exilic production, belonging to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, would, if it were proved to be correct, be followed by sweeping results, because it would entirely revolutionize the received view of the historical progress of the religion of Israel. This hypothesis, advanced or suggested by Vatke and Reuss, was further elaborated by Graf in his work, *The Historical Books of the Old Testament*, Leipsic, 1866; and more recently J. Wellhausen's *History of Israel*, vol. I., Berlin, 1878, has won many adherents to the view that "the Mosaic law is not the point of departure for the history of ancient Israel, but for the history of Judaism—that is, of the sect which survived the people annihilated by the Assyrians and Chaldeans." The latest work in which the attempt is made to carry out this view is the *History of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament*, by E. Reuss, Brunswick, 1881-82. In adopting this hypothesis, Bernhard Duhm, in his *Theology of the Prophets as the Foundation for the Internal History of the Development of the Israelitish Religion*, Bonn, 1875, undertook by an investigation of the contents of the prophetic books, to get a view of the origin of prophecy without the basis of the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch. The important contributions recently made to the history of religion, especially by Egyptology and Assyriology, promise to become fruitful for the understanding of the Old Testament. The *Studies for the History of Semitic Religions*, by W. W. Grafen Baudissen (vols. I. and II., Leipsic, 1876-78), come in this connection into consideration.—*From Oehler's Old Testament Theology.*

The Ancient Scripture.—No current questions have, in late years, more commanded attention than those which concern the literature and the interpretation of the Old Testament. The interest of these questions has almost pushed the physical scientists from their stools. Instead of Tyndall, and Darwin, and Hux-

ley, and Haeckel, and Virchow, we have now Robertson Smith, Delitzsch, Kuenen and Wellhausen. The date of an Old Testament book is now a more absorbing issue than that of the origin of species, while keener optics than those which lately were scrutinizing flint hatchets and old bones, are now searching the Messianic Psalms and the statutes of Leviticus. Naturally, one is led to ask what may be the significance of all this, and how it shall be interpreted.

In part, it must be said, the interest in Old Testament study now so manifest, is simply critical and archaeological. We ought not to be surprised that there should be scholars who study our ancient Scripture not as theologians, but only as scholars. Their customary work has been largely in the line of other archaeological literature. They have studied, with the zeal of explorers, both Egyptology and Assyriology. That old buried world which now after so many centuries is having a resurrection, absorbs them in the revelations made of the life, and thought, and worship of what are in a somewhat strict sense pre-historic times. During the ages in which that old world was the living world our ancient Scripture was written. Of this fact these explorers and scholars are constantly reminded. They turn from the tablet and the papyrus to the familiar pages of the printed Bible. As they read this page they are still archaeologists and critics. They have not the doctrinal interest there which some of the rest of us have. That their conclusions on many points should be different from ours, is not surprising. Of two things we need to be aware, as we take note of the claimed results of their investigations: (1) that critics are apt to be over-critical; (2) that the studies in which these scholars habitually engage are such in their nature and the discipline they afford, as to justify the expectation that there must be value, of some kind, in the results.

Naturally, this form of the prevailing interest in Old Testament study prepares the way for another. Those who have been accustomed to regard the date and order of the books in our ancient Scripture as settled beyond all possibility of question, also the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the integrity of Isaiah's prophecy and the Messianic character of certain psalms, are surprised to find all these points treated as still open to dispute, while the confident tone of conclusions announced regarding them excites uneasiness. What does it mean? Are these conclusions sound? If so, what does it all import? Is faith in the Old Testament about to part from its moorings, and are we soon to be all afloat? Must even the inspiration of these ancient books be virtually given up? When such issues as these are present to the mind, whether really involved in the questions under debate or not, one feels that he must look into the matter. And doubtless he should; remembering, meanwhile, that the critics *are* apt to be over-critical, and that zeal for discovery often makes one on the outlook imagine that he sees land, while what he does see is a cloud in the horizon, or a fog-bank far away under the blue.

Once more, it would seem that very many of us are coming to be conscious that there is an interest and value in our ancient Scripture of which we had grown in a measure inappreciative. It is not very long ago that many, believing the Old Testament to belong to a dispensation wholly past, had almost come to regard it as no longer of interest for a Christian. Some, even, doubted if it were well for ministers to take texts from it for their sermons. The Christianity of the Puritans had a strong Old Testament cast; that of their children seemed in danger of reaching an opposite extreme even more mistaken. We find, now, that its rela-

tion to the New Testament, in its exhibition of a most interesting and momentous stage in the steady growth of Divine revelation and the kingdom of God on earth, as an ancient literature, some of it perhaps the oldest in the world, as running parallel with those other ancient literatures now coming to light, and yet in most wonderful contrast with them, as a repertory of primitive thought and faith, preserved by special Divine interposition from the corruption and darkness into which all in the world beside was plunged, as a memorial of ancient genius, plumed for fight by Divine inspiration and guided on its way by attending Divine ministries—we are now awakening to the fact that, as all this, our Old Testament is a most wonderful book, or, rather library of books. The infidel has done his worst in assailing it. Possibly we had consented in some measure to his disparagement. We now see that what he found in it as peculiar, and therefore open to attack, is peculiar just because it is old; and that what he did *not* find in it is a treasure of knowledge and faith worth more than all the wisdom of the world beside.—*Dr. J. A. Smith in Chicago "Standard."*

The respective "ages" of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic families.—This most fittingly leads us to the question of the respective "ages" of those two prominent families of languages. Not that to the one or to the other is to be assigned a longer, more ancient term of existence—for this notion of the direct parentage is, as we said, confined to bygone unscientific centuries, and to the Delitzsch-Fuerst school: if there be one. But it may fairly be asked—and this is by no means a barren speculation—which may have retained its ancient stamp with greater fidelity, and which thus reflects best the shape of its original? And there can be but one answer. The more simple, child-like, primitive of the two is, without any doubt, the Semitic. Abstraction and metaphysics, philosophy and speculation, as we find them in the Aryan, are not easily expressed in an idiom bereft of all real syntactical structure; bereft further of that infinite variety of little words, particles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, etc., which, ready for any emergency, like so many small living links, imperceptibly bind word to word, phrase to phrase, and period to period: which indeed are the very life and soul of what is called Construction. This want of exactness and precision, moreover, naturally inherent in idioms represented by words of dumb sounds, whose meaning must be determined according to circumstances by a certain limited number of shifting vowels, whose conjugations, though varied and flexible to an extraordinary degree, yet lack a proper distinction between the past and the future (cf. the Hebrew "perfect" and "aorist," which lend themselves to almost any tense between the past and future). There certainly is—who can doubt it?—notwithstanding all these shortcomings, a strength, a boldness, a picturesqueness, a delicacy of feeling and expression about those Semitic idioms which mark them, one and all, as the property of a poetically, not to say "prophetically" inspired race. But compare with this the suppleness of Aryan languages and that boundless supply of aid that enable them to produce the most telling combinations at the spur of the moment; their exquisitely consummate and refined syntactical development, that can change, and shift, and alter the position of word, and phrase, and sentence, and period, to almost any place, so as to give force to any part of their speech. With all these, and a thousand other faculties and capabilities, they might certainly at first sight almost lead one to the belief that they must have grown upon another stock—the Semitic—and outgrown it.

But discarding this unscientific notion, it cannot be denied that they are the "younger" of the two. The stage of Realism, as represented by the former, must naturally have preceded that of Idealism, of which the Aryan alone is the proper type and expression. The Semitic use of the materialistic, "sensual," term for physiological and psychological phenomena must be older than the formation and common usage of the Aryan abstract term. The name for the outward tangible impression which must have everywhere been identical originally with that of the sensation or idea connected with it, has remained identical in the Semitic from its earliest stage to its final development. It is, in fact, this unity of idea and expression, which, above all other symptoms, forces us irresistably to place the Semitic into the front rank as regards "antiquity," such as we explained it; that is, of its having retained the closest likeness to some original form of human speech that preceded both the other family of language and itself.—*From Deutsch's Lit. Remains.*

➤CRITICAL ✦ NOTES.✦◀

"Time" in the Old Testament.—This "Note" is written for those who read the Old Testament in the English translation. The heading "Tense in Hebrew" would be more appropriate, but might be misleading. If the reader will open his Bible at Gen. XXIII., 11, he will read the words *I give thee* three times. In Abraham's reply (v. 13) occur the words *I will give thee*. If he will turn to Ruth, IV., 3, he will read, *Naomi. . . selleth a parcel of land*. Read also in Isa. IX., 6, *The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light*; and in Isa. XI., 9, *For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord*.

Now let it be noted that in the original the verbs which in these verses are rendered (1) *I give*, (2) *I will give*, (3) *selleth*, (4) *have seen*, (5) *shall be full* are in what is commonly called the *past* tense. It is undoubtedly true that the words "*I give*" in the first case and "*I will give*" in the second refer to the future, though immediate; in the third case we are confident that Naomi has not already sold her land, otherwise it would not still be for sale, at least by her; we shall all agree that the "light" referred to in Isa. IX., 6, is the Messianic time and still many hundred years in the future, although our translators have given us a literal rendering of the tense; the time in the future to which the words *shall be full* refer, is determined by the context. But in every case cited there is used in the Hebrew what is known as the *past* tense.

Now let the reader turn to Gen. II., 6. *But there went up a mist*; Ex. XV., 5, *the depths covered them*; XV., 1, *Then sang Moses*; Gen. VI., 4, *when the sons of God came in*; Isa. I., 21, *righteousness lodged in it*; Ps. I., 2, *and in his law doth he meditate*; Ex. I., 12, *But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew*. Let it be noted that in the case of every verb translated in these phrases the tense, in the original, is that which is usually called *future*. But how is this possible? The mist referred to *went up* before the creation of man. Moses *sang*, and the depths *covered* the hosts of Pharaoh thousands of years ago. In every case, except one, the thought is manifestly of the *past*. These cases bring fairly to our minds the question at issue, the use of the tense in Hebrew,—a question of interest not alone to the student of Hebrew, but to every one who would understand the Word of God.

There are two points worthy of notice: 1) The Hebrew has no "present" tense; 2) The so-called "past" and "future" tenses in Hebrew are fundamentally different from those in English, Latin or Greek. There is, what may be called, *order of time*; e. g., we say that a certain event is *past*, i. e., it took place at some date or time in the past, and so another event is to take place at some date in the future. We take our stand in the present and, in reference to every event, ask ourselves as to its *order*. Has it yet taken place or is it yet to take place?—the standpoint of consideration being the present. Or, the standpoint of consideration may be fixed by the narrative. In this way we characterize it as past or future. This is *order of time*. But there is also what may be called *kind of time*: e. g., we may contemplate an action as *beginning*, *incipient*, as *finished*, *completed*, or as *continuing*, *going on*. A writer may "wish to lay stress upon the moment at which an action begins, or upon the period over which it extends, or upon the fact of its being finished and done." We must distinguish between this way of contemplating an action, and the former one. The former method marks differences in *date*, or *order*; but the latter in *kind* or *character*. As remarked above, the Hebrew has no "present" tense; its absence is partly supplied by using the participle, and the participle is used when the writer wishes to emphasize the duration, or uninterrupted continuance of an event. If an action, to be described, belongs to past time, but the writer wishes to characterize it as *beginning* in this past time, or as *incomplete*, he will use the so-called *future* tense, because *incipient* and *incomplete* action can be expressed only by this tense, whether the action is in the realm of the past, of the present or of the future. And *vice versa*, if an action belongs to the future, but the writer wishes to contemplate it as *finished*, *complete*, he must, of necessity, use the so-called *past* tense, because a finished or completed action can be indicated in no other way. It will thus be seen that the idea of the tense in English and Hebrew is entirely different. In the former language, tense indicates order or date; in the latter, *only* kind or character. But how, you will ask, is the order or date to be determined? One surely must know the date of an action, or he will all the time work in confusion. True; and there *is* a method of determining the order, although not by the tense. It will be found that in nearly every case this information may be obtained from the *context*.

The statement given in this Note is but a brief and general one; there is a multitude of details which come up in the close study of the subject. Space remains only for a rapid glance at the texts cited above, in view of what has been said.

Those cases in which the *so-called* past tense is used, while the English translation is in the present or future, may be explained as follows:—

1) Ephron really says to Abraham *I have given thee*, meaning thereby that he promises to give; and, although the giving is yet to take place, it is so certain, "being regarded as dependent upon an unalterable determination of the will," that it may be and is spoken of as having actually taken place.

2) The same explanation holds good of Abraham's reply which would read literally *I have given thee*, but is equivalent to *I will surely give thee*.

3) The literal rendering *Naomi has sold a parcel of land* is seen from the context to mean nothing; it assumes a new significance when we translate it *Naomi has resolved to sell (will surely sell)*, the fact of her *determination* to do so being indicated by the use of the *past* tense.

4) The prophet in Isa. ix., 6, writes as if the Messianic dispensation had already come. Inspired from above he announces as *taken place*, that which is

yet to take place. He represents it as an event *completed, finished*, and so it is in the divine will. The use of the past tense thus, in prophecy, is most frequent.

5) The last case (Isa. XI., 9) is similar. The context points to the future. At the time described in the preceding verses no one shall hurt or destroy, because, at that time, as the prophet looks ahead and sees, the earth *has been filled* with the knowledge of Jehovah.

The so-called *past* tense of the Hebrew marks an action or event as, in the estimation of the writer or speaker, *finished*. A better term for it, and one quite commonly used is *Perfect*, in the sense of complete.

Now look at those cases in which the so-called *future* tense was used in the Hebrew, while our English translation uses the present or past:—

1) *But there went up a mist* (Gen. II., 6) means that a mist went up *repeatedly*, from time to time: the idea would well be expressed by our phrase *used to go up*, the so-called future being used rather than the past, because the thought of *repetition* (incompleteness) was in his mind. The same explanation clears up the fourth and fifth cases cited: *when the sons of God were accustomed to go in* (Gen. VI., 4); *righteousness used to lodge in it* (Isa. I., 21).

2) If we substitute *then Moses began to sing* (Ex. xv., 1) for *then Moses sang*, we see the force of the tense, here denoting *incipiency*.

3) The Hebrew future, as we may recall, was said to indicate an action as unfinished, still going on. When an English speaker, in describing past events, desires to bring them vividly to the mind of his hearer, he uses the present (historical). By this means he places the event before the hearer as in the very act of taking place. To do this in Hebrew, the so-called future must be used. Keeping this in mind how much more significant is the expression *The depths cover them* (Ex. xv., 5), than would have been *The depths covered them*, the former portraying the event as directly before the eyes of the singers, the latter as a matter wholly in the past.

4) That man is *blessed* who is *accustomed to meditate* (Ps. I., 2), who keeps *meditating*, the so-called future being used as the tense which marks repetition, a form of incompleteness.

5) By rendering Ex. I., 12, *But the more they kept afflicting them, the more they kept multiplying and kept growing*, the verse takes on a new force, here again the future being used even of a past event because that event, though past, was contemplated as going on, incomplete. As the tense which marks completeness is termed by some the *Perfect*, so this one, marking incompleteness, is termed the *Imperfect*. These are but a few cases selected from many. Every chapter is full of verbal expressions, the close rendering of which is impossible in any language. There are shades of thought in nearly every verse which no translation can reproduce. They may be felt, but they cannot always be indicated. In prophecy and poetry is this especially the case.

It is proposed to take up in succeeding numbers of the STUDENT some of the Psalms, and, if possible, to point out some of these shades of thought. R.

The Sections in the Midrasch of Deuteronomy.*—The January STUDENT contained an interesting notice of *Der Midrasch Debarim Rabba*, by Prof. Charles R.

* Attention is called to the following correction in the notice, p. 174, line 5 from bottom: for "my son: וְלִי" that is;—"and rule over thy passion", read....my son וְלִי that is;—"וְלִי" and rule over thy passion."

Brown, of Newton Theological Institution. The term *Midrasch*, as our readers will recall, is applied to the Jewish interpretations of Scripture. Professor Brown's closing sentence in the notice was a suggestive one: "Historically the *Midrasch* is valuable, otherwise it is nearly worthless." By his kindness we are permitted to give below a tabular view of the sections included in the *Midrasch* of Deuteronomy:

Passages introducing Sections.	Halachoth, or Legal precepts.	Content of Sections.
1. I., 1.	May the Israelite transcribe the Law in every language?	The Profit of Instruction.
2. I., 10.	May the Israelite only who is placed over the whole people pronounce judgement?	The qualities demanded of judges and the duty of obeying them.
3. II., 3.	What is the reward of the Israelite who conscientiously reveres his parents?	The long duration of Esau's wicked kingdom (Rome) is a reward because Esau in a high degree obeyed this command.
4. II., 31.	How should an Israelite act upon a journey at the opening of the Sabbath if he has property with him?	Although Rome's power lasted long, its fall was sure. So is Israel's exaltation.
5. III., 23.	May the Israelite pray aloud?	The great value of devotional prayer.
6. III., 24.	May the Israelite read the pattern (Schema) and then for the first time pray?	Although God is enthroned in the highest places, yet is he near every suppliant.
7. IV., 25.	May the Israelite permit the the edges of his hair to grow?	The bad example of superiors is contagious among the people.
8. IV., 41.	What things were forbidden the first man?	The Abolition of Vengeance for blood-shed by the appointment of cities of refuge.
9. VI., 4.	Has the Israelite done his duty who has read the pattern (Schema) without particular attention to the pronunciation?	The confession of God's unity is a heritage from the sons of Jacob. With it they calmed their dying father.
10. VII., 12.	May the Israelite carry a jointed candlestick from place to place on the Sabbath?	God is true; reward and punishment are often delayed but they are certain.
11. IX., 1.	What blessing does one pronounce when he drinks water for his thirst? Answer: Blessed be he through whose word everything is done!	The miracles which God wrought by the Red Sea and in the wilderness by means of the spouting water give security that in passing over Jordan and in all further time God will protect the Israelites.
12. X., 1.	When an Israelite is married, who has to pay costs for writing the marriage contract?	The relation of God to Israel is like a marriage-covenant, the tables of the law are the marriage contract.
13. XI., 26.	May the Israelite read the curses in many divisions?	As man preserves the law the light of God which is in his power, so preserves God the soul, the light of man which is in His power.
14. XII., 20.	May the Israelite cover on a feast day the blood of a slain animal?	Beneficence is richly rewarded by God.

Passages introducing Sections.	Halachoth, or Legal precepts.	Content of Sections.
15. XVI., 18.	May the relative of an accused person pronounce judgment?	Conscientious administration of justice on the part of judges is one of the props of the divine throne.
16. XVII., 14.	May an Israelitish king, having cause for suit, enter his case before the court?	Accusers are the ruin of a State. A State without them is powerful and victorious.
17. XX., 10.	What things have for their object the maintenance of peace?	The harmony of the world is a pattern for harmonious living.
18. XXII., 6.	Must a child born without foreskin be circumcised?	Obey the divine commands, small and great, without reference to greater or less reward; be conscientious, and especially be merciful to beasts.
19. XXIV., 9.	May one attacked with leprosy have himself examined by a priest who is his relative?	Envy and calumny entail misery and ruin.
20. XXVI., 1.	May the leader in prayer say amen! after every verse of the priest's blessing?	The house of God is a fountain of life, it brings thee fulness of blessing.
21. XXIX., 1.	May an Israelite, about to read from the law, read less than three verses?	The law is a precious possession, even angels have longed after it.
22. XXIX., 9.	If one has frequently omitted any prayers of the day, because of lack of time or because he was on a journey and forgot to pray, what must he do?	By the cases of Cain and Hezekiah may we recognize the efficacy of prayer.
23. XXX., 11.	What benediction must he pronounce who is about to read from the law?	For the advantage of men God gave the law, it is refreshment to the whole being.*

The Order of Melchisedec.—The supposition that there is a conflict between Ex. XX., 24, 25, 26, and Deut. XII., 5, 6, and in other places of the same book, can be easily prevented by supposing the instance first mentioned to be a general re-statement of the law of sacrifice, looking to spiritual results, such as had been in existence all through the patriarchal age, and which was certainly practiced by Samuel, David and Elijah. While the direction in Deuteronomy refers to the Levitical rites and sacrifices which had a primary relation to an earthly covenant, a temporal priesthood and a political privilege, but more remotely of course, involved the great sacrifice and rights of Christ and his church, the 20th chapter of Exodus is general, and designed for all nations and times. The Aaronic priesthood was not yet ordained, but sacrifices had been in order from the very beginning. These sacrifices had no reference to any political privilege whatever, while the Aaronic sacrifices were strictly national, as was the tabernacle and temple service, all of which was afterward ordained.

Of these primitive sacrifices all nations would partake, nor were any restrictions placed upon family in reference to the priest who should offer them. Of these priests, Melchisedec was a noted example, and became the type by which the

* שָׁמַיִךְ, the first word of Deut. vi., 4, is properly Imperative, but is used as a noun indicating the whole verse, which was regarded as a sort of confession of faith among the Jews. See OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT for Jan. 1884, p. 174.

order was to be designated in the process of that prophetic evolution which burst out in all its completeness when a risen Savior became the only priest humanity should ever again need.

This Melchisedec was a genuine כהן and a לֹאֵל עֵרִיין. He belonged to the Canaanite race afterward proscribed by the law of Moses and forever debarred from all privileges of the Hebrew race and Aaronic priesthood. He has no genealogy, showing that this priesthood rises above the prerogative of a family, and belongs to the higher claims of a sanctified manhood. No wonder then, that the vision of the Psalmist, having been opened to the glory of the coming dispensation, should rise above the narrow limits of his own nationality and its priesthood, and fix itself upon Melchisedec as the true type of the priesthood of the Son of God.

We may safely infer that this priesthood and sacrifice were more or less practiced all through the history of the Israelites, until by a too superstitious reverence for the sacred places made memorable by them, the true spiritual culture was lost sight of and it became evil in God's sight, and the whole practice was interdicted by Divine order and regal authority.

C. V. ANTHONY.



»EDITORIAL NOTES.«

Semitic Study at Johns Hopkins University.—With the advent of Dr. Paul Haupt as professor of the Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins University, a new interest in the study of these subjects could not fail to be aroused. From the *University Circular*, issued under the auspices of that institution, we learn that the classes are already formed in Assyrian, Sumero-Accadian, Arabic, Hebrew and Ethiopic. Nine students are enrolled, one of whom is sufficiently advanced in Assyriology to take up the reading of bi-lingual texts at sight. It is gratifying to note that there is such a demand for high-class instruction in this department, and that this demand can now be met in our own country by as competent an instructor as Germany can show. No small good will result to American scholarship from the enterprise and foresight of the Trustees of this University in securing the services of Prof. Haupt. It is the beginning, let us hope, of a movement to extend instruction in the Semitic languages into all the leading American colleges.

Another Testimony.—It gives us pleasure to publish the following letter, relating to a subject, in which, we believe, every student of the Bible ought to be interested:—

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—

I have read with pleasure the letter which Dr. Elliott publishes on page 124 of the December Number of THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT. He gives one of many instances which might be cited to show that in America Hebrew is beginning to receive a fair measure of attention. The plan of making Hebrew an elective study in our academical institutions is one which I most heartily recommend. Indeed, unless something of the kind is done, we can hardly expect to produce many first-class Hebraists. But let our students enjoy at least one term of thorough drill in the elements of the language before entering upon the study of

Theology, then ere their professional studies are completed they shall be able with zest to examine the niceties of syntax and exegesis; and better, they shall leave the Theological College with a love for the Hebrew Scriptures and an ability to read them with ease and profit. Dalhousie College, of this city, has recently made Hebrew an elective study, and so far as I know all fourth year men who have the ministry in view are enrolled in the Hebrew class.

Yours very respectfully, .

3 Bland street, Halifax, N. S.

JOHN CURRIE.

Encouragement of Bible Study.—Certain prominent Canada papers have undertaken to popularize Bible study. Churches, Sunday Schools, and such other means as are ordinarily employed, will be supplemented by a method which not only covers in general the entire field, but also deals largely in detail. The particular kind of Bible study insisted upon is represented as being most profitable, and, with the incentive offered, most entertaining. The plan proposed furnishes employment of a high character for the long winter evenings, for both old and young. The profit to be gained from the study, under this plan, will be pecuniary as well as intellectual. Gold and silver watches, chains, lockets, rings, etc., are presented to the students of this school. An idea of the scope of the work may be obtained from the announcements made. In the work mapped out by one journal the student is expected to ascertain (1) how many times the word *Lord* occurs in the Bible? (2) how many times the word *Jehovah* is found in the Bible? (3) whether there are two chapters in the Bible exactly alike, and if so, where they are? Another journal instructs its students to ascertain (1) how many letters there are in the Bible? (2) how many words? (3) what verse in the Bible contains all the letters of the alphabet, counting I and J as one?

It would be no easy task to reckon the results, in respect either to amount or character, of Biblical knowledge acquired by these methods. To know that there are 3,586,483 letters in the Bible, 773,693 words, 31,373 verses, and 1,189 chapters; or to have learned that the words "Jehovah" and "Lord" occur a certain number of times—how valuable such knowledge must be. And in addition to the knowledge thus attained, sight must not be lost of "a pair of beautiful heavily plated gold bracelets," or "a solid gold gem ring," which falls to the lot of that arithmetical individual who succeeds first in making himself master of this practical information. How strange that respectable journals will lend themselves to such folly, or allow their pages to be used in advertising such nonsense. Yet the announcement informs us that this is done to encourage Bible study (!). We trust that entertainment of a more profitable character, and Biblical study of a different type may be provided for both the children and the adults of Canada. Let us have Bible study; let us encourage it; but let us be sure that it *is* Bible study.

What is Bible Study not.—It is often easier to say what a thing is *not*, than to say definitely what it is. That Bible study is study of the Bible, will be granted by all, but even this is not so satisfactory an explanation as one would wish.

Bible study, we are prepared to affirm (1) is *not* the counting of verses, words and letters; and it is but justice to our Canada friends to say that they are not alone in making this error, for the Jews at times, have paid much attention to the *letter* of the Word, and the work of counting points, letters, words and verses, in the case of the Hebrew Bible was done long ago. Nor (2) is Bible study the correct term to apply to those endeavors, so frequent in these days, to ascertain not

what the Bible teaches, but what it does *not* teach. Those who make these discoveries, do it more or less innocently. When the discovery has once been made, it is extremely difficult to persuade them that it is a sort of negative discovery, that is, a discovery of something which really does not exist in the place in which it is supposed to be found. Now it would seem that if the discovery of results which are *not* results, (and this is the character of a large number of the so-called results) is Bible study, some other name must be chosen for that work which produces genuine results. We cannot believe (3) that a correct definition of the term *Bible study*, would include that effort, made by many and closely connected with the last, which is prompted by a desire to prove that the Bible does *not* teach anything. It is possible to draw a line between (a) endeavoring to make the Bible teach everything and anything, and (b) trying to show that it teaches nothing. There are still other varieties of so-called Bible study which do not deserve the name, of which we may mention but two. However necessary and important the study of the word of Scripture may be, and by this we mean all investigation which deals with the forms, construction and meaning of words, or the historical setting of the thought,—in other words the *intellectual* part of the work, Bible-study (4) which stops with this, is not in a true sense study of the Bible. Nor (5) is the study of the spiritual part rightly to be reckoned as Bible study, when it is not based upon and closely connected with the intellectual study. One may say that all these are, in a sense, Bible study. True, but in what sense? A true definition would, probably, indicate a kind of study obtained from the union of the two last mentioned, neither of which, by itself, may justly lay any claim to the appellation.

The Study of the Messianic Element in the Old Testament.—The exact amount and character of the Messianic element is difficult to determine. One student finds it everywhere. Another, more careful and critical, discovers it but seldom. Yet it is true that Christians, for the most part, love the Old Testament and study it, that they may better appreciate and understand the Christ whom they believe to have come, and with whose coming these Old Testament Scriptures had, as they regard it, so much to do. It would not be strange then, if Christian interpretation of such passages differed greatly from the Jewish interpretation of the same. Nor need we be surprised if the interpretations proposed by Christians should, in many cases, even be distasteful to Jewish scholars. In various ways we have been informed that the discussion, merely, of such subjects, is regarded with disfavor by Jews. For the publication of articles of this character, in recent numbers, the STUDENT has been censured severely, both publicly and privately. But is this just? Will Christian scholars consent to do away with the study of those portions of their Scripture which present to them the most interesting field for investigation, and upon which they build in part the foundation of their belief, because, forsooth, the results of their study are different from those accepted by their Jewish brethren? Would Jewish scholars have them do this? Do they expect, ought they to expect such deference to be paid to their feelings? It is not only the privilege, but the duty of every man to teach that which he believes, and the publication of one's opinions cannot be made dependent upon either the wish or the feelings of another. We appreciate the fact that such discussions cannot interest the Jewish portion of our constituency. We greatly regret it; but we cannot, for this reason, consent, in accordance with a kind sug-

gestion to this effect, to omit henceforth the publication of such articles. Nor do we believe that the *highest* class of Jewish papers and Jewish scholars would desire this to be done.

Jewish theories of Messianic Interpretation.—The question often occurs to Christian students, in accordance with what theories do Jewish scholars interpret these so-called Messianic passages? While much that is regarded as Messianic by Christians, is not so regarded by Jews, there still remains a large amount of that which both will accept as referring to a coming Messiah. This element is recognized by both. A recent writer* enumerates four distinct theories advanced by Jewish theologians of different schools, in accordance with which these portions are interpreted. (1) A theory which may be called the *regal* theory. Those who accept this believe that a Messiah shall at some time appear as Israel's King. This Messiah will be Davidic, but not divine. He shall gather them together from all lands and lead them back to Palestine. As their king he shall take vengeance upon those who for so long a time have oppressed them. His reign shall be a prosperous, glorious and everlasting one. This King is not to suffer. Those predictions concerning a suffering Messiah refer, according to this view to the sufferings of some prophet, or to those of the nation as a unit. (2) A second theory is that of the *Two Messiahs*. A Messiah ben Joseph and a Messiah ben David shall appear at the same time. In the sufferings of the former all predictions of the one kind will find fulfilment, in the deliverance of Israel, wrought out by the latter, the second class of predictions are fulfilled. The former dies in the war with Gog and Magog. The latter reigns forever. (3) A third theory is that of a *Messianic Atonement*. Some believe that an atonement for human sin will have been made in Paradise by the Messiah before his appearance on earth. This atonement will be made by suffering of the most intense character. Others, we are told, suppose that the Messiah has already been born, but that he has not yet manifested himself, and that at the present time, and indeed, until the time of his manifestation he is engaged in making atonement for Israel's sins. (4) A fourth theory is denominated the *No-Person* theory, in accordance with which the Messiah is supposed to be an age of prosperity and, in no sense, personal.

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

[All publications received, which relate directly or indirectly to the Old Testament, will be promptly noticed under this head. Attention will not be confined to new books; but notices will be given, so far as possible, of such old books, in this department of study, as may be of general interest to pastors and students.]

BIBLICAL STUDY.†

Upon opening a book on *Biblical Study*, by an author who occupies a prominent position in a leading theological seminary, who is the editor of a denominational Review, which may safely be regarded as the best Review in the country, and who has had many years' experience in the work of teaching the Bible, a reader

* Burnham's *Old Testament Interpretation*, pp. 184, 185.

† *Biblical Study: Its Principles, Methods and History*. By PROF. CHAS. A. BRIGGS, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 8x5. Price \$2.50.

may be pardoned for expecting to find material of great value, and suggestions which shall prove helpful to him in his work as a student of the Bible. Does the book before us meet the reasonable expectations of its readers? Is its purpose a worthy one? Will it really serve as a help to those who desire to know better how to study the Bible? Is it a book to be studied, or will a hasty perusal suffice? Does it contain anything new? Does it pursue a correct method? Is its teaching true?

Since the publication of Professor Briggs' "critical" views in the *Presbyterian Review*, his friends, as well as his enemies, have been eager to learn still more definitely his views on various Biblical subjects. These critics may surely determine from this volume whether he may be trusted as a trainer of theological students. Those who differ from the author respecting "critical" questions will be the first to acknowledge the need of just such a book, and to recognize this volume as a most valuable aid to a correct understanding of the principles of Biblical study and the historical development of these principles.

After showing that, of all studies, Biblical study is the most important, extensive, profound, and attractive, the author sets himself to indicate the branches, methods and principles of the study, and to sketch their history. Biblical study is, really, *Exegetical Theology*, and this may be subdivided into (1) Biblical Literature, (2) Biblical Exegesis, and (3) Biblical Theology. Under the first division, we have chapters on (a) the *Languages of the Bible*, in which the characteristics of these languages are stated with very great force; (b) *The Bible and Criticism*—a favorite subject with the author, and one which crops out almost unconsciously at every turn, in which "Criticism" is defined, its principles stated, and illustrations given; (c) *The Text of the Bible*; (d) *The Higher Criticism*; (e) *The Literary study of the Bible*; this is essentially the treatment which appeared in the last volume of the O. T. STUDENT; (f) *Hebrew Poetry*. In the chapter on *Bible and Criticism*, we are told that "Biblical Criticism is confronted by traditional views of the Bible which decline re-investigation and revision." The question is, whether, as is claimed, these traditional views and dogmatic statements are really scriptural, and whether the criticism and even rejection of them will place the Bible in peril. At all events, will those who do not believe be influenced by such representations? Can they be prevented from testing the Bible by the principles of criticism? Is it not well for Christians and scholars also to use these tests and defend the Scriptures rather than leave that defence in the hands of dogmatic theologians and scholastics? The right of Biblical criticism is claimed in accordance with the principles of the Reformation and of Puritanism over against the Roman Catholic principle of the supremacy of tradition and dogma. "On this basis the Protestant symbols have been accepted and subscribed by honest and faithful men for their *face value*, for all that is fairly contained therein, and not for certain unknown and undiscovered consequences which may have a chance majority or the most authoritative teachers. Symbols of the faith are the expression of the faith of those who constructed them, and of those who subsequently adopted them, so far as they gave expression to Christian doctrines; but, with regard to those questions not covered by their statements, which they may have held in abeyance, or purposely omitted on account of disagreement, and in order to liberty, or because they were not suited for a national confession or a *child's* catechism, or because they had not yet arisen in the field of controversy—to bring these in by the plea of logical deduction, is to elaborate and enlarge the creed

against the judgment of those who framed it, is to usurp the constitutional methods of revision, is to dogmatize and obstruct those active, energetic scholars who having accepted them for their face value as a genuine expression of their faith, push forth into the unexplored fields of the Bible and theology, in order, by the inductive method and the generalization of facts, rather than by deductions from symbolic or scholastic statements, to win new triumphs for their Divine master."

The chapter on *Higher Criticism* is worthy of special study by those who desire to know, briefly, its rise and growth. That the acknowledged principles of modern criticism would have governed the reformers, if the questions had come up to any great extent, may be inferred from Luther's denial of the Apocalypse to John, and of Ecclesiastes to Solomon, and from the fact that he did not regard the epistle of James as an apostolic writing, and treated Jude as an extract from 2 Peter. Others of the reformers, likewise, had liberal views as to the authorship and even the canonicity of certain books. Many items of interest are brought out in this connection. The author, after explaining what, in his opinion, is the true method of dealing with the traditional theories, treats successively the Rabbinical theories, the Hellenistic and Christian theories, the New Testament views of the Old Testament literature, the rise of the Higher Criticism, and the Higher Criticism in the 19th century.

The remaining chapters are (X.) on the Interpretation of Scripture, in which there is given an historical review of the various theories; (XI.) on Biblical Theology, in which are discussed the various types, the rise, the development, and the position and importance of this branch; (XII.) on the Scriptures as a means of grace.

A noteworthy feature of the book is the catalogue of literature, pp. 429-486. This contains a list of reference books for Biblical study. This list will doubtless be amended in some particulars in a second edition.

The question at once arises in the mind of the reader, Why is so much space given to the subject of criticism? Two answers may be given. No subject, connected with the Bible, is demanding to-day the same amount of attention. For fifty years or more, vigorous discussion has been going on; it grows more and more urgent with each year. In such a treatise, a large proportion of space must be given this question, because it is a living one. And besides, it is well known that Dr. Briggs is particularly interested in this question. His articles, referred to elsewhere, have placed him in a somewhat peculiar position. The book is intended, doubtless, as a defense of that position. It is quite hostile in its attitude towards traditional views. It would have the *right* of criticism acknowledged. It would accept as authoritative in reference to Scripture, everything that the Scriptures teach; but those questions not decided by the Scriptures, it would decide by the principles of Higher Criticism; should any question remain still undecided, *tradition* may be used. In theory, this position is certainly plausible. Is it not a practicable one?

Forty pages are given to Hebrew Poetry, seventy to the Interpretation of Scripture. We do not desire to criticize the lengthy treatment of the former subject. It is most excellent. No treatment, heretofore published, contains as much genuine information in the same space. Yet are not seventy pages too few, in proportion, for that extensive subject, Interpretation of Scripture? The writer does not say too much concerning the position of Biblical theology. That the importance of

this department is coming to be more highly appreciated is shown by the fact that in many seminaries, aside from the chair of Systematic Theology, there is also one of Biblical Theology.

The book, as a whole, indicates on the part of the author (1) a determination to convince his readers that the time has come for a scientific study of the Bible, and to inspire in their hearts a desire to engage in this study; (2) an extended and available knowledge of the facts and principles concerning which he writes; (3) a broad, liberal and intelligent spirit, a thorough knowledge of the demands of the times. The book will stir men up. It will challenge their attention. It will provoke study, and while not all the facts and conclusions which it announces will be established, it is probable that the position, in general, will, a decade hence, be accepted by many of those who to-day so strongly condemn it.

THE KINGDOM OF ALL-ISRAEL.*

This is an attempt to tell the story of the Hebrew Empire, a small kingdom it is true, but one whose "annals have always been regarded as a heritage of mankind, fraught with welfare to the whole world." The author accepts the traditional views of this history, and the work is therefore strictly orthodox. Regarding the Pentateuch as the chief source of Hebrew literature, the author has set himself to the task of finding "the living rills which run from it throughout the after-history in words, in quotations, and in ideas," and of tracing them back to the fountain-head.

There are eighteen chapters in the volume. It begins, of course, with *The Election of a King*. The writer here feels called upon to notice the nature of Hebrew historical writings and the doubts regarding their trustworthiness. In chapter V. we find discussed the *Law and legislation among the Hebrews*. Here a fact, which seems to have been overlooked, is noted, that "at no time during the five centuries of the monarchy (1100-588 B. C.) is a word said of a body of laws enacted or codified by any of the kings." The inference is clear, says the author, that a law code evidently existed before a king filled the throne of Israel. It is the opinion of the writer, and he endeavors to substantiate that opinion, that when the Hebrews left Egypt they had a code of laws or customs with them, and that Ex. XXI.-XXIII. contain these precepts. The high civilization of this ancient code is enlarged upon. With a chapter on the "Anointing and Advancement of David," another on "David an Outlaw and an Exile," another on "The Death of Saul," and others on the "Literature and Worship of the People," "Reconstruction of All-Israel," "The Avenger of Blood," "The Close of David's Reign," we come to chapter XIII., "Deuteronomy—Antiquity of the Book—Internal Evidence." In proof of the antiquity of the book, there are urged four reasons: (1) The absence of any allusion to the relations sustained by Israel to Assyria in the time in which critics claim it to have been written. Vast changes had taken place in the condition of Israel, to which not the slightest reference is made. A forger could have written such a production and have failed to betray himself. (2) "There is no mention of Jerusalem in the book, or of the temple, as there ought to have been, if it was written when Hezekiah was attempting to put down

* *The Kingdom of All-Israel: Its History, Literature and Worship*. By JAMES SIME, M.A., F. R.S.E. London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners street. 1883. 8vo, pp. 621. Price, \$4.00.

the high places, and make his capital the only seat of ritual worship." (3) It abounds in remembrances of Egypt, and of the wilderness out of which they had just come. There are fifty such allusions to Egypt. (4) Deuteronomy abounds in references to the events related in the three preceding books. These references are brief, made in passing, and imply that there is a close connection between Deuteronomy and the books which precede it. The chief difficulties connected with the traditional belief are taken up: (1) the expression Deut. i., 1. On this side Jordan; (2) Deut. ii., 12; (3) Ex. xii., 1-51 and Deut. xvi., 1-8; (4) boiling instead of roasting the passover; (5) the law of the central altar (Deut. xii., 1-32); (6) the law of the king (Deut. xvii., 14-20). These difficulties are seemingly settled for all time. Chapters XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., are given to the reign of Solomon. The last chapter is on the "Priests and Levites." An elaborate argument is brought forward to show that on the ground of this expression nothing can be proven concerning the priority of Deuteronomy in point of time, when compared with the three preceding books.

The volume is bright, airy, arrogant and dogmatic. The author repeatedly denounces others for offering conjectures. He has counted the occurrence of the words "probable," "likely," "perhaps," etc., in Bleek's *Introduction*, yet accuses him of confident assertion. The trouble with our author is that he does not use such words with sufficient frequency. In no book with which we are acquainted is there to be found so much baseless conjecture, and, at the same time, dogmatic assertion. The coloring given to the narrative is often purely fictitious. The style and character would answer well for an historical novel, but for ordinary history, it seems unsatisfactory. However, readers will gain a vivid idea of the events of these stirring times from the perusal of this volume.

MESSIANIC PROPHECY.*

If it can be shown that in the Old Testament Scriptures there exists a body of predictive prophecy, not to be explained away on the basis of human foresight or science, that a number of these predictions preceding by more than two centuries the appearance of Jesus, point to a Messiah and cannot, after careful examination, be fairly explained with reference to any other person, and on the other hand that in the Jesus of the New Testament (and in no other) claiming to be the Messiah, these facts of whose life as related in the Gospels are substantially correct, Messianic prophecy had a remarkably circumstantial and complete fulfillment,—the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that the two are one, that the Jesus of the New, is the predicted Messiah of the Old Covenant.

If this argument can be satisfactorily made out, it has a double office and usefulness, since it affords a strong proof of the Divine origin and authority both of the Old Testament Scriptures and of the Christian Religion as well. It indicates the essential connection between Judaism and Christianity, and links the latter to the grand course of historic development and the fulfillment of the Divine purpose. It exalts the dignity of the Messiah and throws new light upon his mission in the world.

Such is the general course of argument pursued by Dr. Gloga in the book before

* *The Messianic Prophecies*. Being the Baird Lecture for 1879. BY PATON JAMES GLOGA, D. D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribner & Welford. 7½x5. Pp. xv.—368.

us. Whether he satisfactorily makes out his case, his readers must judge for themselves. He certainly must be credited with great candor, breadth of view, ability to see both the strength and weakness of opposing arguments, and clearness in statement, contrasting very favorably in this regard with the writings of recent German thinkers upon these subjects. Seven lectures constitute the course, but each of these is enriched by a body of valuable notes which carry out into greater detail the exegetical or philosophical hints of the text. We cannot observe a point which has been untouched in the course of the argument. The principal Messianic passages and the more subordinate ones are taken up in turn, and subjected to a careful examination. One whole lecture is given up to a study of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. The book may be safely and warmly commended.

PROPHECY: ITS NATURE AND EVIDENCE.*

This book is one among the many scholarly arguments put forward in defence of the authority of Scripture by the practical English mind which seems to delight to run in the groove first marked out by Butler and Paley. "Evidences of Christianity" are numerous and weighty enough to convince the world if it were willing to be convinced. This volume deals with but one line of argument, which is presented in a thoroughly logical way. The gist of it is this. No small part of the Scriptures consists of prophecy. This prophecy is not merely lofty thought, didactic or spiritual, which the prophet pressed upon the men of his time. It contains predictions of such a minute, circumstantial and far-reaching character that the conclusion is well nigh irresistible that the writings which contain these predictions are divinely given and authoritative. A long chapter of the small volume is given to tracing the development of Messianic Prophecy from the origin of man to the coming of Christ. The whole argument is, of course, an old and familiar one, but it will be found stated here with a freshness, an adaptation to the present state of biblical scholarship, and a freedom from doctrinal prepossessions, which make it a useful addition to the literature of the subject. The title of the book is somewhat misleading. The Nature of Prophecy is but briefly considered, and the reader must not expect much beyond what has been briefly summarized in the preceding lines. The titles of the chapters are as follows: I., Introduction; II., The Prophet's Office and Mission; III., The Prophet's Training and Inspiration; IV., The Prophetic Word; V., Prophecy: its Fulfillment; VI., The Messiah the Soul of Prophecy; VII., The Word and the Facts; VIII., The Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Dispensation.

HEBREW TRADITION.†

This book is evidently a series of sermons upon the first chapters of Genesis, such as might have been delivered to a cultured Unitarian congregation in the vicinity of Boston. So far as affording any real help in the solution of the difficulties which are met in the study of these chapters it is of no service. With an airy

* *Prophecy: Its Nature and Evidence.* By the Rev. R. A. REDFORD, M. A., LL.B. London: *The Religious Tract Society.* New York: *Scribner and Welford.* 7½x5. Pp. 301.

† *The Primæval World of Hebrew Tradition.* By FREDERIC HENRY HEDGE. Second edition. Boston: 1872. *Roberts Bros.* 7x4½ in. pp. 283.

assurance born of German rationalism the writer resolves Eden, the fall, the six days, and almost everything else in that most sober and literal of narratives into myth, allegory, and concludes as "the result of sober and reverent criticism" that the narrative of God's meeting and converse with Abraham is a Hebrew Idyl. The mistakes of theologians of the orthodox school figure largely in this book. It may be that to other eyes than the writer's, the baseless assumptions and vagaries of an irreverent criticism stand out quite as clearly. The book may serve its purpose in presenting, in a most fascinating style, theories of what the Hebrew traditions ought to teach according to the opinion of an idealistic philosopher. The last chapter, which develops the idea that the great teaching of the Hebrew race to the world was the importance of the inner life, exhibits the author at his best, who in the treatment of historical facts and statements seems to be lacking in the homely virtue of common-sense.

HEROES OF HEBREW HISTORY.*

The perennial beauty and freshness of this series of sketches is our excuse for bringing it to the attention of readers. They are not critical or deeply learned but designedly popular in matter and style. They were written for *Good Words*, and have been since published in book form, of which this volume is a new edition. Ministers who are anxious to obtain a model in homiletic treatment of Old Testament characters would do well to possess themselves of this volume. Bishop Wilberforce always wrote and spoke with great eloquence, but the union of beauty, strength and sweetness in these biographical discourses gives them a peculiar charm. He invests old and well-known scenes and characters with a new interest by the power of sympathy with both their surroundings and their thoughts and feelings.

The first sketch is that of Abraham, and the last deals with Elisha. It is specially instructive to notice how careful and extended knowledge of antiquities and acquaintance with the latest views concerning the subjects of his discourse are so intimately woven into the narrative, and the whole lighted up with a glow of genuine eloquence and spiritual fervor, that the reader is instructed while charmed and elevated and stimulated while carried along unweariedly by the sustained vigor of the style. An abstract of the volume would be impossible.

➤ REVIEW NOTICES. ◀

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* in its January number contains two articles which come within the scope of our review. Professor Curtiss presents the first of a series of "Sketches of Pentateuch Criticism." Our sympathies are at once interested by the following sentences from his introduction: "Not all can pursue these studies.

* *Heroes of Hebrew History*. By the late SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D. D. New Edition. London, 1879; Dolly, Ishister & Co.; New York: Scribner and Welford. 7x5. Pp. 368.

† *The Bibliotheca Sacra*. Editors: G. F. WRIGHT, JUDSON SMITH, W. G. BALENTINE. Vol. XLI. Jan. 1884. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich. \$3.00 per year.

1. Sketches of Pentateuch Criticism, by Rev. S. Ives Curtiss, D. D.

4. Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch: Deuteronomy and the Related Codes, by Prof. Edwin C. Bissell, D. D.

There is but one class of theologians who can, and they are the professors of Old Testament Theology in our various seminaries. In this work they need the sympathy and prayers of all their ministerial brethren. The position which they hold in this country is not only one of solemn responsibility to Christ, but also of positive peril to themselves, should the results of their investigation not seem to be in accord with the various standards received by different denominations."

Prof. Curtiss has for six years been collecting the material for an historical study of Old Testament Criticism. The first article deals with The Foreshadowings of a Critical Tendency among Heretics, Heathen, Jews and Christians, and introduces us to the First Period (1650-1800). The names and theories noted are the destructive critics, Hobbes, Peyrere and Spinoza, whose objections are all presented at length. The constructive critics will have their turn in the next article. One thing is remarkable—how familiar these objections are. They are the same which are insisted upon to-day by the critics. This series promises to be deeply interesting.

The series of articles upon the "Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch," by Prof. Bissell, is closed in the same number by a comparison of Deuteronomy and the Related Codes. In such a comparison the critics claim to find support for their theory of the late origin of the code of the middle books of the Pentateuch. Prof. Bissell in his detailed comparison of the various laws, arrives at a precisely opposite conclusion, and shows that "if there are some laws in the middle books of such a nature that it would be impossible to determine, if taken simply by themselves, whether they chronologically preceded or followed Deuteronomy, the number is exceedingly small. A very large proportion of them, according to all fair rules of internal evidence, and tested by these only, appear as fixed, original sources." If the case has been made out, it will be of great value in settling the worth of the new ultra-critical hypothesis.

Since the time when Prof. Patton closed so emphatically the series of articles in the *Presbyterian Review** upon the Higher Criticism with his dogmatico-theological polemic, that Journal has failed to produce anything more upon the subject. In the January number appears—amusingly enough—a sharp review of Dr. Briggs' Biblical Study,—himself an editor, taken to task by a brother-editor, Dr. Chambers. While commending the book as fresh and vigorous, he charges it with "sheer assertions," novel, revolutionary and groundless principles, a theory of inspiration which would result in a "mutilated or vacillating Bible," and asserts that the difference, of which Dr. Briggs reminds his readers, between the old divines and the modern critics does not exist. Such a criticism in such a place, implies more than it reveals. We hope that the Presbyterian Church is not about to turn its back upon these great questions or settle them without a full and free discussion, merely by an appeal to creeds or to authority of any kind regardless of the protests of some of its leading scholars.

* *The Presbyterian Review*. Managing editors: CHARLES A. BRIGGS, FRANCIS L. PATTON. Associate editors: R. B. WELCH, J. EELLS, S. J. WILSON, T. H. SKINNER, T. W. CHAMBERS. Vol. V. Jan., 1884. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. \$3.00 per year.

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IS THE BOOK OF JONAH HISTORICAL?

III.

Internal evidence in favor of the historical character of the Book.

BY THE EDITOR.

The historical character of the Book of Jonah is not to be rejected, (1) because it contains but few of those historical particulars which are commonly regarded as necessary for authentication; or (2) because of a supposed superabundance of the miraculous element in the Book; or (3) because of the apparent improbability, as we may regard the event, of Nineveh's repentance; or (4) because Jonah's conduct as exhibited in the Book seems incredible. These objections disappear, when we consider the narrative in the light of revelation and of history.

To those who would find records dating from 500-800 B. C. with all the characteristics of modern history, who reject entirely every vestige of the supernatural, who would limit the power of God, or who would expect the life of every man to be a perfect life,—to such the Book of Jonah may not appear to be historical. With such persons, argument is useless. But granting that the book *may*, for aught that it contains, be historical, is there anything *in* it to prove this? In this paper let us consider briefly, the internal evidence which may be gathered in favor of the historical truth of these events.

Critics, and by these we mean *all* who have studied the book critically, and not merely those who have adopted rationalistic views as to its character, may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who accept the historical truth of the narrative, and regard Jonah as the author; (2) those who accept the historical truth of the narrative, but deny that Jonah was the author; (3) those who deny its historical character, and deny that Jonah was the author. Evidently, if once it could be shown that Jonah was the author, the historical truth of the narrative would follow closely. For it would be absurd to suppose

that an inspired prophet would utter such things concerning himself, unless they were true, even if a great doctrinal truth were to be taught thereby. The question of authorship, however, will demand a separate paper for its discussion, and for the present with two of the three classes of critics we shall agree that the book was written at least two or three hundred years after the events narrated took place. This position, assumed for the sake of argument, must carefully be borne in mind throughout the discussion.

I. THE TIMES OF JONAH.

Do the events narrated in this Book harmonize with (1) the general condition of Israel; (2) the condition of affairs in Assyria; and (3) the attitude which may be supposed to have existed between Israel and Assyria at the time these events are said to have occurred? If it can be shown that the events here recorded are entirely consistent with what we know in these particulars, and that they are a natural consequence of conditions existing at that time, there exists, at least, a probability that they are true.

1. *The Condition of Israel.*—Jeroboam II. (B. C. 825-784), the fourth of Jehu's dynasty, was king. The coming of a deliverer had been foretold in the reign of Jehoahaz (2 Kings XIII., 4; XIV., 26, 27). This deliverer, who was to rescue Israel from the yoke of Syria, and restore the kingdom to its pristine Solomonic glory (2 Kings XIV., 25) was Jeroboam II. Encouraged by the words of Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher, and acting doubtless with his advice, Jeroboam undertook "those brilliant and energetic expeditions which restored the kingdom of Ephraim in its whole extent from Syria eastward, and down to the Dead Sea, and raised the monarchy to a power and prosperity such as it had not enjoyed from its beginning, and afterward never enjoyed again."* With Damascus captured, Moab and Ammon again subdued, there came a period of highest prosperity. But that this restoration was only political and not religious, is evident from the testimony of the prophets Amos and Hosea, who were Jonah's contemporaries. There are no words to describe the depths of corruption and degradation into which the nation sank. Idolatry was universal and of every kind. Oppression, extravagance and licentiousness reigned everywhere. Unparalleled prosperity led to unparalleled luxury and degeneracy. In the midst of this, the prophet Amos declares that Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel be led away captive out of their land (VII., 9-17). For his boldness he is compelled to flee from Bethel, the King's headquarters at this time. Nor were the denuncia-

*Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, II., p. 115.

tions of Israel's crimes less terrible as uttered by Hosea. The period was, in a word, one of the highest prosperity and at the same time of the deepest moral corruption.

2. *The Condition of Assyria.*—An idea of the condition of Assyria may be gained from a knowledge of the events which transpired before and after this particular period. The Assyrian empire had for centuries been growing in strength. Of the five centuries, during which, according to Herodotus, this empire held sway, four had passed. Wars without number had been waged west of the Euphrates. Their devastating campaigns had extended even to the islands of the Mediterranean. Lands had been pillaged and nations carried into captivity. In B. C. 854, according to Sayce's chronology, or sixty years earlier according to the accepted chronology, Shalmaneser had defeated a confederation, headed by Benhadad of Damascus, including Ahab of Israel; and later in his reign he destroyed the forces of Hazael, Benhadad's successor, and extorted tribute from various princes, among others, Jehu. Fourteen years after Jeroboam's death, Menahem, king of Israel, paid tribute to Assyria. A few years later, Hoshea, the vassal of Assyria, was placed on Israel's throne. A few years later, Sargon carried the ten tribes into captivity.

3. *Assyria and Israel.*—Israel had almost passed the bounds of the divine forbearance. Never before had the nation, seemingly, reached such degradation. Humanly speaking, everything had been done to bring the people to a consciousness of their perilous situation. Prophets had pleaded in kind tones; they had denounced with inspired severity. Already it had been foretold that destruction was impending. Yet with every such announcement there went the promise that repentance and a turning to Jehovah would avert the terrible sentence. Their entire past history was an illustration of this principle. But Israel was so sunken, so corrupt, that the prophets who would warn and plead were compelled to flee. Was the divine power exhausted? Was it not necessary that at such a time extraordinary measures be adopted? Once more, in a manner never before tried, Jehovah will show this hardened nation that he is a loving and compassionate God, that whatever judgments may have been announced he will repent, if those who are at fault will but return to him. One more chance is given them. A second and no less important truth is also to be taught them: Israel is not the only object of the divine love. Israel truly is the chosen people, but if she continue in her wickedness, she shall be rejected, and in her place another shall be substituted.

A prophet is sent to a foreign city, not chiefly for that city's sake.

but for the sake of Israel. *Fear and repentance bring salvation*—this is the theme of our Book, the key to a correct understanding of the events narrated in it. Let us, at this point, keep in mind the canon, that the miraculous events of Scripture were intended primarily for the times in which these events took place. Believing, then, that for the Israel of Jonah's time the wonderful events narrated in this Book were intended, and that they were intended to serve as still one more indication of divine love and mercy, a warning which, if heeded, might even have prevented the ejection of the nation, we see in the choice of Nineveh, as the city in connection with which the lesson should be taught, and in the choice of this particular time, *evidence* which, while in itself it does not prove, may at least be allowed to favor the historical truth of these events. Pious Israelites knew well that corruption meant destruction, that the idolatry and wickedness of their age, unless there was repentance, must be followed by punishment and even annihilation. Past history taught them that God used foreign nations as the instruments of judgment. Men like Jonah, aside from inspiration, could not fail to recognize in Assyria the "rod divinely appointed for execution of judgment." The attention of all was directed toward this empire. It had been rising gradually. It had been mercilessly crushing every nationality with which it came into contact. It was, without a doubt, the terror of every Israelite, even in the midst of this temporary period of prosperity. The capital of this empire, known so well, and so soon to come into deadly encounter with Israel, was chosen by Jehovah to serve as an example of his clemency. A time was taken, which, as we regard it, was the only time that would have been in any respect appropriate. And can we doubt the wisdom of the divine choice, when we consider how powerful must have been the influence of these events, when they became known, upon the people of Israel? The announcement that by Jonah, their own prophet, Nineveh, her king, nobles, and people, had been brought to repentance, and the promulgation of the miraculous events connected with this missionary journey—how must the hearts of Israel have been stirred. Yet where are the records of such an influence, it will be asked. What was said in a former article,* touching the absence of any record of the Ninevites' repentance, may be said here: "While reference to it would gladly have been welcomed, and allusions to it in the later prophets might naturally have been expected, the absence of both may be explained." And yet we are not prepared to grant that no record of it has been preserved. As such a record we regard the Book of Jonah.

* T. Student for November, 1883, pp. 71, 72.

It is nothing more or less than a testimony, that during long centuries this wonderful event was handed down from mouth to mouth, and this being true the influence it exerted cannot be over-estimated. Did it produce the desired result? In the case of the nation, no; nor did many of the expedients tried by God succeed, at least to outward observation; but who will dare to say that, influenced by this unique and historical object-lesson, many individuals did not see the evil of their ways and turn to Jehovah?

II. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS.

There are found in the Book many allusions of a geographical and historical nature, which go far to prove the reality of the events with which these allusions are connected. Some of them deserve at least a brief mention.

1. *Nineveh's Size*.—We read in III., 3: "Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey." Whatever interpretation be taken of the last clause, "of three days' journey," the great size of the city was so well known, and bore so important a part in the narrative, that the writer feels called upon to make special mention of the fact. Its great size is attested by later writers and by contemporaneous monuments. In the time of Jonah, as well as in that of Nahum and Zephaniah, Nineveh was viewed not as a separate city, but as a district, the capital of the Assyrian empire. Under this title were included Kouyunjik, Nimroud, and at a later time Khorsabad. The district thus designated was of sufficient size to accommodate six or seven hundred thousand people, the number implied in the calculation made in the last verses of chapter IV.

2. *Nineveh's Wickedness*.—We read in I., 2: "Preach against Nineveh, for her wickedness is come up before me." The historical truth of this allusion is not difficult to show. "Their own records furnish proofs in abundance; the very boasts in which they gloried were, in the eyes of the pious Hebrews, their strongest condemnation—their bloody triumphs and relentless massacres, their unsparing devastations, and insatiable pillage. They were, therefore, called by contemporary prophets destroyers and ravagers, lions murdering for their whelps, and filling their dens with ill-gotten prey, plunderers piling up endless treasures of silver and gold and costly store, overweening criminals who, impiously exceeding their divine commission in dispensing retribution, devour the wealth of innocent nations, and rise up in rebellion against God himself as his enemies and haters; while Nineveh was described as the town of blood replete with fraud and violence,

and spreading misery over the whole earth, as the shameless seducer ruining nations by her witcheries, and as the abode of giddy conceit, unblushingly protesting, 'I and none beside me.'*"

3. *The Mourning of Cattle.*—We read in III., 8: "But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth and cry mightily unto God." This mourning of cattle is shown to have been an Asiatic custom (Herodotus IX., 24), the same signs being made both for penitential mourning and mourning for the dead. The cattle here referred to were the domestic animals, such as oxen, sheep and goats,—those between which and man there is always a close connection. Further consideration of this remarkable passage belongs to the commentary.

4. *The Ninevites' Violence.*—We read in III., 8: "Yea, let them every one turn from his evil way and from the violence that is in their hands." This, as is seen from the passage above, was Nineveh's besetting sin, developed during centuries of unresisted and insolent aggression in her wars of conquest.

Now, do not these particulars, known to be true, go to prove the truth of the book in which they are stated? Or shall we say, with a distinguished scholar: "All that they show is the conformity of various points with the known facts of history. It is quite possible, for aught that belongs to the geographical or historical notices in question, that the story of Jonah going to Nineveh and traveling through it for three days, partakes largely of the fabulous. The legendary and parabolical may be conformed to veri-similitude. A careful writer will assuredly, refrain from violating the probable or running counter to facts, manners, and customs, as far as they come in his way. To make a story agree with history and geography whenever it touches on their respective regions is one thing; to convert it into true history is another."† No stronger presentation of the other side of this argument could be made; but is it convincing? (1) It is granted that they show a conformity of various points with the known facts of history; now (2) if it were beyond question that the Book is legendary and parabolical, it can be understood how, in spite of this legendary character, it should contain certain minute allusions such as those referred to; but when the historical character of the Book is in dispute, when, as may fairly be claimed, there is at least as much to be said, aside from this argument, in favor of the historical reality, as against it, we claim that the presence of geographical and historical allusions, so distinct, so definite and so important as these, *favors*, we do not use the word *proves*, the historical side. And (3) granting with Dr. Davidson that

* Kalisch. † Davidson, O. T. Introduction, III., 269.

"a careful writer will assuredly refrain from violating the probable or running counter to facts, manners, and customs, as far as they come in his way," it would nevertheless be difficult to affirm that the author of the Book of Jonah was a careful writer, if, with Dr. Davidson, we, at the same time grant (*a*) that the character of Jonah is a mystery, (*b*) that the long and toilsome journey to Nineveh has much improbability connected with it, (*c*) that the result attributed to the preaching of an Israelite stranger presents something of the incredible, (*d*) that the omission of the name of the Assyrian king is singular, (*e*) that the prophet's being in the fish's belly so long without harm is a peculiar prodigy. Some writers of fiction may be careful writers, but this surely cannot be predicated of one who deals so largely in the singular, the mysterious, the improbable, the incredible, as, according to such critics, our author is supposed to do. (4) If, as has been granted, the Book in its present form is the work of an author living long after the events had transpired, at a time when Nineveh had ceased to be, when the relations existing between nations had entirely changed, when Israel herself was no longer a nation, but a scattered people, we may, with confidence, recognize in these apparently incidental, but really fundamental references,—at the same time characteristic of the narrative, and essential to its correct understanding, evidence of great value in determining the question of historical reality.

III. JONAH'S MISSION.

The foreign mission which really constitutes the subject of the Book, when correctly interpreted and duly appreciated, is evidence of the reality of the events with which it is connected. This has been, in part, anticipated. Let us, however, consider this mission briefly from two standpoints:—

1. *The Divine point of view.*—As has been stated, Jonah's mission to Nineveh was intended chiefly for the sake of Israel. In the low and hardened condition of the Israelites the divine wisdom adopted a plan, not entirely new, yet possessing elements of a peculiar character. These wonderful events are designed to show that although Israel has disobeyed every divine command, and deserves utter destruction for this disobedience; and although this destruction has, indeed, already been announced, nevertheless, if she will but repent, *she may yet be saved*. They also imply that the power of Jehovah, Israel's God, is felt among other nations, and that Israel, although the most cherished object of the divine love is not the only object. Israel's own prophet, Jonah, held in scorn by Israel herself, is sent to a city, the most haughty, the most worldly, the most wicked of all cities; a city of

which Israel stood in greatest terror. At the warning of this stranger, one of a nation held by them in contempt, they listen, tremble; and, in sack-cloth and ashes, with loud wailing on the part of man and beast, from king to beggar, they *repent*. But this is not all. This wickedness had ascended to heaven before Jehovah; the edict had gone forth that within a definite time the city should be destroyed. A failure to fulfill this judgment would disgrace the prophet, and seemingly dishonor God. Yet because it had repented the city was *saved*, even in spite of the prayers and sorrow of the prophet through whom the sentence had been pronounced. The end is not yet reached. To make the lesson still more clear and impressive, the divine teacher and father deigns to show the basis on which rests this great principle, that repentance brings salvation. Most beautifully he teaches that this basis is the *love* and *compassion* which is felt by him for humanity. As we believe, the teaching of prophets, whether by word or by action, was intended by God primarily for the age in which these prophets lived. Of the secondary fulfilment of prophecy, of a secondary use of prophetic teaching, this is not the place to speak. May we not, therefore, see a close connection, a peculiar relation between the purpose of this mission and the period in which it was executed? It was a warning which Israel could not fail to understand, whether she heeded it or not. That the interests of Nineveh were also considered cannot be doubted, but they were secondary.

2. *The human point of view.*—The divine call is not always expressed in words. Abram was called by God to leave Ur of the Chaldees. There were, however, considerations from the human standpoint which accompanied and, in part, constituted the call. This was true also of Jonah. The word of the Lord came to him. But in what way? The question as to the degree of intimacy existing at different periods between the Israelites and their neighbors, both those near at hand, and those who were more remote, has as yet received no satisfactory treatment. That of *Kalisch*, while in many respects admirable, has peculiar defects. We do not refer to the question of the *law* on this subject, but rather to the question of the facts in the case. When we recall the story of Ruth the Moabitess; when we study the life of David and note, that once when in trouble, he left his parents in the care of Moab, that he received kindness at the hands of the king of Ammon, that, while hiding in the cave of Adullam, he collected about him men of all kinds and of various nations, that he dwelt some time with the Philistines in Gath, that to him foreigners remained attached when his own kin had deserted him, that he was in most intimate friendship with Hiram king of Tyre; when we follow the

history of Solomon, as well as that of many later kings; when we remember that one Israelitish priest was called to anoint a Syrian king (1 Kings XIX., 15), that a second was on terms of closest relation to the Syrian royalty (2 Kings VIII., 7-13), that a third "inveighed against Damascus and Phœnicia, the Philistines, and Edomites, Moab and Ammon, on account of their cruelties and iniquities with the same fervor and almost the same impressive terms of reproof, with which he denounced the trespasses of Judah and Israel (Amos I., II.)"—when these and many other cases are considered, is there anything in the relation of Israel to the outside world which does not favor a mission by a devoted prophet to such a nation as Assyria?

Jonah's was a bold, impulsive nature. He was a man of broad heart, of large aims. Inspired from above, impelled from within, he would undertake the task of improving morally this worldly, wicked city of Nineveh, to which all eyes were turned, and upon which all nations were dependent. The belief that all nations were at some time to serve one God, was not confined to the prophets of a later age. Was this not a natural thing to do? Was it, in any sense, strange that so glorious a thought should present itself to this enthusiastic soul? That it was possible, appears from the issue. That Jonah was the man to send, is clear from the fact that the work contemplated was in the end accomplished. God always chooses the right man. But it is asked: Is this not contradicted by his effort to escape from the presence of Jehovah when called to do the work, and by the anger and chagrin displayed when the mission proved successful? No. These facts but evidence more clearly the truth of the narrative, and this interpretation of it, as will be shown later. As it appears to the writer, (1) such a mission would not have been undertaken by a man living 400-600 B. C., because at that time the attitude of the Jews toward foreigners had undergone a radical change. At this period that freedom of intercourse, that friendly intimacy, that general interest was a thing of the past. (2) Such a mission in all its scope could not even have been conceived by a writer living at that age. Consequently (3) it took place in the age to which it is attributed, an age in every respect suitable; and having taken fast hold of the people for whose instruction it was primarily intended, it was handed down from generation to generation; and, being an historical fact, a writer of this later age, while he could not have conceived such a mission, can and does formulate it in writing. The fact of such a mission is, therefore, not only perfectly credible, but strictly consistent with the spirit and custom of this early age. Taking this fact in connection with a second, which we have conceded, and which we think can be proven, viz., that the Book in its

present form is the work of a writer living long after the events themselves had transpired, there seems to be clear evidence of the historical truth of the Book.

There still remain five lines of evidence which deserve attention: (1) Jonah's refusal to obey the divine call; (2) his chagrin at the success of his own mission; (3) the relation of the Hymn of Thanksgiving (chap. III.) to the Book; (4) the general lack of unification characteristic of the Book, and its abrupt close; (5) the standpoint of the writer of the Book. These will be taken up in a *fourth* paper.

DID EZRA WRITE OR AMEND ANY PORTION OF THE PENTATEUCH?

BY REV. R. P. STEBBINS, D. D.,

Newton Centre, Mass.

It has become so common with a recent school of critics to attribute the authorship of an important portion of the Pentateuch to Ezra, and the opinion is affirmed with such emphasis and assurance, that a demand is made upon scholars to inquire whether these things are so. There is but one source of evidence on this subject to which an appeal can be made, and by whose evidence all inquirers must abide. This source is the accounts which we have in writings contemporaneous with him of what Ezra did as priest and ruler in Jerusalem, after the return from the captivity. I say "contemporaneous" with him, for traditions which were not written till five centuries afterward are utterly worthless in deciding such a question as this.

Is there, then, any *authentic historical evidence* that Ezra composed a single new law, or remodelled an old one? This question answered, the relation of Ezra to the so-called law of Moses, or the Pentateuch as we have it to-day, is settled. Settled, I say, unless men will forsake historic proof for baseless guesses and vague tradition. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah contain all the history that is at all reliable of the time, the character, and the work of Ezra. The extant Jewish literature between the time of Ezra and the Christian era, more than four centuries, says not a word of Ezra, or of his having anything to do with the law as editor of the old document, much less of his being the author of any part of it. The worthies and authors of note of the Hebrews are mentioned by the author of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, a work written about two centuries after the time of Ezra; but Ezra's name is not mentioned, though Zerubbabel's and

Joshua's and Nehemiah's are, and their good works are named. If Ezra at this early day had been reputed the author or even the reviser of the "law," would his name have been omitted? Most surely not. The tradition is of much later origin. The later Jewish traditions are most of them as incredible as they are silly. The stories in the Talmud about Ezra are too foolish to justify quotation, much less belief. The earliest recorded tradition is found in 2 Esdras xiv., 19-48. This book was written about the Christian era, not later than a century after, probably. This tradition is the least extravagant of any that have come down to us, and may be quoted as giving the soberest guess of the time, respecting the work that Ezra did in the construction of the law. It is substantially as follows: As Ezra sat under an oak in the field, there came a voice out of a bush over against him, and said, "Esdras! Esdras!" and he said, "Here am I, Lord." Then he said unto me, "I did reveal myself unto Moses in the bush, and talked with him and brought him to Mount Sinai, and told him many wondrous things; and *these words shalt thou declare.*" Then I answered and said, "Behold, Lord, I will go as thou hast commanded me." "The world is set in darkness, for *thy law is burnt* . . . But, if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, *which was written in the law*, that men may find thy path, and that they which live in the latter days may live." And he answered me, saying, "Go thy way, gather the people together, and say unto them that they seek thee not for forty days. But look thou, and prepare thee many tables of the box-tree, and take with thee five scribes which are ready to write swiftly; and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write; and, when thou hast done, some things thou shalt publish, and others thou shalt show secretly to the wise. Begin to write to-morrow." And he gathered the people, and said, "Let no man come unto me now, nor seek after me these forty days." So he took five men, and went into the field and remained there; and the next day a voice called me, saying, "Open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink." Then I opened my mouth, and he reached me a full cup like water; but the color was like fire. And I took it and drank, and my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit *strengthened my memory*; and my mouth was opened, and shut no more; and the five men wrote the wonderful visions of the night that were told. In forty days, they wrote two hundred and four books. And, when the forty days were fulfilled, the

Highest spake, saying, "The first that thou hast written publish openly, all may read it ; but the seventy last, only the wise may read." And I did so.

Bizarre as the whole account is, and unintelligible as most of it is, two things are clear. The old Mosaic Law was lost by burning: it was restored, recovered by the miraculous influence of the cup of which he drank upon his memory, whereby he recalled it all, and dictated it to these five writers. These two points in the confused tradition as here recorded seem clear. Ezra dictated no new law: he recited the old law which was burned, and the five scribes wrote it down. This tradition does not therefore show that the Pentateuch was the work of Ezra, either in whole or in part, but that Ezra wrote it out from memory, a conjectured way of accounting for its preservation from the wrecks of the captivity. At this period, tradition did not attribute the authorship of the law to Ezra, but only its engrossment from memory; and, to render it credible that his memory could recall it all, he is said to have drunk of a miraculous cup from the hand of the Lord. That the "law" here spoken of was not a fragment of the Mosaic code enacted at Mount Sinai, but our whole Pentateuch, is evident from Ezra's declaring that he "would write all that *hath been done in the world since the beginning*, which are written in thy law." Genesis is well described in this clause. In a word, this earliest tradition of the relation of Ezra to the Mosaic Law, or Pentateuch, is that it was miraculously recalled to his mind, and written down, word for word, as he repeated it, during forty days. There is not a hint that he added anything to the original document, or changed anything in it. The only reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that the scribes, the Jewish scholars in the neighborhood of the Christian era, believed in the existence of the Pentateuch *before* the time of Ezra, and attributed to him its rescue from oblivion by a miraculous quickening of his memory. It is much more credible that the law was composed in the Mosaic age than that it was restored by such an agency.

The next account of Ezra's relation to the law is found five hundred years earlier in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Without discussing the authenticity, genuineness, or age of these books, let it be assumed that they were composed in the period to which they relate, and that the accounts which they contain are substantially correct. What do we find in these books respecting the doings of Ezra? About eighty years after Zerubbabel led his colony back to Judea, and about sixty years after the new temple was built and dedicated, and during which period they had worshipped, "as it is *written in the law of Moses*, the

man of God," or "as it is written in the *book* of Moses," Ezra appears with an additional colony. He is described as a ready scribe in the *law of Moses*, which the Lord God of Israel had given. Unquestionably, this is the same law as had been observed by the colony under Zerubbabel, and which directed the worship in the new temple,—the special services of the priests and Levites, the kind and quality and time of offering of sacrifices, the feasts, and the manner of their observance. And we read that "Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments," or, as it may be rendered, "law and right." This was the business of a scribe,—to apply himself to a study of the law (and this is the meaning of the original text in this place), and to instruct the people in it. This, it seems, "Ezra had prepared his heart" for, and resolved to do. Nothing is said or hinted here of his having "prepared his heart" to give a new code of laws to the colonists, or to add anything to the old code, but simply to expound to them the law of Moses, then in their hands.

This same Ezra appears to have been authorized by the Persian king, Artaxerxes, to act, to some extent at least, as governor of the colony at Jerusalem? And he is directed "to judge all such as know the laws of thy God," and "to *teach* them that knew them not," and "whosoever will not do the law of thy God, let him be punished." The existence of a law of some kind is here referred to; and the specific requirements of it mentioned in the next chapter are all found in the book of the law of Moses, the Pentateuch. Ezra is not spoken of as making any laws, but of observing laws already in existence; and all these laws are in the Pentateuch.

He finds the people transgressing many of the "commandments" of God, for which he most fervently invokes pardon of the Lord. He then exhorts the people to put away their heathen wives whom they had taken "contrary to the commandment of God," and "let it be done *according to the law*," which law is found in Deut. vii., 3.

At this point, Ezra disappears from the history for about thirteen years; and the return and acts of Nehemiah fill the first seven chapters of the Book of Nehemiah. It should be observed that no law is spoken of, but the "commandments and the statutes, and the judgments *which the Lord commanded his servant Moses*." No reference is made to Ezra or any law of Ezra; and the history is occupied with an account of the repairs made in the walls of Jerusalem, and the opposition that was made to the work. And, when the walls were finished, Nehemiah "found a register of the genealogy of them which came up

at the first with Zerubbabel," which is inserted in the history. But up to this date there is no hint that Ezra *gave* any laws or *amended* the old ones "*written in the book of Moses.*"

But now, when the walls are finished, and in the seventh month the feast of Tabernacles was come, "the people ask Ezra, the scribe, who again appears in the history, to bring the *book of the law of Moses,*" which the Lord had commanded Israel (undoubtedly, the same book used at the dedication of the new temple, about eighty years before, Ezra vi., 18); "and Ezra brought the law . . . and he read therein . . . from morning until midday before the men and the women and those that could understand, and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the law, and Ezra, the scribe, stood upon a pulpit of wood, and Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people, . . . and, when he opened it, all the people stood up, and Ezra blessed the Lord the great God, and all the people answered, Amen, amen, with lifting up of hands."

Ezra, however, was not the only interpreter of the law. He had help in reading, and thirteen persons are named as assisting him, "and also the Levites, to cause the people to understand the law . . . So they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading. And Nehemiah and Ezra, the priest, the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day is holy unto the Lord your God. And on the second day were gathered together the chief of the fathers of all the people, the priests and the Levites unto Ezra, the scribe, that they *might instruct in the words of the law.* And they found written in the *law which the Lord had commanded by Moses* that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month, and that proclamation should be made in all their cities to bring branches of trees to make booths *as it is written*" (Lev. xxiii., 40). "And, day by day, he read in the *book of the law of God* from the first day to the last day, and they kept the feast according to the manner" (Lev. xxiii., 36), or as the custom was.

Now was the time and this the place, if ever, for Ezra or the historian to reveal that Ezra was the author of this law, called the *law of God by Moses*; and that this "*book of the law,*" called "*the book of the law of Moses,*" was the book of a law given by Ezra; that Ezra, the chief reader of the law, was the maker of the law; that Moses made no laws, and that all accounts and traditions to that effect were idle tales. But no such claim is made by Ezra, or his historian, on an occasion of greatest interest to the people. Nay, he and his historian

attribute the authorship of this book and these laws to Moses, and to him only and always. There is no discrepancy in the testimony, both when the historian speaks and when Ezra speaks. There is a collusion, or both speak the truth. A choice must be made between these alternatives. There is no other conclusion to be reached. Here is a most barefaced falsehood, or Moses wrote or caused to be written these laws which were read, unless further on in the history the riddle is explained and the deception justified.

A brief examination, therefore, of what remains of the history of this period, must now be made.

About fifteen days after the reading of *the law which the Lord had commanded Moses*, as just narrated, the people assembled again, "and they" (the scribes named before) "stood up in their place, and read in the book of the law of the Lord their God; and the Levites stood upon the stairs, and cried with a loud voice unto the Lord their God, saying, . . . Thou camest down upon *Mount Sinai* and spakest with the people, and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them *precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses, thy servant. . . . Nevertheless, they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs. . . . Therefore, thou deliveredst them into the hand of their enemies, . . . that thou mightest bring them again unto thy law.*" Can it be doubted that the law here spoken is the same as that previously mentioned as being read and "*written in the book of the law of Moses?*" And, further on, we read that "the people, separating themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, . . . enter into a curse and into an oath to walk in God's law, *which was given by Moses, the servant of God.*"

No hint is given as yet that the "law" which was read, and disobedience to which was the cause of the captivity, was in any sense or any degree the work of Ezra or his companions: but it is said to *have been given at Sinai by the hand of Moses.*

When the ceremony of consecrating the new walls and the temple was performed, "they read in the book of *Moses*, in the audience of the people." the passage respecting "the Ammonite and Moabite," to be found in Deut. xxiii., 3, 4: "and, when they heard the law, they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude."

Such is the testimony of Ezra and Nehemiah and their historian respecting the author of the "law," of which so much is said in these Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is everywhere attributed to Moses when its author is spoken of, and is said to have been given in or at Mount Sinai. No hint, direct or indirect, is anywhere given in all this

history that Ezra had anything to do either with writing, arranging, or revising these laws, or collecting scattered statutes in a book, called *a* book, or *the* book, of the law given by Moses.

Such is the teaching of history, whether reliable or unreliable, respecting the relation of Ezra, the scribe, to the Pentateuch. He was one of many readers and interpreters of it, and nothing more. He did not write it, he did not revise it, he did not re-arrange it. Not a line of historic evidence is found sustaining any such assumption. The traditions to that effect are modern and grotesque, bizarre, miraculous, and incredible.

If we cling to the results which true historical criticism reaches, the hypothesis, so often announced as an incontrovertible fact, is as unsubstantial as the "baseless fabric of a vision," and should disappear forever from the pages of all sound criticism.

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AN EXEGESIS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD PSALM.

BY REV. B. F. SIMPSON, A. M.

Jacksonville, Ill.

There is perhaps no portion of Scripture so familiar to the common reader as this Psalm—and yet there is none to which he turns more frequently, nor in which he finds more that is encouraging, helpful, and fresh. With the careful student this is yet more emphatically true. To him each new examination reveals additional phases of simple yet sublime sentiment, and of chaste yet elegant expression, such as are quite inexhaustible.

In a critical examination of the piece, we naturally begin by considering its claim to a place in the canon of Scripture. In what does this claim consist? We find, in the first place that its inscription is **מְזוֹמֵר לְדָוִד**, which the best authorities translate a Psalm of David. As far, then, as the inscription bears any certainty of being correct, it points to a Davidic origin for the Psalm. Allowing David to be an inspired author, this points to a just claim for the canonicity of the production. With this agrees the internal structure of the writing itself; its sentiments and forms of expression being such as are known to be characteristic of the great Psalmist. To this, again, may be added the fact that the general agreement of critics has admitted the genuineness of the Psalm, in accordance with the traditionary testimony. Some would find references to this Psalm in such passages of the New Testament as John x., 14, where the "good shepherd" is speaking, or in John viii., 35, where the Son is said to abide in the house forever. Possibly the occurrence of the same words here may be merely accidental. Otherwise, we may consider our Lord's reference to or quotation from the Psalm to be a sanction of its truth and authority.

It will thus be seen that while any direct proof of the canonicity of this Psalm may be wanting, yet the circumstantial proof in its favor is both weighty and cumulative.

The discussion of the question of canonicity has, of necessity, in part anticipated the matter of the authorship of this Psalm. This, however, is really a separate question. To establish the authorship of a piece of writing by an inspired man may be a fair proof of its canonicity, but to show that a writing holds a legitimate place in the canon decides nothing as to its authorship. The inscription, already referred to, must be attributed to very early writers, at least, if it is not from the pen of the composer himself. There is good evidence that these inscriptions are in a large measure correct. Here it must be accepted as comparative proof. The correctness of this inscription is upheld by the position of the Psalm itself.

It is found in a collection which are allowed to have been composed by the Poet King, and this favors its ascription to him. When we add to these evidences the fact that the whole tenor of the Psalm is in keeping with the experiences of David's life, and that dis severed from those experiences it loses the greater part of its significance, it would seem that we are forced to refer its composition to him who was the great sufferer as well as the sweet singer of Israel.

There are, however, some objections to this view, two of which may be worthy of consideration. *First*, it is said that the smoothly-flowing style of the composition is radically unlike the rapid and abrupt expression of David's Psalms. But all writers vary their style in harmony with the subject of their composition. Why should not David? Who had more versatility than he? That he who combined in himself the functions and offices of shepherd, hunter, warrior, general, king, musician, poet, should be able to adapt himself in the matter of forms of expression suited to different themes is just what one might have expected. Then, further, the style of any individual may change. Indeed, it must change with the changes of taste and temperament. The argument from style, therefore, is only measurably conclusive. It has no force when urged against weighty opposing evidence. It might be added here, that notwithstanding the smoothness and beauty of the style exhibited in this piece of composition, yet in unity and terseness it is not surpassed by any other piece in the Psalter.

A *second* objection is based on the use of the **בֵּית יְהוָה** in the concluding stanza of the Psalm. It is assumed that this "house of Jehovah" must mean the temple which was not built until after David's death. But the assumption is gratuitous. **בֵּית** is the generic Hebrew word for a dwelling, and may mean a hut, a house, or a castle. The more specific word for temple is **הֵיכָל**, though **בֵּית** is sometimes used in that sense. But the Hebrew always thought of God as dwelling in some particular place, and that place, whether a tent, a tabernacle, or a temple, might be called **בֵּית יְהוָה**, as Jacob called the place where he met with God **בֵּית אֵל**, although it was not in a house of any kind. It is quite possible that, in this case, the Tabernacle is meant. It had ere this been erected on Mount Zion; in it was kept the ark of the covenant; at it the regular sacrifices were offered, and towards it devout Jews looked as the place where the Divine Presence was manifested.* With such facts before us the objections to the earlier date of the Psalm lose their force.

A more difficult question arises in regard to the time and place of the composition. This, moreover, is an important point to settle, because whatever time we

*See 1 Chron. xvi., 37, sq.; 2 Sam. vi., 17, and 1 Kings iii., 15.

decide on as the date of writing, will modify our view of the meaning of certain portions of the Psalm. Four different theories attempt the solution of the question of time. The first of these makes it a production of the youthful poet while yet a shepherd at Bethlehem. The second places it at a time when David was fleeing from Saul. The third puts it at the time of Absalom's rebellion. The fourth makes it the product of a retrospective view of life after the writer had passed into old age. Only a cursory review of these theories can be given.

The arguments in favor of the first theory are the following: (1) the references to pastoral life; (2) the jubilant tone of the sentiment expressed; (3) the simple and youthful appearance of the style. Plausible arguments on the surface, but superficial only. Would not the memory of that pastoral life be always fresh in the mind of the Psalmist? Would it not be especially vivid in his declining years when childhood seems nearer to the man than middle life? "The thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts." As to the jubilant tone of the sentiment, it is sufficient to say that David's life throughout had its seasons of joyous experience, between which days of darkness and trouble intervened. During any one of these seasons such an hymn as this might have been composed. The style is simple, indeed, but to whom belongs simplicity and directness of style, to the old man, or to the young? Does it not rather come from him who has been chastened by life's experiences? Readers will recall many authors who in younger life used an involved and diffuse style, but who in later years learned to express their thoughts more simply and concisely. I think this may be taken as a general rule, so that the argument from simplicity is misapplied here.

No shepherd-boy had passed through the experience which the production of this Psalm required. Says Thrupp, "Youthful faith appreciates but does not contrast; the shepherd-boy in singing of God's bounty would have forgotten the perils which he had encountered."

A second view would place the time at the close of Saul's reign, when the fury of persecution had abated, and David dwelt safely in Gath and Ziklag. No special objection to this supposition can be raised, except that the tone of the production seems to accord better with other parts of the author's life than with this part. We do not seem to see in this Psalm one who has just escaped from great peril. Such an one would naturally be absorbed in memories of the immediate past, with its trials, or the immediate present with its relief. This writer is taking a broader and calmer view of life. He sees its green pastures as well as its dark valleys. He is not standing on some near elevation of moderate altitude and trying to bend his gaze around cliffs and over other peaks that he may have a glimpse of the surrounding landscape; he is standing on a distant and lofty mountain-top and viewing at a glance the whole perspective of mountain, mead, and valley over which sunshine and cloud cast alternately their light and shade. David's drill in the school of experience had not yet been sufficient to make him the author of such a work as this.

Perhaps a more probable time of composition is during the period of Absalom's rebellion. A measure of romance has been thrown around this view by making the place of the writing the city of Mahanaim, where the exiled king took refuge. From this mountain fastness he could view in all directions the wide sheep-ranges of the Jordan valley. On his way hither he had climbed through the dark valleys or gorges which cut athwart the mountains that flank the Jordan, and form paths of ascent from the valley. Here, too, was spread before the king a bountiful feast

by his host Barzillai. Thus we have gathered around this one place the scenes and circumstances which would easily suggest the two conceptions of a shepherd and an host, which compose the theme of the Psalm. This view is thus made peculiarly attractive: and there may be good grounds for adopting it.

But the fourth view seems to involve on its side the best reasons urged in favor of the others, while it contains yet other points of support in which they are lacking. All these scenes could be recalled from a period of life which had advanced beyond them. They would be sure to return frequently to the mind of the aged seer as he rested quietly and securely in his riper years and saw his whole life-struggle pass before him like a panoramic vision. He now takes a broader view of life's several experiences than he could have taken at any previous time. He sees things calmly now, and not under the pressure of affliction nor in the excitement of a recent delivery. He rises above particular events and surroundings and contemplates life as a whole, from the shepherd days of boyhood to its final consummation. He recognizes now, as he could not when nearer to them, lines of golden light in the dark providences which had met him. He sees behind the cloud Jehovah's hand that was leading him. In the severest straits he recognizes the bounty that supplies his wants, and he breathes forth as the refrain of a whole life's experience those calm yet sublime experiences: Jehovah is my shepherd, I shall not want. He makes me lie down in fresh pastures. . . . He prepares a table before me in the presence of mine enemies. In this goodness and mercy I will forever trust; and in His presence I will dwell continually.

We come now to ask what was the *occasion* for the writing of this Psalm. It will be seen that our view of this must be modified by the view we take of the time and place of the composition. If it was written by the shepherd-boy, then it was probably an outgrowth of youthful buoyancy and hopefulness. But *this* view seems quite inadequate to account for much that is found in the Psalm. If it was written during either of his periods of exile and suffering it was probably dictated by a sense of the author's personal frailty, and of his reliance upon Jehovah as a powerful and willing helper. If the time of its composition was the Psalmist's more mature age it was a sort of retrospective reverie, including as its chief points an expression of gratefulness for divine aid bestowed in the past, and an assurance that the same assistance will be vouchsafed in the future.

In treating of the question of authorship the matter of *style* was necessarily broached. Some additional features of this may now be considered more fully. The leading characteristics of David's style have been given as the following: (1) Unity; (2) Terseness; (3) Consecution. In the Psalm before us we have a very complete exhibition of these features. The piece is in two distinct parts; but these two parts are so entirely in harmony with each other, and unite so beautifully in the presentation of the one central thought of the whole Psalm that they intensify rather than detract from the integrity of the whole. The two pictures which compose these separate portions of the Psalm are in themselves subordinate units. We have, then, in this beautiful lyric a two-fold unity which favors its assignment to the prince of Hebrew Psalmody.

With respect to the matter of terseness we can scarcely conceive of a better example of that style than the one before us. Though among the shortest of the Psalms, it is not surpassed by any in the breadth and depth of thought. Its richness of sentiment is literally inexhaustible. It is like a censor filled with all kinds of aromatic perfumes, and which exhales a new fragrance each time it is touched.

Each of the pictures which it holds up before us presents the broad perspective of a complete human life with all its internal conflicts and external influences, together with a background of divine providence which sustains and controls the whole. Each separate sentence is pregnant with a wealth of thoughts among which we long to dwell as we pass on; and almost every word seems a charmed word because of its suggestions of truth and beauty. The consecution could not well be improved. Thought follows thought in the closest, most natural sequence. We might illustrate by quoting a few of its statements and inserting between them some of our common connectives, e. g., "Jehovah is my shepherd (therefore) I shall not want, (for) he makes me to lie down in green pastures (and) he leads me," etc. Thus it will be seen that every sentence, almost every word grows naturally out of the one that precedes it; and in turn suggests its successor. This consecution, moreover, is in the order of a true development. Each succeeding sentence is an advance on the preceding and the impression of the whole is that of thought advancing to a climax.

In a general way the style may be said to be fresh, vigorous, and beautiful, and admirably adapted to the theme which it presents. It is a style which without any artistic adornment, receives a fairer adorning from the feelings which it portrays so vividly.

That we may have the matter of this discussion more clearly before us, it may be well at this point to give a translation of the Psalm, which, being strictly literal, shall be as accurate as possible.

1. "Jehovah is my shepherd, I shall (can) need nothing.
2. In meadows of fresh grass He makes me to crouch down ;
Beside waters of repose He guides me.
3. My life He restores;
He leads me in right paths,
For His name's sake.
4. Also when I walk in the valley of deep darkness I will not fear calamity, for Thou art with me;
Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me.
5. Thou arranges before me a table in the presence of my enemies;
Thou anointest my head with oil;
My cup is abundance.
6. Only goodness and kindness shall pursue me all the days of my life;
And I shall dwell in the house of Jehovah for many days."

We have thus in these brief strophes, or perhaps it would be better to say in two strophes and one concluding stanza, the most beautiful of all Hebrew lyrics. The thought is intensely practical, and the language strikingly in keeping with the sentiment which it expresses. The Great Shepherd, the bountiful Host, and the strong feeling of security which the poet felt when he conceived of himself as a sheep or a guest under such a Protector and Provider, are the three thoughts which are the key-notes of the corresponding divisions of the piece. It is an echo from the whole past life of the Psalmist concentrated in a focal point, and presented in a word.

Let us now, in the briefest possible manner, take up the examination of its separate expressions. "*Jehovah is my shepherd.*" This figure of speech is appropriate only as employed by a Jew. To the Egyptians, as to others of the ancient peoples, the shepherd's office seemed a low and menial one. But in Israel the shepherd held the highest position. In fact, all were menials except the shepherds, in that nation during a good part of its history. The patriarchs were all shepherds. Rulers had that term applied to them as leaders of the people. In the higher

sense of a guide and guardian it is frequently applied to Jehovah.* Thus beyond all priests and scribes and rulers, who in their sphere were called shepherds, the true Israelite felt himself continually a wanderer on this earth under the care of a heavenly shepherd. The full force of the figure could be felt only by him who had occupied the position of a shepherd, and who knew what was the relation of the flock to their keeper. But the historical facts of the case throw much light on the scene for us. The land where David had watched his flock was one of beautiful green valleys separated from each other by rugged and barren hills. The flock was often in danger of being starved in one of these narrow valleys when the herbage had all been consumed, or of dying from thirst by streams which ceased to flow in the dry season. To pass to another valley they must often encounter precipitous steeps from which they were liable to fall and be crushed to death. There were mountain torrents into which they would plunge to slake their thirst, and which would bear them away over steep cataracts, or into deep pools. There were wolves in the dark ravines, and robbers in the mountain-passes. Even lions and bears this poet shepherd had encountered while guarding his father's flock; (see 1 Sam. xvii., 34). In such surroundings the shepherd's vigilance must be untiring. He must have wisdom, courage, and strength. He must guide and protect his feeble charge, and must lead gently or bear in his bosom the weak ones. Says Robertson, "these sheep are the companions of the shepherd's daily life, for whose safety he stands in jeopardy every hour, and whose value is measurable to him not by force, but by his own jeopardy." He numbers them both morning and evening, touching each one with his rod as it passes in and out of the door of the fold, (Lev. xxvii., 32; Jer. xxxiii., 13).

Perhaps there is no class of individuals who have endured such hardships or performed such feats of heroic daring as have shepherds in caring for their flocks. Our Lord had probably a good knowledge of shepherd-life in Israel, and he describes the true shepherd as one who gives his life for the sheep.

Now David, with all these facts before him, with a marked humility and confidence says, "I am the sheep and Jehovah is the Shepherd." Or still more particularly, as giving emphasis to his personal faith, he says, "Jehovah is *my* Shepherd." How natural, then, the conclusion from this as found in the immediately connected words, "*I shall not, or cannot want.*" This is a very strong form of expression. Perhaps a better rendering of אֶחָסֵר לִי would be "I shall, or can, need nothing." or, as we might say in colloquial phrase, "I shall need nothing at all." The particle לֹא expresses objective and absolute negation in contrast with אֵין which is subjective and conditional. The Sept. translates here by the strong negative οὐδέν, the Vulgate has nihil, and Luther uses nichts. Similar expressions may be found in Deut. ii., 7, viii., 9; and Ps. xxxiv., 10. How strong is the writer's confidence. The sheep lack nothing which the shepherd has power to provide. David's shepherd has an ample store of provision and abundant strength to provide.

"*In meadows of fresh grass He causes me to crouch, beside waters of repose He guides me.*" This is an enlargement of the preceding stanza. It describes the patient watch-care of the shepherd. He provides for every need. But food and drink and

*See Gen. xlviii., 15, where the words "the God who fed me" mean the God who fed me as a shepherd; also Gen. xlix., 24; Ps. lxxxiii., 52, lxxx., 1; Is. xl., 11; Jer. xxxi., 10; Ezek. xxxiv., 11 sq.; Mic. vii., 14.

rest are supplied at once. The phrase **נְאוֹת דֶשֶׁא** means, literally, meadows of fresh sprouts. It is grass which has just sprung up, hence it is sweet to the taste and pleasant to recline upon. The word **נְאוֹת** has a derived meaning here. Originally it meant a dwelling. Or, perhaps, still more primarily, taking its derivation from **נָאָה** (to rest) it meant any place where one could tarry and rest. Thus its most common signification came to be a tent in the wilderness, where the traveller sought rest and shelter. The writer probably recalled the view of some beautiful oasis, of which he must have known many in the Judean desert. How refreshing such a spot must seem in the midst of a parched waste. On it is often found a large rock whose shadow gives protection from the scorching rays of the sun. At the base of this rock is found a small fountain of pure, cool water which oozes out of the soil, and is lost again in the sand at a short distance from its source. As far as the earth was moistened by this supply of water the grass would remain fresh and green the entire season. This, then, was indeed a dwelling place in the desert, and well deserved the name **נְאוֹת**. Possibly the word **רָבִין** which means to stoop or crouch down may refer to the posture which the animal assumes when grazing or drinking. (If so we would seem to have the composite idea of refreshment as ministered both by food and rest presented here as by a *constructio pregnans*). The waters of repose, or restfulness, may not be "still" waters as given in the common version. Calvin renders **מִי מְנַחֵחַ** "gently flowing waters." So De Wette, Hitzig and others. Such waters would be thought of as in contrast with the swift mountain streams, as full of danger for the sheep. But the character of the waters is not here explained, except that they ministered refreshment to the flock. They may be wells, or fountains, or cisterns, or troughs. From all of these the flocks drank refreshing waters, and it was a chief care of the shepherd that some of these means of watering should be had where he had his flock. As the Psalmist applied this to himself, the thought was that Jehovah, his shepherd, made ample provision for his wants, and then guided him to the place where the provision was found.

"*My life he restores.*" Rendering this as in the authorized version, "*He restoreth my soul,*" it would seem necessary to refer it directly to the writer, losing all view of the sheep which is being portrayed in relation to its shepherd. This will depend, however, on the meaning which we give to **נַפְשׁוֹ**. This word seems to have had a significance, equivalent to that of *ψυχή* or *anima*. It designates the vital principle or the animal life. It is used thus in Gen. i., 20, xii., 13, xxxv., 18; Judg. xvi., 30; Is. liii., 12. It also signifies the seat of hunger and thirst, Prov. xxv., 25; Num. xxi., 5, and Dent. xii., 20. In some such sense it could be consistently used with reference to the famished life of the sheep.

Secondarily, the reference would be to David himself. As the faint life of the sheep is restored by the new grass and fresh waters, so God's mercies which are new every morning and fresh every evening continually restore the inward life of the servant of Jehovah.

"*He leads me in right paths for His name's sake.*" Interpreting this primarily of the sheep we must not translate **מַעַלְלֵי דֶרֶק** "paths of righteousness." We may, however, render it paths of rightness, or straightness, which is more literally correct. The conception is that of a smooth or even path by which the flock may travel over the heights or through the passes which lay between different places

of pasturage. Most paths were uneven or crooked, and so filled with danger. There is no difficulty, however, in the way of finding a secondary application to the case of the writer. It is as true in the sphere of morals as it is in mathematics that a straight line measures the shortest distance between two points. The straight path was for David the best path to the goal of his moral life. In this path Jehovah led him "for His name's sake." That is God's highest impulse to action,—for the honor of His "name."—for the glory of His character. and that it shall be "to the praise of His glory."

"*Also when I walk in the valley of deep darkness I will fear not calamity.*" I would, by no means, be dogmatic with respect to the rendering of this verse. The above, however, seems to answer the demands of the case best. When one meadow is exhausted the sheep must be led onward to some new pasturage. But their path thither will be over rugged mountains and through dark and dangerous valleys. Into these ravines the sheep entered with much timidity. It is said that they had to be urged to enter them. They were infested with robbers and wild beasts, and it required the utmost vigilance on the part of the shepherd to protect his flock at such times. The rod and staff, which are probably two names for the one thing, designating it as the instrument which guides and protects, must ever be extended over the feeble creatures lest they plunge into a pitfall or be carried away by an enemy. With these facts before us, the figure takes on a new beauty. It is a living picture of frail man beset with calamities yet upheld in them and guided safely through them by the hand of an Infinite shepherd. In every human life there are the "valleys of deep darkness" and despair, as well as the "delectable mountains" of pleasure and hope.

It narrows the thought too much to refer this to a view of death. There are gloomy valleys in life more intolerable than death itself. They are times when the past seems a failure, the present a burden, and the future a hopeless conflict, so that many a one chooses death as a release and says "it is less bitter than life." The pathway of David's life had been through some dark places no less gloomy than the wadys in the Palestinian hills. There had been enemies couched in the caves of the rocks on all sides of him; yet, even in such surroundings, as the sheep relied on the shepherd, so would he rely on the care and loving-kindness of his leader.

Now the picture of the shepherd and the sheep is withdrawn, and its counterpart is presented in a portrayal of the host and guest.

"*Thou arranges a table before me in the presence of my enemies.*" Perhaps an allusion to David's being entertained by Barzillai at Mahanaim when he was fleeing from Absalom. Such language, at least, very naturally recalls that incident. Some, indeed, make this an argument in favor of placing the time of writing of the Psalm at that period. But the proof seems insufficient. David had oftentimes found protection from enemies, and may have recalled various incidents which suggested this thought.

In that country the host became responsible for the safety of his guests. The Psalmist transfers this relation to Jehovah and those under his special care. When the host is a strong man his guests feel safe. So those who sit at Jehovah's table sit securely though enemies give vent to their futile rage on all sides.

But the host has another office.

"*Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup is abundance*" Literally we may render "thou makest fat my head with oil,"—a strong expression denoting the profu-

sion of the material. We find from the New Testament that this custom was perpetuated until later times. Our Lord once complained of the negligence of His host in not so ministering to him (Luke vii., 46). כּוּסִי stands by metonymy for what the cup contains. Perhaps it includes the whole feast—(see similar expression in Ps. xvi., 5). This cup, he says, is abundance, or fullness. It continually satisfies, and yet so much is left over that he can have no apprehension of ever being in want. God's promise admits of no measure, and leaves no room for need. How naturally, then, the concluding stanza grows out of this last reflection.

"Only goodness and kindness shall pursue me all the days of my life; and I shall dwell in the house of Jehovah for many days." אָךְ, originally affirmative has here a restrictive sense. Enemies have been the writer's pursuers heretofore; henceforth he will be pursued by goodness and kindness alone. I prefer the word "kindness" to the more general term "mercy," as mercy is used more in an abstract sense. David is here under the care of a personal friend, and "kindness" better expresses the personal favor. Note the use of the word יָמֵי (days of) my life, instead of saying merely all my life. There may be some connection between this and the same words used at the close of the Psalm. The thought of the stanza *may be*, I shall have these favors all the days of my life, and those days shall be many. The derivation of the word וְשַׁבְתִּי is uncertain. As far as its form is concerned it may come from either יָשַׁב (to dwell) or שׁוּב (to return). The best authority seems to favor taking it from the latter of these. But if so, we should expect it to be followed by אֶל instead of בְּ. We cannot render "I will return in the house of Jehovah." Delitzsch seeks to avoid this by calling it a "pregnant construction"—that is, a construction in which more is implied than what is expressed. So we might render "I will return and dwell in the house," etc. The *constructio pregnans* is not unfrequently expressed in the poetical writings of the Hebrews, and it is quite possible that this explanation is the correct one.

My translation of the last clause of the Psalm may not meet with general acceptance. Perowne translates "for length of days." So many others. The objection to this is that it is not very accurate English. I have already suggested one meaning that the passage may bear as the counterpart of another clause in the same stanza. For my own part, however, I should prefer a more indefinite expression than that. Perhaps the familiar expression, "for many long days," would convey the thought about as well as any. It may refer to the future as well as the present. Indeed, it seems best not to consider it as distinguishing between present and future as we do, but merely as expressing a certainty that for a great, indefinite length of time the Psalmist should remain a guest in the house of his great Host.

Here, then, we have in so small a compass one of the completest, most finished poems that has ever been written. Perhaps we need not qualify it by calling it *one* of the completest. Where has it any parallel? Probably no passage in literature is so often read. None else has contributed so much of cheer and comfort to men. Nowhere in so small a compass do we find so much for thought and feeling to feed upon. And yet its treasures are not exhausted. Surely it is no production of inexperienced boyhood; neither was it written in haste by one fleeing from an enemy. It is the product of matured experience, and it gives evidence both in its matter and structure of being laboriously wrought out by a master hand. The closest analysis can discern no flaw in its poetical structure; in the

beauty and sublimity of the thought; or in the perfect adaptation of the language to its thoughts and contents. Its spiritual lesson is ever fresh and has a continual application to the condition of men in this world. Man is a frail creature, with enemies and dangers on every hand. But no less an one than the Omnipotent Jehovah has become his guide, supporter and protector, and under His care he need fear no harm, but expect only goodness and kindness and a safe habitation continually.

Doctrinally it indicates the benevolent care of Jehovah, and encourages complete resignation to His will and entire trust in His wisdom and love.

While constructed on the analogies of pastoral life in Judea, it was destined to be as universal as the needs of humanity, and will be read and sung while there is a human mind to recognize a Supreme Guardian or a human heart to feel its need of His care.

ON THE STUDY OF ASSYRIAN.

BY PROF. D. G. LYON, PH. D.,

Hollis Professor of Divinity, Harvard University.

DEAR DR. HARPER:

In fulfilling a promise to write you something on the study of the Assyrian language, I choose the informal style of a letter.

The value of Assyrian study is recognized by all. The full extent of that value cannot be computed until the thousands of inscriptions that still remain buried beneath the debris of ruined Assyrian and Babylonian temples and palaces have been recovered to science, and until both these and those already in the European museums are all deciphered and published. This task will require centuries.

But the work already done in deciphering and publishing the Assyrian and Babylonian writings is sufficient to illustrate the nature and value of this work. For persons interested in Old Testament study there is no other external source so fruitful in illustration and exploration of the biblical text. The Assyrian story of the deluge, so strikingly similar to one of the two interwoven narratives of Genesis, and undoubtedly antedating the time of Israel's national life, furnishes most welcome material for comparison. By the side of the biblical account of Sennacherib's invasion we can now place the Assyrian account; we have indeed the very tablets on which the royal scribes recorded this campaign. The very exact sense for chronology, which was an Assyrian characteristic, has left us a long series of years, so arranged and with such historical notices that it may act as a measuring rod for contemporaneous Hebrew history. References in the Old Testament to Assyrian and Babylonian kings, religion and customs receive full explanation. The prophetic message, always taking its coloring from the time when it was uttered, becomes more intelligible than before. Many words, whose meaning was but half understood, become clear as noontide.

For persons interested in the study of comparative religion and in the early history of the human race, what priceless treasures are contained in the Assyrian and Babylonian literature! The full pantheon, with its deities of higher and lower degree, the doctrine of good and evil spirits, the systems of astrology and magic, afford material for more than a lifetime of study. The discovery that the Assyrian

ians had precisely the same conceptions concerning sin, sacrifice and forgiveness as existed among the Semitic people, and that their sacrificial system was also similar. enlarges our views of Semitic theology, and prepares us to investigate this theology in its older forms. The inscriptions give incidentally numerous historical notices of the nations of Western Asia, preserving, indeed, many national and tribal names, which had otherwise perished forever. There is no source so helpful for the geography of Western Asia in the pre-Christian centuries. The long lists of trees and plants, of metals and stones, of birds and insects, bring welcome material to the student of natural history. The architect and the sculptor find perhaps the forms which served the early Grecian artists as models. The complicated system of barter, trade and commerce reveals its secrets in the inscribed contract tablets, which were stored away in commercial centres by tens of thousands.

That a subject so fruitful for the study of the Old Testament and of early history and religion, commends itself to many of the best living educators, may be seen in the fact that, whereas, a very few years ago it had no representation in German universities, it is now offered in at least four, and that within five years it has found a place in the faculties of three American schools—Union Theological Seminary, Harvard University and Johns Hopkins University.

In the early stages of all new sciences many mistakes are made. Hence it happens that many of the Assyrian translations made ten years ago need correction. The recovery of fuller and better preserved texts, together with continued study and the adoption of a more scientific method, has advanced the science of Assyriology very much in the last decade. But the workers are still too few. There is need of many more, who shall not only make Assyriology a specialty, but who shall devote their study mainly to some branch of the great subject. Prof. Schrader, of Berlin, is engaged chiefly with the history, and Prof. Delitzsch, of Leipzig, with the lexicography. Grammar, geography, botany, astronomy, astrology, religion, trade, agriculture, war—each offer inviting work to enthusiastic students.

But there are serious difficulties in the way of one who begins the study of the Assyrian language. As yet there is no satisfactory grammar nor dictionary. The dictionary which Norris began and left half finished, is now antiquated and out of print. Of glossaries and grammatical explanations of texts the best are in German. One who should begin the study without a teacher would afterwards have to unlearn much that he had learned in the older books. That the task of acquiring the language without a teacher, however, is not impossible, I have seen proved in the case of a German peasant not less than forty-five years of age, who became so enamored of the subject that he made very considerable progress alone.

The want of an alphabet is a grave difficulty and imposes on the student the necessity of committing to memory several hundred signs which represent syllables, some of them half a dozen very different syllables. These signs are composed of wedges, some having a single wedge, some as many as fifteen or twenty. The wedge is the development of an original straight line. Many signs have only syllabic value. Others represent ideas, some are used both syllabically and ideographically. In certain cases the likeness of the sign and the object signified can still be seen, and this discovery aids the memory. The Assyrian language is so very similar to the Hebrew, both in its vocabulary and its constructions, that when a student has mastered the signs representing syllables and ideas he has accom-

plished the main task. A little experience with a teacher will show him how he is to put this knowledge into practice.

But the difficulty is in reality not half so great as it might seem. Of the signs used most often as syllables there are about one hundred. These are those which are underscored in Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestuecke*. These learned, or even copied on a sheet of paper for convenient reference, the student is prepared to begin reading, and the other syllables and signs may be acquired gradually. Beginning with easy texts and proceeding to those more difficult, the student makes daily visible progress, and in the course of a few weeks feels that he stands on firm ground. He sees order and beauty arise where before all seemed to him chaos.

The Assyrians have left us some welcome helps to the reading of their language. We have what are known as syllabaries, collections of signs with syllabic and ideographic values. Thus the same sign is explained in a syllabary as ila, "god," 𐎗𐎗, and as shamû, "heaven," 𐎗𐎗𐎗. In reading an inscription the context will show whether the sign has the one or the other ideographic value, or whether it has its very frequent syllabic value an. Parallel passages, which exist in large numbers, often aid us, one passage using a sign for an idea, the other spelling the word by syllables. Thus one text may use a certain sign to represent writing, while the other spells the word sha-ṭa-ru.

Of more prominence are the pronominal suffixes, the conjunctions, the determinatives, and the phonetic complements. In the absence of marks of punctuation, these all supply the lack. The suffixes to names, verbs and prepositions, and the enclitic connective ma, are soon learned, and they mark the ends of words. The determinatives are signs, for the most part, preceding and showing whether the following word represents a country, a mountain, a city, an animal, a stone, a man, a woman, etc. These determinatives are intended for the eye only, and help very much in dividing the text into clauses and sentences. The phonetic complement is used after a sign representing an idea, and is in reality the last syllable of the word represented. This is of particular value in cases where the same sign may represent more than one idea. There is a certain sign which represents both a weapon (kappu) and assistance (tukultu). If the sign is followed by the syllable tu, there is no doubt which way we are to read.

The greatest prerequisite to the study of the Assyrian (the Babylonian is the same language with very slight dialectical differences) is the knowledge of some Semitic language. It is best that this language should be Hebrew, just the language with which most persons are acquainted. A knowledge of other Semitic tongues will also be a great aid. For a deep scientific study of the language one should also be acquainted with the best methods pursued in classical study. For a practical, working use of the language this is, however, not necessary. The greatest genius who has studied Assyrian, the lamented George Smith, knew little of the classics and little of Semitic, except Hebrew. A knowledge of German may be classed as second only to that of Hebrew.

My conviction is that a Hebrew scholar, of average diligence and ability, can by concentrating his efforts for a few weeks, become master of the rudiments and place himself in a position to carry on the study independently. Some gentlemen, who have been working at the language only a short time, are now reading with evident pleasure and profit the beautiful annals of Assurbanipal, published in the fifth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." The study has,

in truth, such charms when a fair beginning has been made, that I have known more than one man who often pursued it beyond the hour of midnight. This was perhaps not wise nor advisable, but it illustrates how fascinating the study may become.

THE URIM AND THE THUMMIM.

BY REV. S. F. HANCOCK,

Cleveland, Ohio.

I. WHAT WERE THEY?

The Urim and the Thummim were objects placed in the "breast-plate" (חֹשֶׁן, ornament) of the High Priest. No description of them is given in the Bible under these names. What, then, were they? Conjecture has proposed various theories, but conjecture gives no basis for faith. Scriptural probabilities need to be found, and these, in the present case, favor the idea that they were simply the twelve gems which the High Priest bore upon his breast, and which were engraved with the names of the twelve sons of Israel.

Perhaps no other view than this would have gained force but for the impression which a first glance produces in the reading of the passage Ex. xxviii., 30, "and thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim," etc. These names, unmentioned before, seem to introduce new objects. Closer examination, however, shows that this conclusion is by no means necessary, while the doubtfulness of it is confirmed by the facts that when subsequently the Urim and the Thummim are mentioned, (Lev. viii., 8), the twelve stones are not, and when the stones are introduced again, (Ex. xxxix., 10-13), the Urim and the Thummim are omitted, and this, too, in circumstances where such an important omission seems unaccountable. In Ex. xxviii., the successive statements harmonize with each other when their distinctive purpose is noticed, permitting naturally the introduction of the twelve stones again in verse 30 under the new designation.

The "breast-plate," (ornament), as a whole, was composed of two distinct parts, a woven portion made of double size and folded together, (vs. 15, 16), and a rectangular golden piece in which the gems were set. These two parts would naturally come from the hands of different workmen, the weaving apparently from Aholiab, (Ex. xxxviii., 23), and the jewelry from Bezaleel, (Ex. xxxi., 2-5). Ex. xxviii., 15-21, gives directions for the construction of the ornament as a whole, particularizing in both parts. Vs. 22-25, describe the ring and chain couplings which unite it with the shoulder onyx stones, while vs. 26-29 direct the construction of couplings of rings and lacings by which the breast-plate is to be firmly bound to the ephod, in order that the High Priest may securely keep the precious names upon his heart in his ministrations in the holy place. V. 30 then requires that these gems in their golden setting, the very portion which gives value and significance to the whole "breast-plate," shall surely be inserted, and emphasizes the requirement by naming the precious stones according to their significance, "Urim and Thummim," "lights and perfections." Such iterations are not infrequent in the Hebrew Scriptures. (Cf. vs. 10-12, 25).

The use of the definite article with these names in this their first occurrence, is thus explained without adopting the supposition that the Urim and Thummim were objects previously known in Hebrew or Egyptian worship. The article is employed because the objects have already been mentioned. The use of the double fold of the cloth or brocade portion is also thus naturally explained. If the jewelled piece was inserted between the two folds, the inner fold would serve as a backing for it, while the front fold would naturally be woven with a rectangular aperture of the proper size to exhibit the four rows of gems, and would form around them a highly fabricated margin of gold, blue, purple and fine-twined linen.

The identity of the twelve stones with the Urim and the Thummim has been, says Plumptre in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, "a favorite view of Jewish and of some Christian writers."

II. THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

If this identification is true it should find confirmation in the significance of these names as applied to the twelve precious stones. The names, it may be first noticed, have a relation to each other. They are the אֲרִיִּים and the תְּמִיִּים, the "lights" and the "perfections." When light shines from God into the renewed heart it tends to produce "perfections." The natural Israel, whose names were engraved upon the stones, were a type of the spiritual Israel. The natural Israelite obtained his place under God's favor by his natural birth; the spiritual Israelite obtains his by the new, spiritual birth. "Israel" thus becomes the medium for the "lights" and the vessel for the "perfections." The twelve stones, accordingly, are all Urim when viewed as media of the divine illumination, and all Thummim when viewed as the receptacles and exponents of the resulting "perfections."

The stones were required to be arranged with great exactness, in four rows of three stones each. This arrangement exhibits them also in three ranks of four stones each. The number three will be immediately recognized as the symbol of divinity, and the threes may therefore be accepted as the Urim. Four, on the other hand, is the earth or world number, suggested as a symbol, by the ancient conception of the four corners of the earth. The fours, therefore, receiving into their breasts, as it were, the threes, become the Thummim, the "perfections."

Three and four multiplied together, that is, intermingling themselves, interpenetrating each other, form twelve, the governmental number of the kingdom of God, appearing in such important types as the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve apostles, the twelve gates and the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem.

It is with this holy promise upon his heart, these radiant "lights" and lovely spiritual "perfections," the true judgment of the true Israel of prophecy, that the High Priest keeps up his ministrations in the holy place. "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he has set judgment in the earth."

From the conception of the threes as Urim or lights, we naturally look for a perpendicular arrangement. "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above and cometh down from the father of lights." The conception of four as the earth number equally suggests a horizontal arrangement.

		URIM.			
		1st Row.	2d Row.	3d Row.	4th Row.
THUMMIM	1st Rank..	1	1	1	1
	2d Rank..	2	2	2	2
	3d Rank..	3	3	3	3

The careful directions by which each particular stone is assigned to its place, invite a closer examination and suggest a specific meaning for each stone. Each, of course, has a double significance; first, as among the Urim; secondly, as among the Thummim, that is, first, as an agent of light, secondly, as a recipient of the "lights" and an exponent of the "perfections."

Each row of the Urim suggesting the Trinity, the next step in logical suggestion is the association of the three stones consecutively with the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. A brief glance—our limits permit no more—at the Scriptural system of number symbols, will aid us here. The numbers *one* and *two*, singleness and fellowship, form the basis. The union of these gives *three*, the symbol of divinity, in which unity and fellowship are combined in one being, the unity being projected in the conception of the Father, the fellowship appearing in those of the Son and the Holy Spirit. Taken as a series, *one* points to sovereignty, the Father, *two* to fellowship with man whom He created in His own image and likeness, while *three* brings out the executive energy,—the sovereignty and fellowship made effectual by the Holy Spirit. This marks out the line of illumination which penetrates the breast of renewed humanity; namely, the light of divine sovereignty, the light of divine fellowship with man, and the light of the divine energy, God working "in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

But there are four rows of the Urim thus described, and each of them suggests the divine illumination of man in a different relationship. *Four* arises from the multiplication of *two* by *two*, fellowship interpenetrating fellowship. This brings out the conception of a fraternity, society. The family is the unit in society. The rule of enlargement in the association of man may be formulated as 2×2 . Family intermingles its fellowship with family, and the neighborhood is formed; neighborhood with neighborhood, and the town or city appears. Next the fraternity extends to state or province, from state or province to nation, and from nation to the world. The general principle of fraternity, therefore, is symbolized in the number *four*.

Taking, then, the four rows, in order, we find in the first, divine sovereignty fellowship and power illuminating the solitary soul. "He that followeth me," said one, "shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." In the second row, they shine in where two are met together in His name who said, "there am I in the midst." In the third, which is the first of the second pair, the heavenly glow and enthusiasm come upon the single group or spiritual community. "Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high." In the fourth, the same heavenly glory blesses the perfected, redeemed fraternity.

Viewing now the Thummim, we find three ranks of four stones each, the Urim illuminated downward. According, therefore, to the order of receptivity, the ranks of Thummim may be numbered from top to bottom. The effective movement of grace is, first, divine sovereignty acknowledged; secondly, God's love perceived, and, thirdly, His inward working experienced. From this point there is again an upward development of the "perfections." God's word is to return to Him, and not "void." "In the beginning was the word, and the word was toward God," (*πρὸς τὸν θεόν*). The third rank in receptivity, therefore, becomes the initial step in the upward development. The experience, "it is God that worketh in you," becomes, "to will and to do of His good pleasure." The second rank exhibits the higher experience which John describes, "truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son, Jesus Christ." The first row then marks the attainment of participation in the divine nature. "He that overcometh shall sit with me on my throne." A final threefold order in rank in the kingdom of God in the world to come, according to the attainment of faith, is thus suggested.

III. THEIR OBJECT, AND THE METHOD OF USING THEM.

Their object was symbolical. This has already been sufficiently shown. They were intended to enable the High Priest to bear typically upon his heart the judgment of the children of Israel. (Ex. xxviii., 30). The completed article was therefore called "the ornament of judgment," (Ex. xxviii., 15, 29, 30). The significance of this judgment is exhibited in the case recorded in Ezra ii., 63; Neh. vii., 65. When on the return of the children of Israel from captivity some priestly families had lost their genealogies, they could not be admitted until a priest should arise with Urim and Thummim to determine it.

This shows that the virtue was not in the stones but in the priest qualified to wear them. We may find a spiritual significance here. It is to be feared that many at the present day are assuming to minister in sacred things, who, like Bunyan's Pilgrim, have lost their roll, if, indeed, they ever possessed one. There must be a spiritual test. The great High Priest who has passed into the heavens bears the names of all the true Israel on His heart. All who are thus inclined must, by his agency, receive the "lights" and exhibit the "perfections." If they neither experience the one nor show the other, their claim is spurious.

In the specified cases of the oracular use of these gems they are spoken of simply as "Urim." There are only two instances: Num. xxvii., 21. Eleazar the priest was to ask counsel of the Lord for Joshua "after the judgment of Urim." Then at Joshua's word the children of Israel were to go out, and at his word to come in. 1 Sam. xxviii., 6, Saul, rejected by the Lord, vainly sought for a response from him by "Urim." In both these cases direction was sought for a leader of Israel. The Urim alone are mentioned, because "lights" for guidance were what were needed. The conception of "perfections" was not included. In the latter case, if Saul had the genuine Urim with him, the responses which David was obtaining from the Lord (1 Sam. xxiii., 2, 4, 9-12; xxx., 7, 8) were apparently without them, though he had the ephod and the priest (1 Sam. xxiii., 6).

The Thummim were never mentioned alone. In the passage, Deut. xxxiii., 8, the usual order is reversed. And to Levi he said, "thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy gracious man," etc., that is, in his keeping as High Priest. This apparently is prophetic of Christ as the anti-typical priest. The Thummim are mentioned first, probably because the burden of the prayer is for the development of

the "perfections," that the form of godliness may not be without the power thereof. For this the "gracious man" is strong security.

As to the mode of using the Urim and Thummim, we need not suppose any magical process, or any supernatural appearance of the stones themselves. God had promised (Ex. xxv., 22) to respond from between the cherubim. Nothing further need be supposed than that the High Priest, robed and prepared according to divine direction, drew near before the Lord, pronounced his inquiry and received either an audible reply or an equally distinct mental impression.

The following are all the passages in which the Urim and Thummim, either or both, are mentioned by name :

1st. Urim and Thummim, (Ex. xxviii., 30; Lev. viii., 8; Ezra ii., 63; Neh. vii., 65).

2d. Thummim and Urim, (Deut. xxxiii., 8).

3d. Urim, (Num. xxvii., 21; 1 Sam. xxviii., 6).

▷GENERAL NOTES.◁

The Position and History of Joppa.—Even the scanty notices which we possess of Joppa from the biblical times suffice for the purpose of our text. Joppa, built fortress-like along a hill in a district abundantly supplied with water, has the blue ridges of the mountains of Judah as its background on the eastern side, while in the west it is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, and almost everywhere enclosed by beautiful gardens and plantations. It offers a fine view over the rich and undulating plain of Sharon dotted with olive and pomegranate groves; its situation is in fact so elevated that some supposed, though erroneously, that Jerusalem, lying about ten hours to the southeast, was thence visible. The town is extremely ancient—Roman writers contend that it was founded before the deluge and governed by Cepheus, whose memory as well as that of his brother Phineus, was there long preserved by famous altars bearing their names, and whose wife *Jope*, daughter of Aeolus, is fabled to have given the city its name—but in the historical ages it appears first as a Phœnician colony in the territory of the Philistines, under the suzerainty of the king of Ascalon, and bordering on the province of the Danites, in which it was not included. It possesses a harbor most important from its position at a peculiar point of the Mediterranean coast, but small, unfit for larger vessels, inconvenient and even dangerous on account of the steepness of the shore and the rocks rising above the sea for a considerable distance from the land, abounding in coral formations, therefore rough and agitated even in calm weather, and having an entrance either imperilled by sands or so shallow and narrow as to be almost useless: But in spite of its defects—Strabo calls it pointedly "a haunt of robbers," and hence particularly fit for "a people of robbers"—the harbor was of the utmost usefulness to the Hebrews on account of its proximity to the capital. Hiram, king of Tyre, sent the timber he furnished for Solomon's temple by sea in rafts to Joppa, to be thence transported to Jerusalem, and thither also were floated the cedar stems which, in Zerubbabel's time, the Sidonians and Tyrians supplied for the second temple. In those long periods during which the eastern conquerors invaded the land beyond the Euphrates,

Joppa shared, in a great measure, the changes and vicissitudes of nearly all the countries and districts of the Mediterranean. Thus Sennacherib did not fail to record in the annals of his third campaign, in the course of which he extended his victorious march along the whole coast of Syria southward, that among other cities which till then had not been forced to render him homage, he "attacked, captured and spoiled Ja-a-p-u" (Joppa) also.

The successive rise and decay of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires brought to the town alternately dependence and liberty, till it was by Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, valiantly taken and incorporated in the kingdom of Syria. How eagerly it was coveted as a most valuable possession, is especially apparent from the prayer which concludes the interesting Phœnician inscription on the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Eshmun-ezer of the fourth century (B. C.): "May in future the lords of the kings (the gods) give us Dor and Japhi (Joppa), the fertile corn lands which are in the plain of Sharon, and may they join it to the boundary of the land that it may belong to the two Sidons forever." In the time of the Maccabean wars, it was repeatedly conspicuous, but not always honorably. In the earlier part of those struggles, the inhabitants treacherously drowned in the sea two hundred Jews, but they were terribly punished by Judas, who slaughtered many and burnt their harbor and their ships. Jonathan, his brother, carrying on the hostilities, wrested the town from the Syrians after an effective siege; while Simon, when he succeeded in the command, fortified it and improved the restored harbor, and Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, among other favors, received from the Romans the promise that Joppa was forever to remain secured to the Jews. Pompey indeed made the city independent and joined it to the province of Syria, but Cæsar soon afterwards re-united it with the Jewish territory, adding the special provision that it was to pay to the ethnarch Hyrcanus II. and his successors a yearly impost of corn, which privileges were subsequently renewed and ratified in favor of Herod, and then of Archelaus, who, moreover, was empowered to exact from Joppa tribute in money. However, in consequence of the deposition and banishment of the cruel and detested Archelaus, the town was shortly afterwards (B. C. 6), together with Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, again incorporated in Syria, as a part of which we find it in the first Christian centuries. The new doctrines seem there to have found ready adoption, for Joppa is the scene of Tabitha's works of charity, of Peter's miracle, and of this apostle's remarkable vision of all kinds of animals, warning him "not to call common what God has cleansed." Disturbance and sedition induced Cestius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria, to send troops against the town which, after the massacre of more than eight thousand people, was plundered and burnt. Soon restored, it became the trysting place of Jewish pirates, who by their daring aggression rendered the coast insecure from Syria to Egypt, till a Roman force dispatched against the town by Vespasian captured and razed it to the ground, almost without resistance, since the population, about four thousand souls, who had taken refuge in their ships, perished in the sea during a fearful gale; and on its site, the Romans constructed merely a fortified camp. Yet this, ere long, became the centre of a new town which, under various fortunes, has been preserved to this day. Its destinies were particularly chequered in the times of the crusades, as the place, on account of its situation at once important and exposed, was eagerly desired by both contending armies; it was the first town taken by Godfrey of Bouillon and presented by him to the church of the holy Sepulchre in Jerusa-

lem; then, successively conquered and partially destroyed by Saladin, Safaddin, Richard I. of England, and finally under Melik el-Adil, it was more than once the scene of terrible bloodshed. In the earlier Christian centuries, from Constantine the Great to the Arabic conquest under Osman (A. C. 636), Joppa was a Bishop's see. This dignity was renewed and endowed by the crusaders, the town was fortified and adorned by Baldwin I. and Lewis IX. of France, and the district, raised into a palatinate, given over to the knights of St. John (A. C. 1126); but the city, after its repeated devastations, was so completely impoverished and depopulated that travellers in the sixteenth century only found a few dilapidated huts. From the seventeenth century it began to recover; furnished with quays and strengthened by walls, it was enabled to oppose to the French army under Kleber some resistance: it was, however, taken by assault, then fortified by the English, and finally enlarged by the Turks. At present Joppa is the seat of a Kheimakâm subordinate to Jerusalem, and has about 8,000 inhabitants, of whom at least two-thirds are Mohammedans. Owing to the wonderful and still unimpaired fertility of the soil, to large exports in corn and fruit, especially oranges, watermelons, and figs of exquisite quality, owing also to a not unimportant trade with Syria and Egypt, and, not least, to its most favorable position as the chief landing place of the pilgrims and visitors to the Holy Land, the town has succeeded in attaining a certain degree of prosperity, which, it may be expected, would be materially promoted by the construction of the contemplated railway to Jerusalem and the improvement and extension of the harbor, provided that the municipal council which has been appointed to support the governing *mutesellim*, proves efficient.—*From Kalisch, Bible Studies.*

Law and Legislation among the Hebrews.—There is one remarkable fact in Hebrew history which seems to have been overlooked. At no time during the five centuries covered by the monarchy (1100–588 B. C.) is a word said of a body of laws enacted or codified by any of the kings. That silence of the writers who have recorded the rise and fall of the kingdom is made more impressive by the one law, and the only one, which is ascribed to a king—David's regulation for dividing the spoils of battle between the army in the field and its baggage guard. A thing so small in itself brings into bolder relief the fact of no prince either introducing new laws into the country, or reducing old customs to writing and giving them the force of law. Evidently a law code existed before a king filled the throne of Israel. At the choice of a king for the first time, Samuel the prophet acts the part of a lawgiver: but never, except in the one instance referred to, are Hebrew princes represented as exercising this office. They make no show in history save as administrators or breakers of a code of laws already in existence. A position so singular is filled by the kings of no other nation whose annals have come down to our time. Of the power of law among the Hebrews too much cannot be said. Their proverbs, their popular speech, their songs, and the events of their daily life are full of its praises. Everywhere is seen the reign of law. But the rulers never pride themselves on making new or codifying old laws. They build and endow a magnificent temple, they restore a neglected worship, they repair a temple that has been burned or has fallen into ruins. They rearrange the recognized ministers of religion according to their ideas of what is fitting and honorable; they fortify cities and equip armies at their will, or according to their ability. But we never see them ordaining new laws, or altering old laws to meet

the changing needs of society. Always do they appear as if their hands, quite as much as those of their subjects, were tied by an existing code. A law of the land, given before kings began to rule, seems to have stood high above both throne and people. Unquestionably, a relation so unusual, subsisting for five centuries, is a peculiarity which distinguishes Hebrew history from the history of every other people. No romancer could have invented the idea of laws, once given, remaining unchanged, without addition and without subtraction. Still less could a series of historians have imagined the idea of subjection to these ancient laws in a race of princes, some of whom were conquerors, some tyrants, and some obstinate to their own and their people's ruin. To call this the result of a designed concealment of facts is an incredible explanation of the silence. The writers had nothing to conceal. They knew that these kings dared not add to or alter the people's law-book. Part of it might be set at defiance for a time, but their pages showed the ruinous consequences of this course, and the power of the law to vindicate its majesty. These writers recognized certain well-marked boundaries, within which the national code confined both king and people. Full-est freedom of action was allowed to them if they did not overstep these limits; no freedom whatever was given to either prince or people to travel beyond. We must therefore go to the history itself to ascertain the beginning and completion of the law code which attained to this paramount rule in the nation. A law-book, once given and remaining unchanged for centuries, is pronounced an impossibility. But theoretical views of the possible or the impossible have no place in the matter. We are dealing only with facts, and these carry us back for the beginning of a law-book to the sojourn of the people in Egypt.—*James E. Sime, The Kingdom of All Israel.*

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⇒CONTRIBUTED NOTES.←

Pirke Aboth.—The Mishna is divided into orders, the orders into treatises, the treatises into chapters, and the chapters into sections. Pirke Aboth, or Chapters of the Fathers is one of the treatises of the fourth order, *Nezikin*. It contains moral precepts, maxims and apothegms of many learned Jews who flourished in the centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. As a compendium of practical ethics it is highly esteemed by the Jews, many of whom give it a place in their prayer books, and at certain seasons use it liturgically in the Synagogue. The German Jews recite it publicly on six successive Sabbaths between the festivals of Passover and Pentecost. Pirke Aboth is occasionally cited in commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and in discussions on the Old Testament text. It contains six chapters, the last of which is supplementary. The first chapter states that Moses received an oral law which through Joshua and the Elders was transmitted to the men of the Great Synagogue. The three words of this august body are given: "Be deliberate in judgment: and raise up many disciples: and make a fence to the Law." Simon Justus and Antigonus then speak. To the close of the fourth chapter are reported the utterances of Rabbis who flourished from B. C. 200 to A. D. 200. The fifth chapter, except at its close, contains no sayings of the Fathers, but forms a series of groups of ten, seven, four and three things. In this classifi-

cation it touches upon creation, miracles, customs among men, qualities among disciples, &c. The sixth chapter is on the acquisition of the Law, and consists of the sayings of Rabbi Meir and others.

A selection of sayings from these Chapters of the Fathers may interest the curious. Here is something for learners: "Jose ben Jo'ezer of Tseredah said, Let thy house be a meeting-house for the wise, and cover thyself with the dust of their feet, and drink their words with thirstiness." The following is from Rabban Gamaliel who evidently understood human nature: "Be cautious of trusting persons in power who do not suffer a man to approach them except for their own interests, who appear as friends when they have an object in view, but will not stand by a man in the time of his need." Hillel's sayings are specially good. Take an example. "Be not trustful in thyself till the day of thy death; and judge not thy companion until thou comest into his place." The great principle of retribution receives from him a grim exposition, thus: "Seeing a skull floating upon the waters he said to it, Because thou didst cause others to float, others have caused thee to float, and at last those who have caused thee to float shall themselves be made to float." Akiba ben Mahalaleel would impress upon his hearers the insignificance of man: "Ponder on three things, and thou wilt not enter into the hands of transgression. Consider whence thou comest, and whither thou goest and before whom in the future thou shalt give account and reckoning. Whence hast thou come? From a fetid drop. And whither goest thou? To the place of vermin and worm. And before whom art thou in future to give account and reckoning? Before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed is He!" The following from Rabbi Jacob is sufficiently stern: "He who walks on the road and meditates, and ceases from his study and says, What a beautiful tree is this! How fine is that new field! it is accounted to him as if he were worthy of death." Here is a good saying from Rabbi Eleazer ben Azaria: "He whose wisdom is greater than his works, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are abundant and the roots small; and the wind comes and uproots it and overturns it. But he whose works are greater than his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are small and his roots great; though all the winds in the world come and blow against it, they move it not from its place." Among the noted things grouped in fours in chapter fifth are the following: "There are four kinds of dispositions. Easily provoked, and easily pacified, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Difficult to provoke, and difficult to pacify his loss is cancelled by his gain. Difficult to provoke, and easy to pacify, pious. Easily provoked, and difficult to pacify, wicked." Students may be classified now as they were wont to be classified in Talmudic times. "There are four characters in those who sit before the wise, a sponge, a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve. A sponge which sucks up all; a funnel which receives here and lets out there; a strainer, which lets out the wine and retains the dregs; a sieve, which lets out the bran and keeps back the flour." Many treatises written since contain less wisdom than does Pirke Aboth, the Ethics of the Fathers.

JOHN CURRIE.

The Rendering of Romans XII., 16.—The Revised Version of *τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαυξαμένοι* is perhaps not one of the most felicitous renderings, and one is tempted to regret the old rendering, "Condescend to men of low estate," with its margin, "Be contented with mean things." Not that the present writer believes that the A. V. is correct, but that if the rendering "lowly things" be adopted, it seems better to

substitute some different rendering for "condescend." "To condescend to a thing" is not said in ordinary English, except when we mean "to condescend to perform an unworthy act." It must be added, however, that on grounds of Greek-biblical usage, "condescend" is too weak an equivalent for *συναπαγάβμενοι*. 'Let yourself be captivated by' is more defensible and yet I am not prepared to adopt it, for the following reasons: (1) that the exhortation to be captivated by lowly things (or persons) is unnatural in itself and unsuitable to the immediate context; (2) that *συναπάγομαι* is not used elsewhere of giving away to a good impulse, and above all, (3) that Hebraistic considerations have not had their full weight. Readers of Dr. Franz Delitzsch's recent pamphlet on the Hebrew New Testament, and of his various Hebraistic articles, chiefly in German, but some (I think) in this periodical, illustrative of New Testament Greek, will recognize the importance of asking whether St. Paul may not have had some Hebrew phrase in his mind, when he penned the strange word *συναπαγάβμενοι*. The Peshito does not help us much; it paraphrases "Attach yourselves to those who are humble." Nor does Delitzsch's Hebrew New Testament carry us far with the rendering, excellent as it is, **כִּי אִם- הַתְּרַעוּ אֶת-הַשְּׁפִלִים** "but make friends with those that are lowly." But the earlier translation of the Epistle to the Romans by the same scholar (published separately in 1870) really does help us, for it shows us how the Greek is to be explained philologically. The rendering of the clause there given is **כִּי אִם- הַתְּנַהֲגוּ עִם-הַשְּׁפִלִים** "but familiarize yourselves with those that are lowly." This suggests that St. Paul translated the Hebrew or Chaldee phrase which came into his mind with regard to its primary meaning "to lead oneself away with" rather than its secondary one (established by the Talmud and the Targums; cf. Eccles. 11. 3), "to accustom oneself to," "to familiarize oneself with." Possibly the curious word *συνπεριφέρόμενοι* in the Wisdom of Sirach, XXV., 1, may be explained in a similar way.

Ethically, it is surely a great advantage to get rid of the word 'condescension' from the works of that great moralist as well as theologian, St. Paul. In his life, he shows no trace of condescension, any more than did his Master.

Never could he have said, "Condescend to be lowly," for his practice would have belied his theory. It is true, "Let yourselves be captivated by lowly things," is equally alien to him who 'became all things to all men,' and who could be "captivated" alike by rich and poor, while their need of him lasted. T. K. CHEYNE.

The Tenses of the First Psalm.—Understanding (1) that in Hebrew there are three tenses, which, however, express not the date or time of an action but the kind or character of it, and (2) that these are called (*a*) the *Perfect*, designating an action as complete, or finished, or real, (*b*) the *Imperfect*, designating an action as incomplete, unfinished, i. e., as beginning, repeated, or contingent, and (*c*) the *Participial*, designating an action as continuing without interruption, let us examine in detail the verbs of the first Psalm.

1. "Blessed *is* the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful." The word in the original for "*blessed*" is not a verb, but a noun in the plural and used as a Vocative: *O the happinesses of the man*, etc. The verbs translated "*walketh*," "*standeth*," "*sitteth*," are not *Imperfects*, expressing something that this godly man does *not* do repeatedly or habitually, although this thought would have

been very appropriate, but *Perfects* expressing what he has never done. The sense then is "Blessed is the man who has never walked . . . , stood . . . , sat,"—an ideal picture, by which, indeed, the blessedness or true happiness of a man is shown to exist in proportion as he has abstained from the sins herein described. But inasmuch as the man, who has not committed these sins at any time in the past, is probably one who is not committing them in the present, the present may be included.

2. "But his delight *is* in the law of the LORD; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." The first clause is not a verbal, but a nominal clause, there being no verb, since in Hebrew there is no word for the copula *is*. But in the second member the words "*doth he meditate*" are the translation of an *Imperfect*, which indicates what he is all the time in the habit of doing. The contrast between the *Perfects* of the first verse, and the *Imperfect* of the second verse is marked, the former expressing what he has never done, the latter what he is continually striving to do.

3. "And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season, his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper." The words rendered "*and he shall be*" are the translation of a construction which is peculiar to the Hebrew, and most difficult to explain. It will be sufficient to say that the conjunction "and" here indicates that what follows not only is to be connected with what precedes but is also in direct consequence of it. The phrase means, then, *and so he is* (always is = will be); that is, "In consequence of what has just been stated, he is like a tree", etc. There remain the verbs "*bringeth forth*", "*shall (not) wither*", "*he doeth*", "*shall prosper*". These in the original are *Imperfects*. Why should they have been so variously rendered? These *Imperfects* clearly assert facts which are not conceived of as real, definite, occurring at a specified time, but as liable to occur, in the habit of occurring, habitual: This man is like a tree which *is always ready to give*, in the habit of giving its fruit in the proper season, whose leaf *is not accustomed to wither* (does not wither), and all which this man *is accustomed to do* (strives to do), he (either the man, or God) *is accustomed to make successful*. In our idiom customary or habitual action is expressed commonly by the Present, and so this tense should be used in the translation of these verbs.

4. "The ungodly *are* not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away". The driving away of chaff by the wind has passed into a proverb. Wind always *drives away* chaff. Such an idea is of course expressed in the original by the *Imperfect*.

5. "Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." Our conception of the meaning of this verse depends largely upon the translation of the *Imperfect* rendered "*shall not stand*". The *Imperfect* may, and often does, express merely the future idea. But this *future* idea must be indicated by the context. The ungodly, unlike the righteous who are planted firmly, are like chaff, which as every one knows is tossed hither and thither by the wind. In view of this, the writer adds: "The ungodly are not in the habit of standing (do not, cannot, stand), i. e., cannot continue to stand in judgment"; and by *judgment*, we must understand here God's dealing with men, "his righteous government, which takes cognizance of the whole life of each individual, and the history of nations and recompenses according to desert" (*Delitzsch*).

6. "For the LORD knoweth the way of the righteous; but the way of the ungodly shall perish." "*Knoweth*" is a participle, and the idea is that of a continual, unbroken, uninterrupted knowledge. "*Shall perish*" may express the thought of the *Imperfect* here, but it would seem better to regard it as a frequentative, "implying what may be expected to occur, wherever there is a "*way of the wicked.*" Our psalm, paraphrased in accordance with this view of the tenses, is as follows:*

1. Blessed is the man—
Who has never walked in the counsel of the ungodly,
And has never stood in the way of sinners,
And has never sat in the seat of the scornful.
2. But his delight is in the law of the LORD;
And in his law he is accustomed to meditate day and night.
3. And so he is like a tree planted by the rivers of water,
Which is always ready to bring forth its fruit, in its season,
And whose leaf never withers;
And whatsoever he strives to do, he is in the habit of making successful.
4. The ungodly are not thus,
But they are like the chaff which the wind drives (always drives) away.
5. Consequently the ungodly cannot continue to stand in judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
6. For the LORD knows the way of the righteous,
But the way of the ungodly always perishes.

R.

⇒ EDITORIAL NOTES. ⇐

Corrections.—In Dr. Lyon's letter of this number read "explanation" instead of "exploration," page 249, line 10; "kakkū" instead of "kappu," page 251, line 31.

To Subscribers.—That THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT is of genuine value to men who desire to know more of the Old Testament, and of what is being said and written about it in our day; that Christian ministers, and students of the Bible can obtain great profit from a perusal of the articles and discussions which it publishes; that it has succeeded, at least in a measure, in awakening additional interest in lines of study, which certainly deserve the attention of the ministry; that it is becoming more and more valuable, with every number, and is gradually attaining a deeper and more wide-spread influence; that it is the only American journal which has as its distinct object the encouragement and advancement of Old Testament Study; that this object is one which deserves general sympathy and support; that, while open to the expression of honest views on all questions which come within its scope, the journal is nevertheless conservative, and therefore entitled to the confidence of its supporters; that its efficiency and value may be greatly enhanced by an increase in its circulation,—on these points, we are assured, our subscribers will agree with us. Many of you have said this, and much more. Your continued support implies it. Will you not then render that aid, which it is possible for you to render, which, in a true sense, you are under obligation to render, and which, indeed, it is *necessary* for you to render, if the

* Questions of interpretation, except so far as the tense is concerned, are not noticed.

journal is to become what you and those who have its interests at heart desire? Will you not, individually, aid in increasing its circulation? Will not each one of you make a *bona fide* effort to add one, two, or more names to its subscription-list? That this can be done by you with only a slight effort is certain. Can you doubt the good result of such an endeavor on your part? Have you not sufficient interest in the work of which the STUDENT is the medium, to exert your influence at least to this extent? It is a mistake for you to suppose that your aid is not needed. Unless such help is afforded, *and by you*, the journal cannot continue to meet the growing expectations of its friends and patrons.

Shall this appeal for your individual aid and encouragement be of no avail? Will you, after reading this request, dismiss it entirely from your mind? Or, will you kindly interest yourself in this matter, regarding it as one which has a just claim upon you, and secure, before the next number is issued, the names of some who need only a word from you to induce them to subscribe? Many of you have said in personal letters to the editor: "The STUDENT is doing a valuable work. I wish it every success." Did you really mean this? Will you not indicate your interest in this work, your confidence in it, your appreciation of it, by rendering, *at this time*, the help which *you* owe, and which *we* need?

The Relation to the Pentateuch of Ezra and Ezekiel.—In this number our readers are given an article by Dr. Rufus P. Stebbins, known widely and deservedly as the author of "*A Study of the Pentateuch*." This article, published last October, in *The Unitarian Review*, is republished in the STUDENT, because it is regarded as a paper of high merit, and because it is not supposed that any considerable proportion of our readers have had an opportunity of reading it. But these are not the only reasons for the publication. In our next number, Dr. Stebbins will discuss the question, "*Did the Prophet Ezekiel write, or edit, or remodel any part of the Pentateuch?*" The contents of the second article render necessary a reading of this article. Shall we then not give careful study, with Bible in hand, to the discussion here presented, remembering that the question asked at this time concerning Ezra will be asked again concerning Ezekiel; that this question is a vital one, affecting, indeed, the very foundation on which rests the views of those critics who would assign the Pentateuch to late writers; that the question is discussed by one, who has given to such study his entire life, and who, after an exhaustive investigation of all the points at issue, declares so unhesitatingly in favor of the old views.—a declaration the more to be valued when we consider the general attitude of his denomination to these very questions.

The Comparative Study of Religions.—Interest in the religious ideas and organizations of primitive and non-Christian races and nations is beginning to be felt as it has never been felt before by Christian scholars. Not much over a century ago, Samuel Johnson declared "There are two objects of curiosity, the Christian world and the Mohammedan world; all the rest may be considered as barbarous."

To-day we are not satisfied with Johnson's narrow judgment: all the religious systems of the world are undergoing investigation; the libraries and sacred books of the east written in the clay or carved upon the rocks are being deciphered for the edification of western minds; and the view of our time may be appropriately summed up in the somewhat extravagant assertion of Tylor, "He who only knows one religion can no more understand *that* religion than he who only knows one

language can understand *that* language." Already sufficient facts have been collected to encourage advocates of this study to claim for it the name of a science—the Science of Comparative Religion. Mr. Joseph Cook has enumerated it as one among the legitimate grounds of the demand for a new Theology. More books upon this subject are issuing from the press than upon any other in the line of theology and religion. Lectureships and Professorships are founded in many of our Theological institutions to deal with its problems. No seminary engaged in theological instruction is regarded as "up to the times" if it fails to devote some attention to this department. Such are a few of the evidences of the new interest in the subject.

This great department of study will prove to be of no transient or trifling importance. It is destined to enlarge and expand. It is bound to exercise as much, if not more, influence upon religious thinking for the next twenty-five years than any other topic which can be named. It presents grave and weighty problems for solution. It affords, to be sure, unsuspected and strong arguments for Christianity. But, at the same time, with certain phases of current Christian thought it is likely to come into collision. On the historical side, the assertion is made that the sacred book of the Hebrews derived its elements from the traditions of other nations, and that they cannot be regarded as historically credible. On the speculative side, it is argued that the facts of comparative religion show that religion is not heaven-born, but that man developed it as he arose out of the savage state. He started with Fetichism and produced Christianity. It is not extravagant to declare that this scientific study of the Religions of the world will materially modify some of our present Christian conceptions.

Bold and reckless assertions as to the present *results* of this new science must be avoided. It is as yet young. The facts necessary for a complete and satisfactory induction are not yet gathered. Even about the character of Buddhism, a religion which to-day numbers its adherents by the millions, a complete divergence of opinion exists among competent scholars. If this is true in regard to a living religion, how much more unsatisfactory must be our knowledge of that of Mexico, Assyria or Egypt, of which the materials for investigation are only now coming to light!

So closely related is this study with that of the Old Testament, that discussions upon their mutual relations have already appeared in the pages of *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT*. The announcement will be received with satisfaction by all that the publication of a series of articles treating of the *Comparative Study of Religion*, especially of the earlier religions of the East, will be commenced in the next number. These articles have been prepared by one who for many years has given himself to this line of study. They will be found by our readers to furnish the results of all the valuable information which has up to this time been collected. The articles will continue through ten numbers, and will be furnished by the Rev. Dr. Justin A. Smith, editor of *The Standard*, than whom few American scholars have given more attention to the historical and philosophical questions connected with the Orient.

>BOOK : NOTICES.<

KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE SARGON'S KONIGS VON ASSYRIEN.*

This work is the fifth volume of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek* from the publishing house of *J. C. Hinrichs*, Leipzig. The only other work in this series published in full is Vol. II., Dr. Carl Bezold's *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, 1882. Vol. I. is Dr. Paul Haupt's *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881-82. Four parts have appeared, and one part is still due. Vol. III. is Dr. Paul Haupt's *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, to be issued in two parts, the first of which, containing most of the cuneiform text, is now almost ready. Vol. IV. is by J. N. Strassmaier: *Alphabetisches Verzeichniß der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter im Zweiten Bande der "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,"* &c. There will be five or six parts, of which three or four have appeared.

Vol. V., *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, contains in cuneiform character twenty-seven pages of inscriptions, lithographed from copies of the originals made by the author in London and Paris. Lithography is much better than the use of type, since it helps an author to give a more faithful reproduction of the original. The process is so simple that it must be employed in all Assyrian publications which lay claim to critical value. The inscriptions of Vol. V. are among the most important of those which have been left behind by the powerful Sargon to be unearthed in our day. They all come from Khorsabad, the modern name of the site where Sargon built a royal city, with palaces and temples, calling it by his own name, a few miles north of Nineveh. No. 1 is written on clay cylinders, of which there are two copies in the museum of the Louvre, one copy in the British Museum, and one in the possession of a gentleman in London. No. 2 is the inscription carved in stone on large slabs between the legs of the monster bulls placed by Sargon as protecting deities at the entrances to his palace. Nos. 3-6 are from small plates of bronze, silver, gold and a soft white metal or stone, which Sargon placed in the foundation of his palace. Laying the foundation of a palace was attended by ceremonies similar to those with which we lay the corner-stone of a building, and the completion of a palace was an occasion of rejoicing such as now takes place in Germany when the rafters of a house are erected. Three other inscriptions on tablets discovered in the foundation of Sargon's palace never reached Europe, having been lost in the Tigris. Except the bronze inscription, the texts in the *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's* have been published before, No. 1 in Vol. I. of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," Nos. 1, 2, 4-6 in J. Oppert's *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, but both these editions are full of mistakes and have no critical value. Numerous corrections of these editions are given in foot-notes, and also numerous variants from the several copies of the originals.

The original texts are followed by transliteration of the same into the Latin character, and a translation into German. The transliteration omits the hyphens

*KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE SARGON'S KONIGS VON ASSYRIEN (722-705 v. Chr.). Nach den Originalen neu herausgegeben, umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. D. G. Lyon, Professor an der Harvard Universität, Cambridge, U. S. A. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*, 1883. Pp. xvi., 93. Price, 24 marks.

with which it is customary to divide Assyrian words into syllables, and undertakes to indicate the length of the vowels. The omission of the hyphens is perfectly justified, because the original text can at once be consulted, and because the division into syllables is made in the glossary. This omission makes a pleasant impression on the reader, since the eye takes in each word at a glance, without being interrupted by breaks in the word. The length of the vowels is a difficult subject, and the author in the preface asks for charity in cases where he has made mistakes. Of course, the cases are few where the sense would be affected by the discovery of a mistake in the length of a vowel.

The translation gives good sense in numerous passages where Oppert had missed the meaning completely. Oppert's mistakes, however, rest in part on other mistakes made in copying the original texts. In the commentary the author has made many references to Oppert's attempts at the translations of these texts. The commentary makes no pretense to fullness, passing over what is clear and choosing the more difficult passages for explanation. Parts of these texts are admittedly obscure, and in several cases work has been left for the future explorer.

The glossary, which by a strange omission is not mentioned on the title-page, fills nine double-column pages, and is one of the most valuable features of the book. Until Delitzsch's Assyrian lexicon appears, such glossaries supply to some extent the lack of a dictionary; and since the same word is constantly occurring in other inscriptions, the use of these glossaries is not limited to the texts for which they were prepared. In the glossaries appended to Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Lotz's *Die Inschriften Tiglathpilesers I.*, Lyon's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* and Bezold's *Die Achæmenideninschriften*, one has a very considerable part of the lexical material of the Assyrian historical texts.

The long index of proper names following the glossary shows how valuable these Sargon texts are in the study of ancient history, geography and religion. Sargon's wars extended into Asia Minor, Cyprus, Samaria and even to the confines of Egypt, and all of these lands are mentioned in the texts. There are some unique passages illustrating the Assyrian religion, for instance where Sargon says that the gods had given him his name in order that he might protect right and righteousness, guide the powerless and preserve the weak (Cyl. I. 50), or where he explains that the three chief gods selected a special month as the month for making brick and named it the month of the brick-god (Cyl. I. 58).

Sargon, of whose inscriptions a selection is thus critically edited in the *Keilschrifttexte*, was one of the most powerful of all the Assyrian kings, founder of the last and most illustrious of all the Assyrian dynasties, father of Sennacherib, grandfather of Esarhaddon and great-grandfather of Assurbanipal. The great-grandson was a lover of learning, and gathered about him a large library while Greece was in her infancy. It is the discovery of the annals of this dynasty and of the songs, hymns and prayers in which its kings found delight, that reveals as by enchantment the strange life of Western Asia between the years 722 and 650 B. C. And yet the founder of this dynasty, who expressly says that he overwhelmed Samaria and all the land of Israel (st. 21) and in another of his inscriptions, not published by Lyon, that he subdued the land of Judah, is mentioned only once by name in the Old Testament (Isa. xx., 1), and even then in such a way that many persons supposed him to be either some other king or a high royal officer. Verily the past is surrendering its secrets to patient toil.

TEN GREAT RELIGIONS.*

The recent publication of Dr. J. F. Clarke's "Comparison of All Religions" as a complement to his former well known book describing these religions, affords an opportunity for the consideration and criticism of his entire work. The first volume has already reached its twentieth edition. The author ascribes its success to its "containing in a compendium an account of these great religions sufficiently full for the wants of those who are not special students of the subject." It is no less due to the positive merit of the book itself. It displays Dr. Clarke's fine ability in exposition, a lucid and compact style, and a broad catholic appreciative spirit. It has probably done more to arouse interest in this country in the study of the world's great religions than any other book which could be named.

The study of Comparative Religion consists in a two-fold process, demanding two classes of somewhat distinct mental powers. The first and primary necessity is to obtain the facts in regard to these religions, and to present them lucidly and appreciatively. This is not so easy a task as one imagines. The facts required are so extensive and so scattered; the difficulty of accurate discrimination between true and false, between the real and the traditional is so great as to discourage any but the most persistent and enthusiastic student of the original records. These records must be sought for in the rocks and caves, in books written in foreign and dead tongues, difficult of access and study, or from the narratives of worshippers who are prone to deceive, or ignorant of the principles of that religion which they profess. Theological prepossessions prevent the fair appreciation of them. It is the ability displayed in organizing and marshaling these almost unwieldy masses of material into a complete and self-consistent whole, in giving clear, vivid and satisfactory accounts of the principles, the origin and development of these religions, which has brought the "Ten Great Religions" to its twentieth edition.

But the most difficult task remains to be done. What do these facts tell us of the religious faculty in man? What is the relation of these religions to each other, to Christianity, to the universal religion which is or is to be? This is the second stage of the inquiry—the Science of Comparative Theology, the subject of Dr. Clarke's second volume. What intellectual powers are demanded for this investigation? Manifestly, much higher, broader, deeper ones. An eminently judicial faculty, great metaphysical power, what may be called a faculty for Theology—these are indispensably requisite in what may be called the synthesis of Comparative Religion.

In these respects Dr. Clarke seems to be somewhat lacking. Indeed, the very qualities which so aided him in the first volume are somewhat a drawback to him in the second. He is too appreciative, too catholic. The judicial faculty is not allowed fair play. Much as we respect Dr. Clarke's abilities as an eminently able teacher and preacher, we do not think that he has a genius for Theology or Philosophy. What shall be said of a principle like this in judging of religion in general? "They are commonly true in what they affirm; false in what they deny," (see p. 62). What shall be thought of an attempt to justify the belief in metempsychosis on a quasi-Darwinian theory of the evolution of the soul? The

*TEN GREAT RELIGIONS: An essay in Comparative Theology. By James Freeman Clarke. 2 vols. Vol. I., 20th Ed. Vol. II. A Comparison of all Religions. Pp. x., 528., xxvii., 413. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. \$6.00.

fact is, that the principle just mentioned must carry one who holds it into all kinds of absurdities. It is one thing to show how mankind has come to believe in emanation, metempsychosis and many other erroneous things:—it is another and absurd thing to show the essential truth of such beliefs.

The time may not be ripe for an attempt to construct a Science of Comparative Theology. Our facts may not be sufficient in number or accurate enough in details to warrant such an essay. But the scholar who attempts it must be possessed of a somewhat different point of view from that of Dr. Clarke or he will never succeed in making for the Science a place in the circle of Sciences. This attempt is an eminently necessary one, and this book will serve both as an encouragement, and as a warning to all workers in this great field of knowledge.

OEHLER'S OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.*

We believe that this book will be welcomed by all who would understand better the revelation given us by God. We study the languages in which this revelation has been handed down; the history of the people and of the country chosen by God as the media of his revelation; the collection of books which make up this revelation, as well as the text, authorship, style, occasion and other questions connected with the individual books; the principles in accordance with which these writings are to be interpreted; we do the work of interpretation; the next step is to arrange the material thus gathered according to its historical position. This is the work of *Biblical Theology*. "The idea, methods, aims, and indeed, results, are entirely different from those presented in Historical or Systematic Theology. It does not give us a *history* of doctrine, although it uses the historic method in the unfolding of the doctrine. It does not seek the history of the doctrine, but the formation, the organization of the doctrine in history. It does not aim to present the systematic theology of the Bible, and thus arrange biblical doctrine in the form that Systematic Theology must assume for the purposes of the day; but in accordance with its synthetic method of seeking the unity in the variety, it endeavors to show the *biblical system* of doctrine, the form assumed by theology in the Bible itself, the organization of the doctrines of faith and morals in the historical divine revelation."

One is surprised, in his study of this volume, at the multitude of questions which present themselves for consideration. Yet the thoroughness with which each point is taken up, commands our admiration. The position of the author is a conservative one, and the skill with which he handles the materials so assiduously gathered, counts strongly in favor of the more commonly accepted views. The whole volume may be regarded as a contribution to the evidence that the Mosaic legislation forms the foundation of the development of religion presented in the Old Testament.

After some "preliminary statements" in which are given (1) a definition of O. T. Theology; (2) a statement of the scientific standpoint of it; and (3) the history of its cultivation in the Christian Church, the subject itself is taken up under three heads: Part I., Mosaism; Part II., Prophetism; Part III., Old Testament

*THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: By Dr. Gustav Friedrich Oehler. A revision of the translation in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, with the addition of the second German Edition, an Introduction and Notes, by Dr. George E. Day, Professor in Yale College. Pp. xx., 593. New York: Funk & Wagnall's. Price, \$2.50.

Wisdom. Mosaism is the basis of the Old Testament religion. That which was *pre-Mosaic* was preparatory to, and therefore a part of Mosaism. If there are any legal institutions of post-Mosaic development, they are nevertheless Mosaic in their character and belong to Mosaism. From this as a basis there proceed side by side two courses of development, the one objective, historical, prophetic and called *Prophetism*; the other subjective, reflective, ethical, and called *Wisdom* (*Hhokma*). Of the 569 pages of matter, 352 are given to Mosaism, 184 to Prophetism, 33 to Wisdom. As an example of the fullness of the book, there may be cited a single case, the treatment of the divine name *Jehovah*: (1) Pronunciation and Grammatical Explanation of the name (in which the spelling יהוה *Yahveh* is preferred); (2) The Signification of the name: *He who is, He who is what he is*, expressing the *independence, immutability, faithfulness* of God; (3) Age and origin of the name *Jehovah*; (4) Comparison of the name *Jehovah* with *Elohim* and *El*; (5) Attributes or names of God which are derived immediately from the idea of *Jehovah*;—the whole subject being allowed ten pages. Of the superiority of this edition to the English edition it is not worth while to speak. A most valuable feature of the book are the numerous insertions of the translator. Really, Professor Day has performed the work of an editor, rather than that of a translator, and to his important and scholarly additions the reader must be indebted for much that will render the study of the subject more interesting. The work will become the standard book on this subject, and will long remain such, unless, as at present seems exceedingly doubtful, the advocates of the Graf hypothesis succeed in proving their conjectures, and thus in upsetting all our accepted notions as to the order of events in O. T. history.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD AND MAN.*

This book consists of a series of twelve lectures, and is a popular exposition of the creation of the world viewed in the light of the Bible and modern science. Prof. Chapin is a professor of geology and seems to be a believer in the Bible. His book will assist those who cannot go very deeply into the subject in obtaining the latest scientific facts and opinions as to Creation and Development. The writer is not so deserving of commendation when he passes from the safe-guard of the biblical narrative into somewhat fanciful explanations of the origin of society. He regards the story of Cain and Abel as typifying the march of society—the weaker nomad giving way before the more “advanced” and civilized Cain. This may be true and it may not be. So also he is inclined to regard the Tower of Babel episode as merely the gathering of a multitude of peoples under one government which was not strong enough to hold them together. Candor and honesty characterize the book and the reader cannot fail to pick up some good points and facts from it.

* THE CREATION AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND: By Jas. H. Chapin, Ph. D. Pp. 276. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

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THE HEBREW POEM OF THE CREATION.

BY PROF. CHAS. A. BRIGGS, D. D.,

Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

The first chapter of the Bible gives a representation of the creation of the world. This has been studied for ages by all classes and conditions of men. It has been justly admired for its simplicity, picturesqueness and sublimity of style. It is a master-piece of literature as well as of religious conception. In our century it has been the chief battle ground between science and religion. Theologians have sought in it the mysteries of the origin of the universe, and the order and time of the work of creation. Men of science have sought in it a reflection of the facts that have been discovered in the history of the rocks and the stars. The strife of theologians and scientists has made this chapter—which is one of the most precious gems of biblical literature—a *crux interpretum*, that is a means of torture to the biblical scholar who is forced to reconcile the claims of dogma with the claims of science; and yet maintain his integrity as an interpreter of scripture.

So far as the questions between science and dogma are concerned, the candid scholar should admit that the contest is undecided. The interpreter of scripture who is neither a scientist nor a dogmatist ought to see in this first chapter of Genesis a magnificent piece of literature, the grandest representation of the most important of all events, the origin of the world and man, which these combatants are doing their best to tear in pieces and patch together in their dogmatic theories and their scientific conjectures. The chief error in the use that is ordinarily made of the first chapter of Genesis is a mistake as to the point of view and scope of the representation together with a neglect of its literary form. It has been generally held that the author designs to give us the doctrine of the creation of the universe

in a simple prose narrative, stating the creations as they occurred day after day in their orderly succession until the whole universe was completed with all its contents in six days. Science has determined the great outlines of the history of the heavens and the earth, in the study of the stars and the rocks and the forces of nature. The problem has been to compare these two representations and see how far there is agreement and how far there may be difference and disagreement.

But the author of the first chapter of Genesis does not propose to give us a history of the *creation of the universe out of nothing*. He represents in a few graphic touches the origination of the beautiful organism of our earth and heaven out of a primeval chaos. He does not propose to give us a narrative of the method of the origination of all things, but to describe the *appearance* of certain great classes of objects in their appointed place in this beautiful organism. He does not give us a prose history or a prose treatise of creation, but he presents us with a *poem of the creation*, a graphic and popular delineation of the genesis of the most excellent organism of our earth and heaven, with their contents; as each order steps forth in obedience to the command of the Almighty Chief; and takes its place in its appointed ranks *in the host of God*. Our Poem of the Creation rises above the strifes of theologians and men of science and appeals to the esthetic taste and imagination of the people of God in all lands and in all times.

The Poem of the Creation has all of the characteristic features of Hebrew poetry. (1) The *feature of parallelism* which Hebrew poetry shares with the Assyrian and ancient Akkadian, is characteristic of our poem in its varied forms of synonym, antithesis and synthesis. The first strophe is composed of a tetrastich and tristich. The tetrastich is a specimen of introverted parallelism, the tristich of progressive parallelism. The second strophe is composed of a synonymous tristich, followed by a minor refrain, then a progressive tetrastich. The third strophe has first a pair of distichs, then a pair of tristichs. The fourth strophe has two pentastichs. The fifth strophe has a tristich, a tetrastich and tristich. The sixth strophe is the most symmetrical of all, having a pair of distichs and a pair of tristichs making the first half; and a tetrastich and hexastich making the second half.*

(2) The measurement of lines by words or word accents is as even and regular in our poem as in the best specimens of Hebrew poetry. It has five poetic accents with the cæsura-like pause between the three and the two or the two and the three, which is

* *Biblical Study*, p. 265, sqq.

characteristic of all poems of this number of accents. We present the first strophe as a specimen :

בראשית ברא אלהים | את-השמים ואת-הארץ*
 והארץ היתה תהו-ובהו | וחשך על-פני תהום
 ורוח אלהים מרחפת | על-פני המים
 ויאמר אלהים יהי-אור | ויהי אור
 וירא אלהים את-האור | כי טוב
 ויבדיל אלהים בין-האור | ובין החשך
 ויקרא אלהים לאור-יום | ולחשך קרא-לילה
 ויהי-ערב ויהי-בקר | יום אחד

(3) It has a considerable number of archaic words such as we find elsewhere only in poetry. These are תהו ובהו, תהום, מרחפת (v. 2), יקוו (v. 9), נקווה (v. 10).

(4) It has strophical organization. It is composed of six strophes or stanzas which are indicated by the refrain, "*And evening came and morning came,*" varying only in the *number* of the day. These strophes, while they do not have exactly the same number of lines, vary within definite limits, e. g., strophes I. and II. have seven lines each and the refrain; strophes III., IV. and V. have ten lines each and a refrain. The last strophe, the VI., has twenty lines and a refrain—or in other words is a strophe with a *double refrain*—such as we find for example in the allegory of the vine in the LXXX. psalm.†

(5) There are certain catch-words or secondary refrains also characteristic of Hebrew poetry, especially in the Song of Songs and Hosea, e. g.: (1) *And God said*, which begins each item of Creation in its turn. (2) *And it became so*. (3) *And God saw that it was excellent*.

(6) Our Poem employs poetic license in the use of archaic endings, of suffixes and cases to soften the transition from word to word and make the movement more flowing. This is also to be noted in the order of the arrangement of the words in the lines. The archaic forms are the ending ו היהו ארץ (v. 24) and the suffix הו in למינהו (vs. 12, 21). The poetic order of words is seen in v. 10.

And God called the dry land earth
 And the gathering of the waters called he seas.

Here the words which begin the first line close the second line and

* See my *Biblical Study*, p. 282. † See *Biblical Study*, p. 277.

vice versa.* We should also mention the half lines which occasionally occur to change the movement, e. g., (v. 7).

And God made the expanse

and especially in v. 27.

And God created mankind in his image

According to the image of God he created him

Male and female he created them.

Here the movement becomes more deliberate by the balancing of the two against two instead of three against five.†

(7) The language and style are simple, graphic and ornate such as we find everywhere in poetry, but are regarded as unusual and especially rhetorical in prose.

(8) There is a simple and beautiful order of thought which harmonizes in the several strophes: God speaks, the creature comes forth in obedience, the Creator expresses his delight in his creature. The Creator then works with the creature and assigns its place and functions. The day's work closes with its evening; and the break of the morning prepares for another day's work. All this gives a monotonous character to the story if it be regarded as prose, but it is in exact correspondence with the characteristic parallelism of Hebrew Poetry, which extends not only to the lines of the strophe but also to the correspondence of strophe with strophe in the greater and grander harmonies of the poem as a whole. These eight characteristics of the first chapter of Genesis are all poetical characteristics, and we make bold to say that there is no piece of poetry in the Bible which can make greater claims than this to be regarded as *Poetry*.

We have another *Poem of the Creation* in the CIV. psalm. This is not a descriptive poem like ours, but a song of praise. The lines are shorter—three accents for the five of our poem. The strophes are still more irregular than ours. This Creation hymn is divided into eight strophes having in their order 9, 10, 8, 12, 10, 8, 9, 10 lines. These have no refrain. The order of creation is the same as in our poem. If we compare the created objects with ours, the first and second days are embraced in the first strophe of nine lines; the third day's work in three strophes, *thirty lines* in all; the fourth day's work in one strophe of ten lines, the fifth in one strophe of eight lines, the sixth in one strophe of nine lines. This is far more irregular and much less symmetrical than in our poem. The CIV. psalm is essentially a *hymn*. It is more *brilliant* but less *powerful* than the descriptive poem in the first chapter of Genesis. There is another *Poem of the Creation* pre-

* See *Biblical Study*, p. 266. † See *Biblical Study*, p. 267, sqq.

sented to us from the Assyrian carried down from the most ancient times. We propose to group these two poems, inspired and uninspired about the *descriptive poem of Genesis I.*

Our Poem opens with a representation of the condition of things when God began his six days' work. The earth was waste and empty—it was a great deep with darkness enveloping it—but over that chaos the Spirit of God, the divine energy, was hovering to bestow the generative and organic force which was to fill this waste and empty and dark deep with an organized host under the dominion of God. This was the condition of things when God uttered the first creative word and light sprang into being as the first of the host of God in this world of ours. We have no absolute creation here—no creation of the universe, no creation out of nothing. These ideas rest upon mistakes in Hebrew syntax and etymology. **ברא** does not mean creation out of nothing, but creation by divine activity without regard to material. It is false syntax to make the first verse an independent clause and translate: *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* It is rather the protasis of a temporal clause giving the time when God said, *let light come forth*; and the intervening clauses are circumstantial clauses giving the circumstances in which the earth was when God called the light into being. The first act of creation is, therefore, the production of *light*. God commands. His Spirit begets the light and it appears as the first great dominant force in our world.

I.

7 { In the beginning when God created the heaven and the earth,
 { The earth being waste and empty and darkness upon the face of the deep
 { And the spirit of God hovering over the face of the waters,
 { God said, let light come forth and light came forth.
 { And God saw the light that it was excellent
 { And God divided between the light and the darkness
 { And God called the light day and the darkness he called night.

REFRAIN.—*And evening came and morning came—one day.*

We note here (1) the divine command, God said *let light come forth*, or appear; (2) the obedience of the light, *and light came forth*; (3) the divine admiration of it, *And God saw the light that it was excellent*, good in the esthetic sense; (4) the assignment of the place of light, *And God divided between the light and the darkness*; (5) the naming of the two, *And God called the light day and the darkness he called night*. This is *poetic* representation. Light is personified as the obedient servant of God. It is admired, named and assigned its place. There is no representation of the *method* of creation, or of the

force out of which light sprang or of the *time* that it took to produce it. The generative spirit is suggested as the agent in the production. Let science explain the origin of cosmic light as it will, or the origin of light in this world of ours and its functions in reducing the world to order, it cannot in any way contravene these few simple descriptive touches of our Poem of the Creation. The Poem represents the light as the first of the creations. Science agrees with this and there is no further room for discrepancy. The CIV. psalm is exceedingly brief here :

"Jehovah my God thou art very great,
With majesty and glory thou art clothed,
Wrapped in light as thy mantle."

The poet here conceives of light as a mantle, or cloak with which the Creator wraps himself. The light is here parallel with the divine majesty and glory. The Assyrian poem reads here as follows (according to the translation of Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, p. 49I, sqq.):

When above the heavens were not yet *named*,
and, below, the earth was without a name,
the limitless abyss (a p s u) was their generator
and the chaotic sea (M u m m u T i a m a t) she who produced the whole.
Their waters flowed together in one,
no flock of animals was as yet collected, no plant had sprung up.
When none of the gods had as yet been produced,
when they were not designated by a name, when no fate was as yet [fixed,
the great gods were then formed
Luhmu and Lahamu were produced [first
and they grew in [solitude
Asshur and Kîshar were produced [next
Then] rolled on a long course of days [and
Anu [Bel and Êa
were born] of Asshur and of [Kîshar.

This poem represents the Creation as consuming a *long course of days* and that the several objects were named after they were produced. Here the *Tiamat*, or sea (corresponding with the great deep of our Poem) is represented as the mother of all creations, e. g., heaven, earth, plants, etc. The structure of the sentence is the same as that of our Poem. A protasis of a temporal clause with a long circumstantial clause before the apodosis of the creation itself. The chief difference between the two is that the circumstantial clause of the Babylonian poem contains a picture of what is coming in the subsequent stanzas of the poem.

Before passing from the first day of creation we have to consider the refrain. This has ordinarily been taken as if evening and morning represented the two halves of a day and therefore a complete day of twenty-four hours. Evening (ערב) represents always the close of the day-light, and morning (בקר) the break of the day-light. The representation therefore is that: "Evening came and morning came." The evening is the close of the day's work, the morning the break of day for new work. The night is not mentioned. It is passed over because it is not a time appropriate to the idea of work either to the Creator or to man. As the creation psalm represents it:

"The young lions roar for prey,
Seeking from God their food;
When the sun riseth they retire,
And into their dens they crouch:
Man goeth forth to his work,
And to his labor until evening."

It is the usage of Hebrew prose, and especially of poetry, that the evening is the time for the close of the day's labor and the morning the time for the beginning of another day's labor. That is the conception here. The refrain says, "And evening came"—the first day's work was done; and then "morning came"—another day had dawned for work; and finally in the climax, *one day* is mentioned as the period of the first work. We are left then to the term *day* itself to determine its length. But there is nothing in the word itself to decide. We are referred then to the context. But the context does not decide, for the element of time is not in the strophes—it is confined to the refrain. The refrain represents one day's work for God. The Hebrew poets elsewhere do not think of limiting the days and times of God.

The XC. psalm gives us a sublime representation:

For a thousand years in thine eyes
Are like yesterday when it is passing away;
And a watch in the night.
Thou washest them away. A sleep they become.
In the morning they are like grass that passeth away.
In the morning it glanceth forth and passeth away.
In the evening it is cut down and withereth away.

Here human life is compared to a day and its evening, and indeed the day of the grass of the field; and it is contrasted with the time of God where a thousand years are but as fleeting yesterday. So in our Poem of the Creation the work of God has its morning and its evening, with the same figurative significance. There is no more propriety in limit-

ing the term in the one case than in the other. In the morning God begins his work. In the evening the divine work of the day is over.

II.

{	And God <i>said</i> let an expanse come in the midst of the waters,
	To become a divider between waters and waters.
	(And it became so and God <i>saw</i> that it was excellent.)
7 {	And God <i>made</i> the expanse;
	And divided between the waters which were above the expanse
	And the waters which were below the expanse.
	And God <i>called</i> the expanse heaven.

REFRAIN.—*And evening came and morning came—a second day.*

The third line we have inserted in the Hebrew text for these reasons: (1) The Greek (LXX.) Old Testament, the most ancient version, has the phrase, *and it became so*, there, while the Massoretic Hebrew text has it at the end of the sixth line. (2) This phrase is associated with the divine admiration in the previous strophe and the following strophe. It seems inappropriate that it should not occur here. It is given in the LXX. before the refrain. It was probably omitted here by an ancient copyist's mistake. We do not hesitate to restore it in accordance with the LXX. and combine the two here. We have then two lines of divine command, one of the obedience of the creature and the divine admiration, three lines of the divine making and one of the divine naming, and our second strophe corresponds in its movement with the first, and is, indeed, its anti-strophe.

The second of the host of God is the *expanse* which springs forth and spreads itself as a divider between the waters of the earth and sky. It is assigned its function and named by the Creator heaven.

The CIV. psalm thus describes this work:

Stretcher out of heaven as a curtain,
He who erects in the waters his storied chambers,
He who sets the clouds as his chariot,
He who goeth on the wings of the wind,
Making the winds his messengers,
The flaming fire his servants.

The poet here connects with the expanse of heaven which he compares to a curtain spread out upon the earth, the clouds and storms with their winds and lightnings. The second strophe of the Assyrian poem has not yet been discovered.

III.

- 4 { And God *said* let the waters assemble from under the heaven,
 Into one place that the dry land may appear; *and it became so.*
- 10 { And God *called* the dry land earth,
 And the assembly of waters called he seas.
- 6 { And God *said* let the earth cause grass to sprout,
 The herb scattering seed, the fruit-tree yielding fruit,
 Whose seed is in it on the earth; *and it became so.*
- 6 { And the earth brought forth green grass, herb scattering seed after
 its kind.
 And tree yielding fruit whose seed is in itself after its kind.
And God saw that it was excellent.

REFRAIN.—*And evening came and morning came—a third day.*

The third strophe is ten lines in length and is composed of two parts—the first represented by four lines, the second by six. Both the Massoretic and LXX. texts give the words of divine admiration at the end of v. 10, making two acts of divine admiration with reference to two distinct works. We think this is an ancient insertion, based on the theory of two distinct works, a theory which we deem a false one. We would, therefore, blot out those words from v. 10. In v. 11, we would blot out *למינו* as a later addition. The poem uses elsewhere the archaic *למינהו*. The first part presents the divine command to the waters to assemble; and the naming of the dry land and the seas. The second part gives the divine command to the earth to bring forth the various classes of vegetation; the obedience of the earth and the divine admiration of it when it appears covered with its vegetation. The third great line of the host of God is the earth and its vegetation. The vegetation is subordinate to the producing of the dry land which is personified and brings forth in obedience to the divine command. So previous to this the waters are personified and assemble themselves into one place in obedience to the Creator's word. The seas are constituted by the assembly of the waters. The dry land is left bare by the returning waters. The dry land sprouts forth with vegetation. There is no scientific classification of rocks or soils or vegetation here, but merely a popular representation of the three most striking forms of vegetable life, e. g., grasses, herbs and trees. It is not said that they all sprang up like magic; as the dragon teeth in the Grecian story of Medusa sprang up armed men. God commands and the earth obeys and becomes productive. It begins to produce through the organized life that was imparted to it by the hovering spirit. It goes on in obedience to the commands of God ever after. It obeys him in producing

to-day. The author of our poem does not represent that all kinds of vegetation were produced in a moment, but that the vegetable world began with the emerging of the dry land from the waters. Science confirms this and is at liberty to arrange and classify the rocks, soils and vegetation as it will, without marring the beautiful picture of our poem.

The CIV. psalm is very full and beautiful here :

“He founded the earth on its bases ;
It cannot be moved forever and ever,
With the deep as a garment thou didst cover it.
Above the mountains the waters were standing ;
At thy rebuke they fled,
At the sound of thy thunder they hasted away.
The mountains rise, the valleys sink,
Unto the place thou hast founded for them ;
A bound thou didst set which they cannot pass ;
They cannot return to cover the earth.

Thou who sendest out springs into the valleys,
Between the mountains they flow,
They give all the animals of the field drink ;
The wild asses quench their thirst ;
Above them the birds of heaven dwell,
From the branches they give forth song.
Watering the mountains from his chambers,
With the fruit of thy works the earth is satisfied. *

Causing the grass to grow for thy cattle,
And herbage for the service of man,
To bring forth bread from the earth ;
And with wine he rejoiceth the heart of frail man,
Making his face to shine with oil,
And with bread the heart of frail man he sustaineth.
The trees of Jehovah are satisfied,
The cedars of Lebanon which thou didst plant ;
Where the birds build their nests,
The stork her nest in the cypresses ;
The high mountains are for wild goats,
The rocks the refuge for conies.

We observe that the Psalmist connects the animal and vegetable worlds both of them with the separation of waters and dry land. In the first strophe he gives a graphic and picturesque representation of the separation. In the second strophe he represents the animals satisfying their thirst with the waters. In the third strophe the vegetation is represented as growing forth from the earth and providing food and shelter for animals and birds and man, and the earth itself with

its mountains and caves affords places of refuge for the animals. As the Psalmist subordinates the animal and the vegetable to the conception of the dry land and the waters, so the first chapter of Genesis subordinates the vegetable world to the dry land and conceives of this day's work, not as the creation of the dry land as bare rock or soil, but as robed with vegetation.

The Assyrian stanza for this part of creation is very fragmentary, but enough is preserved to show the production of the dry land. But here the dry land is conceived as the abode of man and the place of cities and temples. From the analogy of these other poems we conclude that this strophe of the Poem of the Creation does not describe two works, but one work with two parts.

IV.

	}	And God <i>said</i> let luminaries appear in the expanse of the heaven
		To divide between the day and between the night,
5		And be for signs and for seasons and for days and years,
		And be for luminaries in the expanse of heaven to shine upon the earth. <i>And it became so and God saw that it was excellent.</i>
10	}	And God made the two great luminaries;
		The greater light for dominion over the day,
		The lesser light for dominion over the night;
5		And God put them in the expanse of heaven to shine upon the earth, And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide between the light and the darkness.

REFRAIN.—*And evening came and morning came—a fourth day.*

The fourth line of the host of God is assumed by the luminaries of the earth, especially the sun and the moon. It is doubtful whether the stars (v. 16) were in the original poem. We have transposed the order of divine admiration from v. 18 to follow "and it became so" of v. 15 in accordance with the general usage of our poem that this should be connected with the creative word and not with the creative acts. The LXX. and Massoretic texts both agree in this ancient transposition. These heavenly lamps are not considered as moving in their orbits in the vast regions of the sidereal spaces, but only as the luminaries of our earth. The author does not transcend the scope of representing them as appearing in their places as luminaries in the expanse of our heaven to fulfil the functions assigned them—to serve for signs and seasons and days and years, in other words, to determine the order of times for our earth. Their absolute creation is not contemplated, but only their production as luminaries. Nothing is said of them or conceived of them beyond these their functions for our earth. The author has nothing to do with their origin as members of the sidereal

system, with their organization in accordance with the nebular hypothesis in the distant oceans of time. All that he tells us is, when they became the luminaries of our earth. Science does not in this regard teach any different from our poem. The separation of the dry land from the waters; the unclathing of the earth from its garment the deep, was necessary ere the sun and moon could be luminaries for the earth. And with the appearance of the dry land the vegetable world appears also. This strophe is like the previous one composed of ten lines, and is indeed its anti-strophe. It is composed of two parts of five lines each—the first five give the divine command with the obedience of the luminaries; the second five give the divine making and assigning them their place and offices.

The CIV. psalm gives this day's work :

He made the moon for seasons,
 The sun knows his setting.
 Thou makest darkness that it may be night,
 Wherein all the animals of the forest creep,
 The young lions roar for prey
 Seeking from God their food;
 When the sun riseth they retire.
 And unto their dens crouch;
 Man goeth forth to his work,
 And to his labor until evening.

The fourth day's work is quite fully given in the Assyrian poem :

Excellently he made the mansions [twelve] in number for the great gods.
 He assigned to them stars and he established fixedly the stars of the Great Bear.
 He fixed the time of the year and determined its limits.
 For each of the twelve months he fixed three stars,
 from the day when the year begins until its end.
 He determined the mansions of the planets to define their orbits by a fixed time,
 so that none of them may fall short, and none be turned aside.
 He fixed the abode of Bel and Ea near his own.
 He opened also perfectly the great gates (of heaven),
 making their bolts solid to right and to left;
 and in his majesty he made himself steps there.
 He made Nannar (the moon) to shine, he joined it to the night.
 and he fixed for it the seasons of its nocturnal phases which determine the days.
 For the entire month without interruption he settled what should be the form of
 its disk.

“ In the beginning of the month, when evening begins,
 thy horns will serve for a sign to determine the times of the heavens.
 The seventh day thou wilt be in the act of filling out thy disk,
 but the * * * * * will [partly] expose its dark side.

When the sun descends toward the horizon at the moment of thy rising,
 the limits exactly defined [of thy fulness] form its circle
 [Afterwards] turn, draw near the path of the sun,
turn, and let the sun change
 [The side where may be seen] thy dark part
walls in its path
 [Rise] and set, subject to the law of its destiny.

The stars are mentioned first in this poem, the moon second and the sun last; the reverse of the biblical order. The luminaries have the same offices as in the Hebrew poem to rule the day and night, give light and regulate the times and seasons. But the Babylonian poem is more detailed in its representation and adds to the idea of luminaries, the conception that they were the *abodes of the gods*.

V.

{ And God *said*, Let the waters teem with teeming creatures,
 { And let birds fly above the earth upon the face of the expanse of heaven.

And it became so and God saw that it was excellent.

{ And God *created* the great monsters,
 { And all the living breathing creeping things,
 { Those with which the waters teem after their kind,
 { And every winged bird after its kind.

{ And God *blessed* them, saying, be fruitful,
 { And multiply and fill the waters in the seas,
 { And let the birds multiply in the earth.

REFRAIN.—*And morning came and evening came—a fifth day.*

The fifth line of the host of God comes forth in the inhabitants of the water and the air. We make the third line by transferring the divine admiration from v. 21 to v. 20 and inserting "and it became so" before it. The LXX. agrees with the Massoretic text in having the divine admiration in v. 21; but it differs from it by giving "and it became so" in v. 20. We prefer to regard נִפְיֵי חַיָּה of the first line as a later addition. There is no classification of creatures here, but simply the popular conception of sea monsters, the teeming life of the waters and the birds. We have no account of the method of their origination. God speaks and the waters are seen teeming with animal life, and in the face of the expanse the birds are seen flying. It is not said that all the inhabitants of the air and sea were then created once for all. It is not stated that there was no animal life in the waters and in the air before. It is not said whether there were subsequent creations or not. The representation is simple, graphic and natural.

We observe that these creatures are *blessed* and not *named* as were the previous lines of the host of God. They were also commanded to be *fertile* and multiply in the earth. The CIV. psalm is briefer here :

How many are thy works ! Jehovah
 All of them in wisdom thou didst make !
 The earth is full of thy riches !
 Yon sea great and broad on every side ;
 There are creeping things innumerable,
 Animals, small together with great ;
 There the ships sail ;
 Leviathan which thou hast formed to sport therein.

In thinking of the inhabitants of the sea the Psalmist brings in the ships.

The corresponding Assyrian and Babylonian strophe has not been found.

V I.

4	{	2	{	And God <i>said</i> , Let the earth bring forth the living breathing thing after its kind.
		2	{	Cattle and creeping thing, animal of the earth after its kind. <i>And it became so.</i>
10	{	2	{	And God <i>made</i> the animal of the earth after its kind
			{	And the cattle after its kind and all creeping things of the ground after their kind.
6	{	3	{	And God <i>said</i> , Let us make man in our image and according to our figure,
			{	That they may have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and the cattle,
			{	And over all the earth and over all that creep upon the earth.
3	{	3	{	And God <i>created</i> mankind in his image,
			{	In the image of God he created him,
			{	Male and female he created them.
4	{	4	{	And God blessed them and said to them
			{	Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it ;
			{	And have dominion over the fish of the sea and the bird of the heaven. And over all the animals which creep upon the earth.
10	{	6	{	And God said, Lo ! I give you all herbage,
			{	The seed scatterer which is on the face of the earth,
			{	And all the trees in which is the fruit of the tree scattering seed.
			{	For you shall it become food and for all the animals of the earth,
6	{	6	{	And for all the birds of the heaven and for everything creeping upon the earth ;
			{	In whatever there is breath of life—all the greenness of herbage have I given for food.

REFRAIN.—3 { *And it became so and God saw all that he had made and it was very excellent.*
And it became evening and it became morning—the sixth day.
And the heaven and the earth and all their host were completed.

This is a double strophe of twenty lines, with the concluding refrain in three lines. It is broken up into two parts each of ten lines. The first ten lines embrace two lines of command to the earth to produce the land animals, with the obedience of the earth. This is followed by two lines of the making of the animals. These are simply indicated as the wild animals, the domestic cattle and the creeping things—no exhaustive classification, but a primitive and natural popular discrimination. These four lines assigned to the creation of the land animals are followed by six lines in the creation of man. These are in two parts: three lines of divine consultation which takes the place of the word of command of the previous creations; then the divine creation itself in three lines. These three lines are changed to three toned lines, making the movement more rapid. Man is created as a race—male and female, in the image of God.

The second half of the strophe is taken up with the divine blessing in four lines, and the divine promise for the support of animals and man in six lines. Man is blessed with fertility and dominion over all the creatures of the earth; and the seed scattering vegetable and tree are given to animal and man for food. The refrain is enlarged by an initial line of the divine admiration of the whole creation as very excellent, and a closing line representing the completion of the heaven and the earth as a host of God.

Psalm CIV. is brief here:

{ “All of them wait for thee,
 To give them their food in its season:
 Thou givest them, they gather it;
 Thou openest thy hand and they are satisfied with good things;
 Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled:
 Thou withdrawest their spirit—they expire
 And unto their dust they return:
 Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created
 And thou renewest the face of the ground.”

The Psalmist does not allude to the creation of animals or man, except indirectly—as from the *dust* of the ground and from the spirit of God—but he lays stress upon the divine provision for their support and their absolute dependence upon his bounty.

The Assyrian poem is here fragmentary and unsatisfactory. It gives the same classes of animals as the biblical poem, wild animals, cattle and creeping things, and apparently also the human pair.

It is worthy of notice that the Babylonian poem and the Psalm of the Creation contain no strophe for the Sabbath. We are constrained to think that this was the case with our poem of the creation likewise, for the vs. 2-3 of chap. II. referring to the Sabbath with the title of the whole are prose narrative. This section reads thus: "And God completed on the seventh day his work which he made. And rested on the seventh day from all his work which he made. And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because on it he rested from all his *work* which God created by making. These are the generations of the heaven and the earth when they were created."

There is a different conception here. The creation is not by saying (אמר) but by making (עשה). The creation is not a host of God (צבא) obeying his command to come forth, but a work מלאכה which he makes as a workman. He completes this work and rests from it as a workman. The מלאכה is thrice repeated in this brief statement. The Elohist narrator has used the more ancient poem of the creation. He has edited it and modified it here and there as is the custom with all the narratives when they use poetical extracts or ancient pieces of poetry. He has appended to it the doctrine of the Sabbath, in accordance with the fourth commandment.

Thus our inspired poet represents the creation of our world. The poem throughout is simple, graphic, beautiful, grand, sublime. The one God, the creator, is represented as saying his creative word to the obedient creature. The one God is represented as admiring the beauty and excellence of his creatures. The one God is represented as working upon them and assigning them place and functions, giving them their names and endowing them with his blessing. The creatures march forth at the word of command line after line, beginning with the light and closing with mankind. There is an order of rank in which there is a rising higher and higher until man in the image of God appears the appointed sovereign of Nature. This poem is pure from the mythological elements of the traditions of the nations. It is free from the conceits and fancies of the ages which knew nothing of modern science. It rises up in its majestic grandeur above all the conflicts of human opinion. Nothing has been able to disturb the stately order of its strophes of creation. Nothing can mar the wondrous harmony of its representations. It is a series of six panoramic sketches, so simple, so true, in such grand and comprehensive outlines, with such bold and vigorous coloring, that none but an inspired poet could frame it in his imagination and fancy and then represent it in the forms of human utterance and composition.

DID THE PROPHET EZEKIEL WRITE OR EDIT OR REMODEL ANY PORTION OF THE PENTATEUCH?

BY REV. R. P. STEBBINS, D. D.,

Newton Centre, Mass.

Some modern critics have asserted with unqualified assurance that Ezekiel was the author of much of the priestly code in the Pentateuch, and that Lev. XVIII.-XXVI. was most certainly from his pen.

Such strong affirmations should be accompanied and sustained by unquestionable evidence. They are not. No proof which would be accepted as valid in any historical inquiry is adduced in support of these confident affirmations. The rules of historical criticism are entirely disregarded, and this most unsupported hypothesis accepted in their stead.

It need hardly be said that there is not a syllable of historical evidence which affirms or implies that Ezekiel had anything whatever to do either with composing, or editing, or re-arranging the contents of the Pentateuch or any part thereof. It is pure hypothesis as far as any historical evidence is concerned. His name is mentioned but once in the apocryphal writings, and he is spoken of only as the "one who saw the glorious vision, which was showed him upon the chariot of cherubim." Not a word is said of him as a law-giver or editor of the Law of Moses. If it had been supposed that Ezekiel was the editor of this law, much more the author of any portion of it, would his name not have been written among the writers named in the book of Esdras 200 A. D., and would not his great work as law-giver have been spoken of in Ecclesiastes as well as his less important work as seer of visions? At any rate, there is not a scrap of historical evidence that Ezekiel had any hand either in the composition or editing of the Pentateuch. More than this. This prophecy and its author appears not to have been held in very high esteem by the Jewish nation, which seems incredible if they believed him to have been the author or reviser of their wonderful ritual. Indeed, Ezekiel is not once named nor is his prophecy quoted in the New Testament. The great Rabbis, subsequent to the return, appear to have distrusted the book for some reason, either for the obscurity of its style or the distastefulness of some of its symbols, and it was forbidden to be read by those under thirty years of age, which would seem incredible if its author had been thought to be the author or restorer of their wonderful ritual. It cannot be that so great a name should have perished from the lips and pens of succeeding generations.

Nor is there any evidence to this effect in the literature or style of

the Pentateuch and that of Ezekiel, but most decidedly the contrary. The archaisms which separate the Pentateuch from all the other books of the Old Testament and especially those of the time of the captivity are not found in Ezekiel. His style is of the age of the captivity, and he could not have written any portion of the Pentateuch unless he had had more than the skill of a Chatterton to imitate old writings, and had deliberately committed forgery. Such a charge should not be made without the most overwhelming evidence.

These two facts ought to set the question of Ezekiel's relation to the authorship of the Pentateuch, or any portion of it, at rest forever. The absence of every shred of historical evidence, and the decisive testimony of his style should be accepted as final, and they would be in the case of any classical author.

An appeal is, however, sometimes taken to the brief fragments of law contained in his vision at the close of his prophecy, chaps. XL.-XLVIII. It is obvious, however, upon the most cursory reading that these civil and ritual directions were given as merely a portion of the *ideal* polity of the remnant of the people who would return to the land of their fathers after the captivity. The division of the land, the situation and construction of the temple, the location and form of the city, the land of the Prince and the inheritance of the priests and Levites are most certainly purely ideal. No such temple was ever built or undertaken to be built; no such location was ever chosen for the city or proposed on the return of the captives from Babylon; no such division was ever made of the land among the returning tribes; no such land was set apart for a Prince, nor was any such disposition made of the priests and Levites. In the account given of those who returned under Zerubbabel and Ezra there is not the remotest reference to this ideal temple and division of the land, which could not have been so entirely overlooked and disregarded had any one supposed this visionary system of Ezekiel was to be made a reality. Indeed, it would have been impossible to construct such a temple as he describes.

It may be said, however, in the face of all this, that the laws and ordinances that Ezekiel incorporated into the ideal description of the new temple and division of the land were a new legislation and were intended to be adopted and enforced. It may not be wholly a work of supererogation therefore to examine the rites and ceremonies which he directs to be, or says will be observed, in the new ideal temple, for the temple is certainly ideal whether the ritual to be observed in it is ideal or not.

It is necessary to observe in the start that the command to build the temple and the city and divide the land are just as explicit and em-

phatic as the command to prepare such and such vessels for service, and such and such garments for the priests, and offer such and such sacrifices on the altar, with such and such ceremonies on the prescribed days. It cannot, therefore, be legitimately inferred that the ritual of his vision was intended by Ezekiel to be literally observed because specific directions are given for its observance, since the same specific directions are given respecting the building of the temple which never was observed in the building, nor indeed could have been. The same is true of the location and form of the city, and of the division of the land among the princes, priests, Levites and tribes. The people when they returned never paid the slightest attention to these directions, commands of Ezekiel, nor did they, as far as we have any historical evidence, have the slightest regard to his fragmentary ritual contained in this vision. If any ceremonies here named were observed by them it was not because they found them described in this vision, but because they were identical with those found in "the Law of Moses," to which they appealed without a single exception when they adopted and scrupulously observed them. They never attributed their authorship to Ezekiel but to Moses, and surely they lived near enough to the time of Ezekiel to distinguish the work of Ezekiel from the work of Moses. The mere fact, therefore, that Ezekiel in the ritual of his vision *commands* its observance, is no proof that it was observed, or that he intended it should be observed, but it is only in conformity with the rest of the vision that the glorious picture of the temple, city, people might be illustrated before the eyes of the captives longing for the day of deliverance. The whole is a vision, purely ideal, declared to be such from beginning to end, and to select the ritual part of it as a real enactment to be literally observed is a gross transgression of every accepted law of sound interpretation. The dry bones of the prophets vision of "the valley of dry bones" were as much the bones in the bodies of the returning captives as the temple, the ritual, the land-division, of this last vision were the real temple they were to erect, the real ritual they were to observe, the real land-division they were to make. Both are merely visions to illustrate a great truth, the return from captivity and the restoration of their temple, their city and their worship. As there was no real stream which issued from the temple as described in chap. XLVII., 1-12, so there was no such real ritual observed as described chiefly in chaps. XLV., XLVI. Here I might stop, but for further illustration of the baselessness not to say absurdity of this hypothesis, I will examine a few of these ritual observances in connection with the rest of the vision. Chapters XL.-XLVII., contain the measures of the temple and its various parts and altars. Only

two verses XLII., 13, 14, have any reference to the ritual, and these describe the rooms where the sacrifices shall be laid and the garments of the priests kept, and the priests eat "the most holy things." But what these "most holy things" are, Ezekiel never tells the priests; they are described in the Law, Lev. II., 3, 10, VI., 17, X., 12, and a knowledge of them is assumed on the part of the prophet to be in possession of his readers.

In XLIII., 1-12, Jehovah is seen to enter the temple which was filled with "the glory of the God of Israel." The prophet is directed to show "this house" as described to the house of Israel, that "they may measure the pattern" to build one like it. In chap. XLIII., 13-17, the altar of burnt-offering is described, and in vs. 18-27 the service of its dedication is given as to continue through seven days. There is no such service described in the history as having been rendered on the erection of the altar in the new temple, nor is the ritual as here given original with Ezekiel, but is made up of different ceremonies performed on different occasions and for different purposes as required by the "law of Moses," such as putting the blood of a young bullock on the four horns of the altar, and on its corners. Also the offering of a he goat and a ram, and casting salt upon them, and continuing this for seven days—all these items go to make up a pretty ceremony ideally, but there is not a shadow of evidence that this was done by the builders of the second temple. All the items are culled from the old Mosaic Ritual. Nothing is original with Ezekiel but this grouping for this dedication of the altar, Lev. VIII.; Ex. XXIX. In v. 21, there is most obviously a reference to an existing law, "and thou shalt take the bullock of the sin-offering, and it shall be burned in the *appointed place* of the house without the sanctuary." What place this was is not defined, but some place had been used for this purpose very clearly in the old temple.

In chap. XLIV. are clustered divers directions for the priests and the prince. No strangers are to enter the sanctuary, and the priests must wear linen garments; they must not shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long, but to shear them. They shall not drink wine when they enter the inner court, they must marry prudently, and avoid all unclean things, and their food shall be of the offerings. Every item of ritual here named is to be found scattered about in Ex., Lev., Num., and Deut. Lev. XVI., 71, XXI., 6, XXII., 9; Num. XVI., 9, XVIII., 3, 4; Deut. X., 8; Lev. III., 16, XVII., 5, 6; Ex. XXVIII., 39; Lev. VI., 27, XXI., 5, X., 9, XXI., 1; Num. VI., 10, XIX., 11; Lev. IV., 3; Num. XVIII., 20; Deut. XVIII., 12; Lev. VI., 18, 29, VII., 6; Num. XVIII., 14; Ex. XXII., 29, 30; Num. XV., 20, X., 37; Lev. XXII., 8.

Ezekiel, the poet prophet, has arranged them according to his taste and purpose.

In chap. XLV., 1-8, the portions of land for the temple, the city, the priests and the Levites and princes are described—and in XLVII., 13—XLVIII., the further division of the land among the tribes is described. About fifty miles square, near the centre of the land, was set off for the Levites, priests, and city operatives, and both on the east and west side of this division was a large portion for the princes. The city was in the southern portion of this division and not in any tribe, and was about *ten miles square*. The temple was in the middle portion of this division and was *a mile square*. Then north of the division in which was the temple was the land of the Levites. Then north and south of this great portion, fifty miles square, were the portions of all the tribes in lots of equal width, extending across the whole country from east to west, five tribes on the south side and seven on the north. It needs no words to show that all this was visionary. Chap. XLV., 9-12, describes the measures and weights to be used; vs. 13-20, certain offerings are described like those in Leviticus. Lev. I., 4; Ex. XXX., 14, 15; Lev. XVI., 16, IV., 27; and in vs. 21-25, the Passover offerings are described and those of the Feast of the Tabernacles in brief, but they are picked out of Lev. and Ex., Num. and Deut. Ex. XII., 18; Lev. XXIII., 5, 6; Num. IX., 2, 3; Deut. XVI., 1, 2; Lev. IV., 14; Num. XXVIII., 15, &c., XXIX., 12; Deut. XVI., 13. Chap. XLVI., 1-18 is almost exclusively devoted to the offerings of the princes; vs. 11-15 only referring apparently to the people generally. As in other cases the ritual is selected from various places in the law of Moses in Ex., Lev., Num. and Deut. V. 4 directs the princes to offer "*six* lambs without blemish and a ram without blemish" on the Sabbath day. Numbers XXVII., says *two* lambs and says nothing of a ram, thus distinguishing the princes from the people, and the "*flour-offering*" in v. 5 is defined in Num., *idem*. In v. 6 a "*young* bullock and *six* lambs and a ram" are commanded to be offered, but in Num. XXVIII., 11, "*two* young bullocks, one ram and *seven* lambs are to be offered." The directions, v. 9, at which gate to enter and by which to leave the temple-service are not, of course, given in the Mosaic law. V. 12 refers to a voluntary offering by the prince. See Lev. VII., 16, where voluntary offerings are spoken of. Vs. 13-15 the daily burnt-offering of a lamb of the first year, and a flour-offering of a sixth part of an ephah, and the third part of a hin of oil are commanded for a morning sacrifice, and nothing is said of the evening, but in Num. XXVIII., 3, *sqq.*, *two* lambs are spoken of, one for the *morning* and the other for the *evening* sacrifice, and a *tenth* part of an ephah of flour instead of a *sixth*, and a *fourth*

part of a hin of oil instead of a *third*. It is simply incredible that Ezekiel, if he prefaced or even edited the Torah would have made these discrepancies if he had intended his vision-ritual as law. Vs. 16-18 treat of the inheritance of the prince and its descent to his sons, and contains nothing ritualistic. Vs. 19-24 describe the rooms where the offerings are to be boiled and baked, their size and arrangement.

Chap. XLVII., 1-12, describes the waters which issued from the threshold of the house eastward, and their healing properties. There is nothing ritualistic here, nor was there ever such a stream as is here described. It is purely imaginary, like all the rest of the vision. Vs. 13-23 contain a description of the borders of the land, its division by lot, and the rights of strangers. No such boundaries of the land are given elsewhere, and it is as certain as history that no such borders were in existence after the return from captivity—illustrating still again the purely ideal and non-legislative character of this portion of Ezekiel.

Chap. XLVIII. contains the specific division of the land included in these borders, among the tribes, the prince, the Levites, the priests, and the sections reserved for the temple and the city, as stated before, p. 290. The gates are described also, three on each side of the four square city, and named after the tribes. I will not insult the good sense of the reader by saying that no such gates were ever built or named. The gates and names are very appropriate to the purpose of the vision, but are purely of the vision, and were never a reality.

It goes without saying that these scraps of ritual observances are not the origin of the priestly ritual contained in Leviticus and other portions of the Pentateuch. There is just as much and no more of ritual as was necessary to round out and give symmetry to the description of the gorgeous temple which the prophet had described. He omits all the minutiae of the manner of killing and offering the various sacrifices; says nothing about many ceremonies prescribed in the so-called Mosaic ritual; omits all mention of incense, shew-bread and golden candlestick. The ark of the covenant is not mentioned, nor the mercy-seat, nor the overshadowing cherubim. The prophet evidently attended as little as possible to the *particulars* of the old ritual, and refers to them and speaks of them not in the terms which are used of them in the old ritual. In a word, his temple is ideal, its service, so far as he refers to it, is ideal, the division of the land and the location of the tribes are ideal and only ideal. There is not a shadow of evidence to be derived from this vision that its author had anything whatever to do with the composition or revising of the priestly ritual. The contrary appears in the special topics treated, and in the purely

ideal character of the whole composition. That such a work would give courage to the desponding captives and revive their hope of again rebuilding the walls of their holy city and the altars of their destroyed temple is evident. For this end was this prophecy written. For this purpose was this vision proclaimed. While it furnishes no proof that the prophet was the author of the priestly ritual, it does reveal him as an ardent patriot, a profound lover of his nation, cherishing a conviction as firm as rooted Lebanon, and as satisfying as fragrant Carmel, that God would deliver his people and build again the ruins of their cities, and plant again their devastated vineyards and there be no one hurt or destroyed in all the land; and it would, also, both solace the heart of the sorrowing captive, and set his soul all aflame with a desire to recover the sacred soil of the fathers and make such sacrifices as were necessary to gratify it. A sufficient reason is, therefore, found for the composition of this prophecy, and especially for the record of this vision, or this truth under the symbol of a vision, without looking at these fragments of a ritual as the foundation of the priestly code, or evidence that their author or collector was the composer of that code. It is high time that criticism took its stand upon the rock of fact and sound inferences.

STUDIES IN ARCHÆOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

BY REV. JUSTIN A. SMITH, D. D.,

Editor of the *Standard*, Chicago.

I.

INTRODUCTORY—PRE-HISTORIC LITERATURES. AND THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.

It is proposed, in a few monthly papers, to study in their relations to each other and in some of their practical aspects the two allied subjects, Archæology and Comparative Religion. Two preliminary topics require attention, as introductory: those Pre-historic Literatures now receiving so much attention from scholars, in which at once so much of archæological interest appears and in which so much is found of great value in the history of religion; and certain questions of a fundamental nature relating to the Origin of Religion itself.

LITERATURE AS PRE-HISTORIC.

Of course, the word "literature" is used in a somewhat special sense in application to what may be termed the intellectual product of pre-historic times. Strictly speaking, and using the word as we now commonly use it, there began to be a literature only when there began to be books, and that which we now mean by a book belongs to the historic period. There is, however, another sense in which the word may be carried back to a very early date; in the sense, that is to

say, of an effort to record events in either history or legend, to express thought, to connect with the work of the hands some work, however primitive and rude, of the intellect. Whatever the form given to it—the tablet of the Chaldean, the monumental inscription or papyrus of the Egyptian, the Aryan hymn or the Hindu epic—the deeply interesting fact is that not even any ascertained or even probable date can be named, even in what are called the pre-historic ages of mankind, where we do not find traces of intellectual activity of the same sort, essentially, as that which now floods the world with literature.

Of course, men had to learn to put their literature in its most desirable form, as well as how to produce the highest quality of literature itself. It was with this as with all the other arts of life. The making of paper and books as we now have them was not a thing likely to suggest itself all at once: although the Egyptians seem to have very early learned to utilize in this way that papyrus reed which grew so abundantly in the marshes of the lower Nile. The most natural suggestion was to use for material that which came readiest to hand. The Chaldeans in the valley of the lower Euphrates, after they had begun to employ for building purposes the clay so abundant and so available there, could not have been long in perceiving how easy it was to engrave upon the brick in its soft state whatever picture or record they might wish to make, and then baking this, or drying it in the sun, just as they did with bricks intended for their buildings, in this way provide themselves with what should answer to them many of the most essential ends of books. And the Egyptians, after they had begun to quarry the rocks in the adjacent Lybian hills for temples, palaces and tombs, must have found the suggestion a ready one how upon these might be engraved and painted whatever record of warlike achievement, or of national vicissitude, or tribute to ancestors, or of praise or prayer to their deities they might wish to have in permanent form. In fact, we cannot fail to see how in all this designs of Providence cooperate with human need and human invention: for while the books of that primitive time, supposing books such as now fill the world's libraries to have been possible, might have all perished, and probably would have done so, the Chaldean brick, and the Egyptian gate-way or column, or wall, even the papyrus roll, survive the tremendous cataclysms which have tumbled palace, and temple, and whole cities into heaps of ruins. The page on which the writing was made is found, perhaps, in fragments, but it is there, while of other material there might now remain only undistinguishable dust.

● EARLIEST FORMS OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

It is now regarded as fully settled, I believe, that the earliest form of writing was the hieroglyphic. How ancient this is, no one seems prepared to say. Back as far as to what is called the Fourth Dynasty, in Egypt, the date of which is fixed at about B. C. 2450, inscriptions in this character are found, those in the great pyramid of Ghizeh being examples. Tradition makes it earlier still. One can see how writing should first of all have this form. It is the natural first step in the construction of a written language. As in the early growth of spoken language—supposing it to be a growth, as it probably was—the poverty of words would be remedied by signs and gestures: so in beginning to write, the natural first step would be to represent the idea by a picture. It does not, in fact, seem at all likely that the formation of words in writing by means of letters and syllables would be the first thought of a primitive people. The letter and the syllable

represent a considerably advanced stage in the construction of written speech.

It does not appear to be quite settled, whether this primitive mode of writing began with the Egyptians or Chaldeans. In the oldest literary remains of the latter the cuneiform characters, made up of wedge-shaped lines and strokes, are already an alphabet; while the oldest remains of the Egyptians are still in hieroglyphics. Traces of the hieroglyphic, however, are still observable in the cuneiform alphabet. Thus, in the second letter of the alphabet the oblong figure representing the ground plan of a house is very plainly seen, although not complete, just as in the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet: and it is noticeable that the word for house originally represented, in Chaldean as in Egyptian, by the oblong figure, is "bit," closely resembling, as is evident, the Semitic one. This hieroglyphic, which in the time of the oldest Chaldean writing had thus changed to a letter is in the oldest Egyptian writing still a hieroglyphic. There seems therefore ground for what Sir Henry Rawlinson says, that with the race whose most ancient literature is now read upon those Chaldean tablets, thousands of years old, "the art of writing," as well as "the building of cities began." He calls them the great Hamitic race of Accad, of which the Chaldeans were a branch: and we remember this name, Accad, as that of one of the cities mentioned in Genesis X. as "the beginning" of the kingdom of Nimrod. In another place, a marginal note in his brother Canon Rawlinson's Translation of Herodotus, Sir Henry expresses the belief that this earliest form of picture-writing, subsequently changed into the cuneiform alphabet, was practiced at a time when the several families of language as we now find them, Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic or Turanian, were one family. He thinks it probable, he says, that "the distinction between Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian tongues had not been developed when picture-writing was first used in Chaldea, but the words then in use passed indifferently at a subsequent period, and under certain modifications, into the new families among which the languages of the world was divided."

It seems very wonderful that the patient labor of modern scholars should put in our hands, rendered in our own tongue, what was written certainly within the period, possibly not very far from the time of those events described in the eleventh Genesis; and that thus that primitive soil of Chaldea, where the posterity of Noah seem to have built their first homes, and cities, and temples, should yield up this testimony to the truth of a Scripture narrative which tells how the speech of mankind was at first *one*, and how it became *many*.

CREATION OF ALPHABETS.

The change of the hieroglyphic to the letter and syllable was a perfectly natural one. Even in Egypt this change began, evidently, at a very early period. Why the cumbrous picture-writing should very soon cease to be a satisfactory mode of expressing ideas is very evident. It is, certainly, a picturesque way of expressing the idea of wickedness, to draw the picture of a man beating his own head with an axe or club; and whether this picture represented the idea of wickedness because of "suicide being considered the most wicked action of man," as Sir Gardner Wilkinson thinks, or whether we find under it the conception of wickedness as more damaging to the wicked person than anybody else,—in either case the picture while admirable for illustration is awkward enough for purposes of writing. So also of the hieroglyph for "deceit"—a man with his leg caught in a trap, and that for anger, the figure of an ape, as the most irascible of all animals.

But words, not pictures, the words we speak, are the proper representatives of ideas, and so, very speedily, words took the place of pictures.

For an initial step, it would seem, the hieroglyph was used to express the initial sound of the word representing the name of the object figured,—as the figure of an eagle, *akhom*, instead of standing for *akhom*, was made to stand for “a,” the initial. Then next, instead of the complete hieroglyph would be only certain shapes bearing a resemblance to it, as in the case of the second and third letters in Hebrew. Thus was formed, apparently, the cuneiform alphabet (syllabary may be the more proper term) in Chaldea, and in the same way the hieratic for the priests, and the demotic for the people, in Egypt. Other written languages besides those mentioned, as the Phœnician, from which so many alphabets seem to be in part derived, had, at the date of the earliest remains of them yet known, already passed from the hieroglyphic stage. Yet the opinion of scholars seems to be that nearly all written language—the Chinese, and perhaps some others, being excepted—began, more or less, with the hieroglyphic.

A SPECIMEN OF PRIMITIVE GRAMMAR.

Mention was made, a little way back, of what in the light of present evidence is thought to be the primitive speech of those with whom post-diluvian history began, on “the plain of Shinar.” A peculiarity of that ancient language is mentioned by Canon Rawlinson, who speaks of it as now without parallel anywhere, or in any known tongue, unless it should be that of one Tartar tribe. The preposition “with” is represented in Accadian by the word *kita*. Now, when this preposition is used with the personal pronoun, instead of being placed either before or after the pronoun, it is divided, one part being used before and the other after. Thus, the first, second, and third persons of the pronoun being *mu*, *zu*, and *ni*, “with me” is represented by *ki-mu-ta*, “with thee” by *ki-zu-ta*, “with him” by *ki-ni-ta*. The same in the plural, where “us” is represented by *mi*, “you” by *zu-nini*, and “them” by *nini*. The second person plural has itself a noticeable form, being made up of the second person singular *zu*, “thee,” and the third plural, *nini*, “them,”—*zu-nini*, or “thee-them.” Here, perhaps, is a glimpse of the oldest and most primitive of all the varieties of human speech of which any remains survive. This language had become extinct in the seventeenth century before Christ, that is, according to the usual chronology, not far from two hundred years before the time of Moses himself.

A WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENT.

The decipherment of the inscriptions and other writings in Egyptian hieroglyphic and Chaldean and Assyrian cuneiform is one of the most remarkable achievements of the present century. When those engineers of the first Napoleon, in 1798, digging for the foundation of a fort at Rosetta, near one of the mouths of the Nile, turned up that broken stone with its strange inscription, they little realized what had happened. The inscription on the stone was in Greek, in Egyptian hieroglyphic, and in hieratic. The French scholar, Champollion, conceiving at once that the inscription was one, although in this trilingual form, applied himself to the task of comparing these several copies of it and soon found that not only could all these be read with the help of the Greek, but that in the correspondence of the Greek characters and the hieroglyphic figures he had the

key to a mystery which, up to that time, had seemed hopeless of solution. The discovery, later, of another similar stone, in a more perfect state and with a more extended inscription enabled other scholars to complete the work, and the Egyptologist now reads hieroglyphic as readily as the child his alphabet.

And so that famous rock Behistun, or mountain rather, east of Babylon and on the border of ancient Media, a land-mark on the road by which Assyrian and Babylonian kings marched in their earlier wars, and on one of whose steep escarpments monarch after monarch recorded his triumphs in boastful inscriptions—famous as it was in ancient times, recent events have made it more famous still. It was in the decipherment of an inscription by Darius Hystaspes, in three languages, Persian, Median, and Assyrian, that Sir Henry Rawlinson perfected the clue to the cuneiform alphabet. Since that time the labors of Rawlinson, Loftus, George Smith, Birch, Sayce, Fox Talbot, Oppert, and others, have put within the reach of any one of us the literature of the world's most primitive races, and enable us to know how men thought, and wrote, and lived and prayed at a time when the story of the flood itself was still recent, though already corrupted into polytheistic legend*.

EXAMPLES OF ANCIENT LITERATURE.

For the purpose of illustrating the character of this old literature, and its connection with questions such as are before us in our present study, I will copy first a few lines from an Accadian Penitential Psalm. The tablet upon which it is written was found in excavating on the site of an Assyrian city, but as the language, is Accadian, it is assumed to have its date earlier than that at which that language became extinct, that is the seventeenth century before Christ. The translator, Rev. A. H. Sayce, of England, one of the most distinguished of living cuneiform scholars, says that "an Assyrian Interlinear translation is attached to most of the lines": this also suggests that it must have been brought to Assyria, like a great many other of these tablets, from Chaldea, and that at the time the Accadian was already a "dead" language, requiring to be translated in order to be understood. Mr. Sayce calls attention to some remarkable resemblances in it to Hebrew poetry, especially to some of the penitential psalms of David. Some passages in it, also, give occasion for the remark by him that "seven was a sacred number among the Accadians": a fact which bears testimony to the great antiquity of the division of time by weeks, and especially, perhaps, the Sabbath institution. It will be noticed in the lines quoted, that the parallelism of Hebrew poetry is seen in that of the Accadians: a feature which Mr. Sayce speaks of as "copied" from the Accadians by the Assyrians and the Hebrews. As, however, the Song of Lamech, in Genesis, has the same characteristic, we may be justified in saying that this peculiar form of poetical expression is much older than any Accadian date, we may say, even, antediluvian. Resemblances will be noticed, as mentioned, to some of David's psalms, laying apart, of course, the polytheistic

* I may perhaps mention, here, that these old literatures are made accessible to the many who are not experts in such studies, in a collection of small volumes, the twelfth of which has recently appeared, the entire compilation bearing the title of "Records of the Past." They are translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, and published under the sanction of the Society of Biblical Archaeology in England.

tone of this Accadian one, I select a passage where this resemblance is especially marked; notice, also, the parallelism:

“O, my Lord, my transgression (is) great, many (are) my sins.
 O, my God, my transgression (is) great, many (are) my sins.
 O, my goddess, my transgression (is) great, many (are) my sins.
 O my God, that knowest (that) I knew not, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are) many.
 O my goddess, that knowest (that) I knew not, my transgression (is) great, my sins (are) many.
 The transgression that I committed, I knew not.
 The sins that I sinned; I knew not.
 The forbidden thing did I eat.
 The forbidden thing did I trample upon.
 The Lord in the wrath of his heart has punished me.
 God in the strength of his heart has overpowered me.
 The goddess upon me has laid affliction and in pain has set me.
 God who knew (though) I knew not, hath pierced me.
 I lay on the ground no man seized my hand.
 [More literally, “extended the hand.”]
 I wept, and my palms none took.”

We readily recall David’s “No man cared for my soul”: also where it reads, “The sin that I sinned I knew not”. we are reminded of the words: “Thou hast set my sins before thee, my secret sins in the light of thy countenance.” Perhaps more especially this: “Who can understand his errors: cleanse thou me from secret faults.” In another part we read:

“O my goddess, seven times seven (are) my transgressions
 O God, who knowest that I knew not, seven times seven are my transgressions.
 My transgressions are before me; may thy judgment give me life.
 May thy heart like the heart of the mother of the setting day to its place return.
 Like the mother of the setting day (and) the father of the setting day to its place (may it return).”

This seems like drawing from the order of nature and the steady and beneficent return of day after night, a hope that in like manner divine favor, though for a time withdrawn, may be given back. Mr. Sayce speaks of the seven times seven as having a resemblance to that place in Matt. xviii., 22, where our Saviour is asked if one shall forgive his brother unto seven times seven, and answers, “unto seventy times seven.”

I will copy, again, a brief passage or two from a document of quite another sort. It is the Egyptian “Praise of Learning” found in two papyri supposed to be at least of a date as early as B. C. 2400, possibly still earlier. The translation, as I have it in “Records of the Past,” is by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum. Its purport reminds us of what we read in the Bible of “the wisdom of the Egyptians.” It extols the dignity and worth of “the scribe,” or the learned man, as compared with men engaged in other pursuits. These lines remind us of some passages in Proverbs:

“Love letters as thy mother,
 I make its beauty go in thy face,
 it is greater possession than all employments.
 It is not a word [meaning a mere word] on this earth.
 He who has commenced to avail himself (of it) is from his infancy a counsellor.
 He is sent to perform commissions [that is, secures civil employment].
 He who does not go, he is in sackcloth.”

We then have various trades and occupations described in a disparaging way, the purpose being, evidently, to show how much superior are those to which learning introduces:

“I have not seen a blacksmith on a commission,
 a founder who goes on an embassy.

I have seen the blacksmith at his work
 at the mouth of his furnace,
 his fingers like things of erocodiles [meaning black and hard].
 The stone-cutter, he searches for employment
 in all kinds of stones.
 He has made the completion of the things,
 his arms are fatigued, he is at rest
 seated at the bread of the sun:
 his knees and his back are broken.
 The barber is shaving till evening,
 when he places himself to eat he places himself on his elbows;
 He places himself at street after street.
 The little laborer having a field
 he passes his life among rustics;
 he is worn down by vines and figs
 to make his kitchen of what his fields have;
 his clothes are heavy with weight;
 he is tied as a forced laborer:
 he goes into the air, he suffers,
 coming forth well from his fire-place.
 He is bastinadoed by a stick on his legs.
 He saves himself.
 Shut against him is the hall of every house,
 drawn are the chambers."

So of the builder, the gardener, the poulterer, the weaver, the maker of weapons, the courier, the dyer, the sandal-maker, the washerman, the fisherman, who "suffers more than any employment";—all these are in one way or another disparaged, and only "the scribe who knows letters" is praised and felicitated. It is a curious picture of ancient Egyptian life, and ways of thinking. According to Brugsch, what was called "mysteries," that is knowledge of various kinds, was distributed among "teachers," called "mystery-teachers," each of whom gave himself entirely to his own line of research and instruction. With such a division of labor among the learned, each guild devoting itself exclusively to its own sphere of study and teaching, we cannot be surprised that "the wisdom of the Egyptians" became something so really marvellous for that age, and such in a later age as to draw thither men ambitious of learning from even far distant countries.

Something like this was also true in Chaldea; the tablets showing very considerable attainments in many branches of knowledge; especially, as is well known, astronomy. With other races the case was different. The Hebrew literature was such as we very well know, concerned with primitive history, with revealed religion, and the biographies of those men in whose line the Messianic genealogy was preserved;—while those Aryans, north of the Himalayas, to whom we trace our own ancestral line, being a nomadic and agricultural people, have left us no such monument of acquired learning. The poetical stimulus was strong with them, and their Vedic literature only shows us how they were inspired by the grandeurs of the natural world, and how their conception of deity took shape from the impressions made upon them by the magnificence of the firmament, the terrible sublimity of storms, the grateful interchanges of day and night, and the coming and going of the seasons.

ORIGIN OF RELIGION.

Leaving all this, now, I will add a few words upon the other preliminary topic proposed in this connection. It is a notable fact that among the nations of high

antiquity, the first act in the founding of a city was the building of a temple. This was, says Brugsch, "the centre of the future town." When new temples were erected in the same general locality, these also became centres, around which clustered the dwellings of the people. Thus a great city, like Babylon, or Memphis, or Thebes, was more like a cluster of cities, although all enclosed in one defensive wall. As far back as existing remains carry us, even in the oldest of those buried cities along the Nile or the Euphrates whose ruins are coming to light through the labors of excavators, this fact, of the first and the foremost place given to the temple, appears. And it is further evident that to the temple was consecrated the most solid and durable material, and upon it lavished the best art of the builder. In whatever respects the religion of these ancient races may have been blinded and false, this is certain, that to them it was a very real and a very momentous thing. Evidence to a like effect appears in their literature. Their litanies, their hymns and prayers, make a large part of their literature, and however mistaken they may have been as to the nature of the being addressed, or as to the form of the devotion, though it is a superstition, and often a degrading one, nevertheless no one can reasonably doubt that those worshipers of so many thousand years ago were intensely in earnest. That these faiths, besides, had elements in them indicative of ideas much above the grade of mere superstition, I hope to show hereafter.

Such is man, as a religious being, at the moment when, in primitive history, we first make his acquaintance. Such we find him in the oldest remains of him in that part of the globe where, according to all evidence thus far, his career on earth began. In other portions of the globe a different class of facts appears. Man is found there as a savage, with scarcely any acquaintance even with the rudest arts of life. His religion is a degraded, and a degrading superstition. In some instances it has been doubted if he have any religion at all, or any idea of the supernatural which may be supposed to contain even the germ of religion; although more thorough inquiry has so often resulted in finding that this appearance of destitution of even germinal religious ideas or impressions is an appearance merely, that we seem justified in concluding that in all cases it is due to the difficulty savages have in expressing such ideas, and also to the suspicious temper which makes them reserved and reticent in the presence of civilized men. Without going into that question, it suffices to note, here, the contrasted fact:—the low and brutal forms of religion among existing savage races, as seen in contrast, not only with existing civilized ones, but with ancient races, such as those of which I have been speaking.

Which, then, of the two classes of facts thus brought to view, shall be taken as representative of the religion of primitive man: of religion in its absolute origin and primeval nature, in the history of the human race? The answer to this question given by a certain class of physical scientists and by those who receive them as authority, is well known. Indeed, it follows necessarily from the theory which makes man a *development*, rather than a *creation*, that, beginning as a savage, one step in advance of the brute, his religion must have been a slow growth, having its origin in impressions of wonder or admiration made upon him by phenomena of the physical world, then advancing to dim suggestions, resulting in more or less clear conceptions, of a something supernatural, behind or in the phenomena, and so rising up to the conception of God, and all the beliefs and theologies that have formed around that centre.

Now, as regards this I will simply say these two things: (1) The first is, that the possibility, even, of such an evolution of civilization out of savagery, and of religious ideas out of the mere sensation of brutish wonder, is a pure assumption. Some years ago, Archbishop Whatley said this: "We have no reason to believe that any community ever did, or ever can emerge, unassisted by external helps, from a state of utter barbarism into anything that can be called civilization." Again he says: "Man has not emerged from the savage state; the progress of any community in civilization, by its own internal means, must always have begun from a condition removed from that of complete barbarism, out of which it does not appear that men ever did or ever can raise themselves." Various attempts have been made, by Sir John Lubbock for one, to break the force of this statement and the argument based upon it, but with poor success. It should be observed that the statement is that no tribe or race of men has ever risen from *utter barbarism*—meaning a condition of savagery such as the evolution theory must assume as the starting-point of human development—and *without external aid*, to a condition of civilization. The Germans and the Britons of early European history, were not savages; and in their progress to civilization they had the help of Christianity when introduced amongst them, and of that contact with ancient forms of culture which the invasion by the Romans first, and their own invasion and conquest of the empire afterward, brought about. We have also examples of Indian tribes on our own continent, and island races in the Pacific civilized by the instrumentality of Christian missions; but never without. The fact stands, undisputed and unimpeachable, that to assume the possibility, even, of an utterly savage race becoming, of itself, in any process of self-improvement, a civilized and cultured one, is to assume what has no one fact in all history to sustain it. The theory of the origin of civilization and of religion, in this way, is theory only, and supplies no basis whatever for the notion of religion as an evolution.

(2) The second point I would touch is this, that while all archaeological indications, as well as all historical testimony, point to the far East as the cradle of the human race, the region where human abodes were first planted, the remains of antiquity there are the remains of a civilization, imperfect, no doubt, in certain directions, yet in others surprisingly advanced, with religious ideas distinctly formed, faiths, and rituals, temples and priesthoods, and with indications, at the same time, as I hope to show in future studies, that those religions themselves, instead of being a growth from below upward, were really deteriorations of a religion such as the best light of the present warrants us in holding as the true one.

It is one part of the aim proposed in these studies to produce evidence in support of the proposition, that religion came to man direct from God: first in the gift of a religious nature, constituting for him infinitely his richest and most precious endowment, as man; and secondly, in a revelation, germinal in its beginning, yet even thus sufficient, only for his depraved heart, to keep him in right relations with God, and developing, age by age, and century by century, until it became that magnificent growth, laden with perennial blossom and never-failing fruitage, which we have in Christianity. I shall hope that it may further appear that even amongst the polytheistic nations, the one God did not allow himself to be wholly lost out of view; that even in their darkness, there was in those nations a kind of unconscious struggle toward the light: yet that no religion has ever an-

swered the end of such, or was ever a blessing to the world, save that one whose revelations all centre in Christ and his cross.

Subsequent studies will have for special topics: Tradition in its Relation to History: (1) To History in General, (2) To inspired History: The beginnings of Nationality and Empire; The Idea of God in Historical Religions; Worship and Ritual;—with, possibly a continuation, later, of the same line of inquiry under other headings.

THE THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Ph. D.,

Columbus, Ohio.

The remarkable interest which the American church has of late years been taking in the Old Testament must be a source of great pleasure to every biblical student. The fact that in earlier decades such an interest was not shown cannot be attributed to a Schliermacher-like inability to understand and appreciate the revelation given through Moses and the prophets, but this was the case rather because the pressing needs of the hour and the missionary and pioneer character of the American churches was not favorable to the development of a theological discipline of a more purely intellectual character, and, of one that apparently could find so little immediate appreciation in pulpit and pastoral work.

That matters have changed in this regard, and that theological science is studied for its own sake and without constant reference to the practical work of the church is a subject of congratulation; and that a number of circumstances have combined to make the Old Testament the chief gainer by this change just at present, is not to be regretted. Even if the marked attention now paid to the books of the old covenant has not in all cases pursued the methods and attained the results which conservative Christians would wish or can favor, that matters not so much. The lessons of church history and our faith in the power of truth should reassure us that the outcome of the controversy can be only beneficial to the church. It is not many years ago since Baur and his Tübingen school of destructive criticism proclaimed loud and long that their crucible had reduced the New Testament and early Christian literature to myths and fables. The New Testament has come out of the furnace of criticism a divine gold purer and brighter than ever, while no one now is so bold as yet to subscribe to the extravagant claims of a school that was but a generation ago all powerful and boldly declared its dicta "sure" results of criticism. Wellhausen with his naturalistic method and revolutionary results may now find many adherents and proclaim his victory loud enough to scare even the thoughtful, yet if he has not truth on his side he cannot prevail. The victory is not to the rash, but to truth and the right. There can be no doubt that the result of the whole rigid and searching examination to which the Old Testament books are now being subjected will result in their being better understood and appreciated than ever before. The microscope of criticism is sure to find in them jewels of truth not yet discovered. And no one can deny that the Word of God should be subjected to such an examination. It claims to

be a revelation from God for the guidance of mankind. This claim, for the sake of truth and for the sake of the consciences of believers, must be examined. If it cannot stand honest criticism and fair methods, it does not deserve credence, it is then no revelation and not binding; if it is a revelation, then no attack can really or permanently harm it. So then it must be regarded as a healthy and happy sign that theological science is daily devoting itself more and more directly to the sources of Christian faith and doctrine.

But the work that has been done in the Old Testament department of late is, at best, but preparatory; and even this has not yet been brought to a conclusion. The discussions in books, pamphlets and papers has been almost exclusively of a literary character. The object has been to study the Old Testament as a complex of literary remains, to investigate the origin, integrity, date and author of certain books, for the purpose of discovering the order and succession of the various strata in Old Testament literature, and then in Israel's political and religious history. The pentateuchal sphinx has made the whole literature of the chosen people a riddle, and to give a satisfactory answer to this riddle has been the aim so far. Moses and the prophets were studied as we study the Vedas, Homer, and the Eddas; the Old Testament was to be put into its proper historical setting, and receive its true historical background; its various books were to be made the true index for the development of the religion of the people. The problems, and the work performed in the solution of these problems, were purely literary; they were undertaken as such and must be judged as such. True their bearing on the doctrinal contents, or the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, was not entirely overlooked; but this feature was urged chiefly by those opposed to the claims of advanced criticism, and then generally as side lights for the literary argument. Taking the whole discussion as such, it was and is the literary study of the books of the pre-Christian revelation.

Important and necessary as all this is, especially at present, yet the literary examination of the Old Testament by no means exhausts the sacred records; it is not the most satisfactory or fruitful method of studying them, nor should it be the governing principle in this study. The Old Testament is more than a mere collection of literary records of the Israelites, and the highest aim in studying them should not be to discover in them the history of a literature. The Old Testament is above all a revelation and the history of a revelation. This is what it claims to be; this is the view taken of it by the New Testament; this is the view that must act as regulative and corrective in every investigation that would do justice to its contents. The Old Testament is by no means the history of the Jewish people in the sense in which Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon portray Greek, or Livy and Tacitus, Latin history. Nor is it, on the other hand, a random collection of literary works, an accidental conglomerate of remains of the literary activity of an interesting people, which serve only to determine the status of philosophy or culture of the various stages of the people's history. According to their own testimony, and that of their best commentator, the New Testament, the books of the Old Testament contain the records not of a people as such, but of an idea and a fact, and of the development of this idea and fact in the course of Israel's history. This idea and fact is the history of the Kingdom of God in its preparatory state. As Augustine, whose terse and epigrammatic statements of great truths are well known, says, "In Veteri Testamento Novum latet, in Novo Vetus patet;" the old and the new are the two halves of one whole,—records of God's Kingdom on

earth, the former presenting it in its preparatory stage, the latter in its completed. The Old Testament begins with the creation and fall of man; its whole subsequent details constitute the record of God's plan and work to restore and redeem the fallen race. The history of the Theocracy, from the covenants with Noah and Abraham down to the time when in Malachi the voice of prophecy was hushed, is the burden of the Old Testament canon; and everything that finds expression in its pages stands in some relationship, be this near or distant, to this one central thought of the sacred volume, the establishment and gradual unfolding of God's Kingdom within national bounds and limits, and in the form of a theocracy in Israel; and everything the Old Testament states must be judged as to its importance by the relationship it bears to this fact. Newer criticism is decidedly correct when it claims that not all the books of the Old Testament are of equal value, or are to be equally esteemed. This thesis is no new wisdom; the Rabbis of the Mishna were well aware of this fact. But the measure of importance and the gauge of value does not lie in the literary character of the composition, nor in the degree of light which it may throw on the history of the people as a political body with a peculiar culture or social qualities, but rather in its bearings on the character and shape of the Theocracy. There is an element in Old Testament history that has given it peculiar form and character, entirely different from any development that we find in the history of other nations, and this is the divine factor, which has been not only the directing influence in the establishment and maintenance of the covenants of which the whole Old Testament speaks, but must also be supposed to have directed the compilation and character of the written records of this peculiar process. The God of Israel's history was also the God of Israel's revelation. As the selection of Israel to be the chosen people, and as the development of the people in the course of centuries in the fulfillment of this mission was under the direct guidance of Providence, thus, too, were the records and expressions of this history providential in original character. They are the inspired records of a development unique in history, but as real and true as unique, and being such they receive their importance and must be judged from this standpoint, as the inspired account of a divinely founded unfolding of the Kingdom of God in its preparatory state in and in the midst of the people of Israel.

These views of the Old Testament may be conservative and old-fashioned, but their correctness has not yet been successfully impeached or imperiled. Certain it is, that such is the view which Christ and the Apostles, and with them the whole New Testament, take of the Old Testament; they in unequivocal terms declare it the account of God's dealing with men for their deliverance from the curse of sin, and see in it primarily the record of revelation. And the day has not yet come, nor will it ever come, when the New Testament authority in the interpretation of the Old, will be wantonly thrown aside to give way to some pet theory or vaporous hypothesis. As yet American theology is biblical in tone and spirit, and from present indications will remain so.

Such being the true character of the Old Testament canon, it is scarcely a matter of doubt or debate that the theological study of these books must remain paramount. Whatever light they will throw on the political and intellectual history of the Israelites and on the importance of this peculiar people in the complex of oriental nations, and whatever aid the Old Testament will thus afford the student of ancient history and literature, must be thankfully received. But regarding them only from this side is taking but a superficial and one-sided view. The entire and

chief contents, especially for the Christian scholar, pastor and congregation, must remain the religious features, the account of the plan of redemption, the shape and form which this plan assumed in the covenant between Israel and Jehovah, the life of the people under the spirit and guidance of the theocracy as this finds expression in prophecy and the psalms, the growth of revelation from the proto-evangelium in Genesis III. to the evangelistic flights of Isaiah LIII., and similar features. In short, the theological study in all its aspects and features is the study of the Old Testament that is the most thankful and fruitful. The history of Old Testament revelation is higher than and above the history of Old Testament literature.

Not that we would for a moment disparage or discourage the literary study of the Word of God, for no one could be more convinced of its importance and take a greater delight in its pursuit. But it seems that without the theological study and appreciation of the biblical books as a corrective and guide, the purely literary study becomes one-sided and unjust. The Old Testament must not be considered a citadel, which the critics are in duty bound to destroy, if possible, and in whose walls the least break is to be welcomed with a shout of triumph: true criticism, in the best sense of the word, can never be antagonistic, not even "neutral" (which is an obstruction, but never a fact), but must be friendly and fair. To judge of the merits of the Old Testament we must stand within and not without it, must breathe its spirit, must feel the pulsation of its soul, and then only are we competent to judge. This *habitus practicus* is necessary also for the literary critic, if he would be impartial; and to acquire it, he must be guided by the principle that the Old Testament is primarily a revelation, a book entirely different from any other product of the human soul. We say that he must pass judgment upon its claims standing in the Old Testament, and not standing in a peculiar dogmatic system—frequently two things entirely different. There seems scarcely a doubt that the extravagant claims of the new rationalistic school and its heartless lack of sympathy for the books it criticises, is to a great extent to be attributed to this severance of methods, or rather to the unlawful emancipation of the literary study from the theological study of the sacred volume. It is only on this supposition that we can understand how the adherents of this school can treat these books, not as a source of light and life, but only as interesting subjects for the critical scalpel. Even aside then from the great practical benefits for pulpit and pew which result from such a theological study of the Old Testament, it seems demanded by fairness in research that a broad, comprehensive, and above all, a just literary study of the Old Testament, should not spurn its assistance, but gladly consent to be guided and assisted by it in its investigations.

Nor is it necessary that the whole field of literary discipline be traveled over before we are prepared to study the Old Testament from this standpoint. It would be sad indeed, if the biblical student would have to solve each and every riddle of Old Testament literature before he could study the Old Covenant and its revelation. At that rate nobody would ever be apt to begin this study. But in reality, the claims of criticism seldom rob to a marked degree the Old Testament of its character as revelation. It is only when thoroughly anti-biblical views are allowed to guide the whole investigation that this is the case, as when Kuenen, Wellhausen and *Consorten* permit the philosophical idea of natural development to turn the Old Testament upside down, and empty it of all divine contents and character, and expel God from the midst of his people. But for more moderate critics

this danger does not exist, either because they still bow to the great truths of God's Word, or, in case their theories are under the spell of some un-biblical idea, are fortunately inconsistent. Delitzsch, Strack, Bredenkamp, and others in many points yield to the critical cries; but for these the Old Testament remains a revelation from God. The danger to Biblical Theology does not lie so much in any new chronological arrangement of the Old Testament books, but rather in the introduction of false ideas that make the revelation of God a mere phrase. Criticism thus is by no means an obstacle in the way to the discovery of the religious teachings of the Old Testament, but rather the two, literary and theological study, should go hand in hand, mutually complementary and supplementary, the aim though in all cases being the higher and nobler, namely to learn the thoughts and the ways of God for the salvation of mankind.

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

“Daniel and the First Resurrection.”—The *Presbyterian Review* for January 1884 contains an elaborate and scholarly contribution on Dan. XII., 2 by the Rev. Nathaniel West, D. D., of which a separate copy has, since the issue of the *Review*, been printed. Those who have read other articles from the same pen, and especially a notable one entitled “No Preaching to the Dead” founded on 1 Peter III., 18-20, need not be told that his discussion of Dan. XII., 2 is, like all his work, both thorough and exhaustive. He has surveyed the whole field, and he has here published the results of a remarkable research into the literature of the passage, ancient and modern, Christian and Jewish.

In a brief notice such as this must be, no more than the barest summary of the argument of this very able paper can be given.

One very commendable feature of Dr. West's book is his honest endeavor to ascertain what the text teaches, what the revealing angel actually says. While the author has very decided views on the eschatology of Daniel's Apocalypse as well as on that of John, he nevertheless comes to this passage with no arbitrary presupposition as to its import. This posture of mind, it may be noted, is a prime requisite in the interpreter of God's word.

Nothing is more fatal to a right understanding and exposition of Scripture and more particularly of prophecy, than to project upon it a foregone conclusion—a habit which, indulged and applied, neutralizes all significance in language and wipes out all prophecy “as a definite testimony to anything.” Literalism, i. e., the effort to discover what an inspired writer really *says*, and not a preconceived opinion of what he ought to say, is happily becoming a recognized canon of biblical exegesis. Delitzsch's maxim quoted by Dr. West is of supreme importance in the study of prophetic Scripture: “*Application is not interpretation.*” Application is manifold; interpretation is but one.

The logical divisions which exhaust the possibilities of the resurrection affirmed in Dan. XII., 2, Dr. West marks thus: “either Total, Partial, Totopartial, or Partipartial, i. e., either all, or some, of both classes—viz., righteous and wicked; or all, or some, of but one class.” He undertakes to show, and in the judgment of the present writer, does actually and triumphantly show, on the grounds of “the lexicon, linguistic usage, normal syntax, the context,

the unity of prophecy, the economy of the ages, the analogy of faith, and the consensus of both Testaments," that the passage does not teach a simultaneous and universal resurrection of the dead, both righteous and wicked; that, on the contrary, it teaches exclusively the resurrection of the righteous and of all the righteous. "at that time." By a keen scrutiny of both text and context; by a searching and exhaustive study of the Hebrew of the text; by a judicious and copious use of the utterances of the prophetic spirit throughout the Bible bearing on the general subject: and by cogent reasoning fortified by the labors of German, English, and American scholars, he reaches the conclusion indicated above: viz., the out-resurrection of the righteous from among the dead, *the* central truth of Dan. XII., 2.

Of course we cannot, in a short notice such as this, give even an outline of the method pursued in the article, nor so much as the exegetical steps by which the conclusion is reached, and the profound significance of the passage as thus demonstrated.

The attention of the reader, however, is directed to three words in the passage, which, perhaps, enter more largely than any others into the question of its interpretation.

The first of these is the word *many*, with which the text opens: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth"—(A. V.). On this word Dr. West expends much labor and research. What does it mean? *All*, or *some*? Is it partial, or universal, selective or comprehensive of the whole mass of the sleepers in the earth dust? The word itself certainly does not suggest the idea of totality, but partiality. Barnes (*com. in loc.*) thus writes of it: "The natural and obvious meaning of the word *many* here—רַבִּים—is that a large portion of the persons referred to would thus awake, but not all. So we would understand it if applied to other things, as in such expressions as these, "many of the people," "many of the houses in a city," "many of the rivers of a country," etc. In the Scriptures, however, it is undeniable that the word is sometimes used to denote the whole considered *as* constituted of many." And he goes on to fortify his exposition of *many* as equal to *all* by Rom. v., 15, 19. So Newton said before him. But the difficulty with this explanation is twofold, and apparently insuperable: 1. רַבִּים is anarthrous. Had the angel meant *all* by this term it is reasonable to suppose he would have employed the article: and the absence of the definite article is unaccountable had the resurrection of all the dead been the subject of the statement. That *many* is not equivalent to *the many* the Alexandrian translators clearly saw, for they have rendered it *καὶ πολλοὶ*—and surely no one would venture to impeach their knowledge either of Hebrew or Greek. 2. The texts in Rom. v., 15, 19 make squarely against the position of Barnes: for the apostle inserts the article *οἱ* before *πολλοὶ* in each case; it is "the many" he declares to whom the grace of God, and the gift by grace did abound—"the many" that were constituted sinners, and "the many" made righteous. So the Revisers have properly rendered the words *οἱ πολλοὶ*.

A second word is the "sleepers"—"them that sleep in the dust." After a careful study of his forcible criticism of this term, it seems simply impossible to escape the conviction that in it we have the parallelism, if not the genesis, of the pregnant expressions of the N. T.—*ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐξανάστασις νεκρῶν, ἐξανάστασις*

ἢ ἐκ νεκρῶν etc. (Phil. III., 11, true text). It is not "many of the sleepers," but "many from among the sleepers" that shall awake. It is an eclectic resurrection that is predicted.

The third word is the verb translated "shall awake," the radical meaning of which he says is to "cut off," "remove," "make an end of any existing relation of a part to a whole," whether as to "persons, states, or things;" and here it conveys the idea of the separation of the "many," not only from their place of death, not alone from the state or condition of death, but more intensely from their *relation to*, and *fellowship with*, the dead.

Here, then, is a threefold limitation put upon the resurrection foretold in Dan. XII., 2: and on the ground of this limitation as well as for other cogent reasons Dr. West finds it out of the question to carry over the predicate "shall awake," into the second member of the sentence. For it is beyond dispute that if this predicate be carried into the latter half of the verse, then "many" does mean *all*. But the anarthrous word for "many," the construct state of the noun for "sleepers," together with its prepositional affix, and the radical significance imbedded in the verb for "shall awake," all combine and conspire to forbid the thought that "many" means *all*; and therefore the verb does not belong to the second member of the sentence.

Moreover, all this careful exegesis justifies and compels him to adopt the following critical rendering of the passage: "And many shall awake from among the sleeping ones of the dusty earth; these (shall be) unto life everlasting, but those (shall be) unto shame and contempt everlasting."

But enough has been said to indicate the general result attained. Those who are concerned to learn all that God has been pleased to reveal of His gracious purposes touching His people will be deeply interested in this masterly exposition of Dan. XII., 2.

W. G. MOOREHEAD.

The Term Higher Criticism.—For the benefit of readers who are unfamiliar with the history of enquiry concerning the O. T., we append what we consider as correct definitions.

Biblical criticism is that branch of historical criticism which deals with the biblical books as literary productions. It may be divided into two great branches, Textual Criticism and Higher Criticism.* Textual Criticism is that science which seeks to establish the exact text of the biblical writings as they left the hands of their authors. This is done by a careful comparison of MSS., versions and citations from subsequent authors.

Higher Criticism sets out from the results of Textual Criticism and enquires as to the authenticity (authority), genuineness (relating to the proof or disproof of alleged authorship), sources and character of the several books of the Bible. It asks and seeks to answer such questions as these: Is the writing so attested that we can rely upon its statements? Is the author candid, trustworthy? What are the materials from which he drew, and are they reliable? Who is the author or authors? What is the time, place, occasion of composition? Was the nature of his work *revision* or original composition? What literary form has this work assumed?

It is very plain that the nature of the reply which scholars give to these ques-

*See Briggs' Biblical Study.

tions cannot constitute them Higher critics or the reverse. Higher criticism is to be distinguished from Textual (Lower) Criticism, and if the name *Lower* had been applied to the introductory science, confusion would not have arisen in regard to the one appropriately designating the advanced science. A Delitzsch, or a Green, or a Bissell, who seeks to answer the above questions is a Higher Critic; so is a Wellhausen, or a Smith, or else a scholar who is conducting such investigations cannot be placed at all until he has reached his conclusions; and, then, from the point of view of such scholars as attach a stigma to the term, he is to be called a Higher Critic, should he have departed in his conclusions from conservative views; while with those who deny the right of Wellhausen and his school to the name Higher Critic, our enquirer would be excluded from the class. The confusion on both sides is removed by making the term refer, not to the results, and not altogether to the methods, but to the character of the questions, which the critic of all beyond the mere text proposes.

Higher critics may be divided into conservative critics, evangelical critics, extreme critics, rationalistic critics, etc. If a term is desired to describe the extreme critics of Germany and elsewhere, "newer" is temporarily unobjectionable; but it is not right to destroy the meaning of a carefully chosen word by applying the term *Higher* exclusively to Wellhausenism, nor, on the other hand, should we exclude from our class men of his stamp simply on account of their conclusions, and this not because Wellhausenism is praiseworthy, but because the term Higher is to be used as distinguished from Textual and refers to a special form of enquiry.

C.

➤ EDITORIAL NOTES. ◀

Critical Study.—Why should theological students and ministers who are to devote their lives to the practical work of saving souls, spend time either in working out, or in following out questions which demand careful and exhaustive study, and which do not have a direct and practical bearing upon the work they have in hand? Is not such work to be done by specialists? Can anything more be expected than a knowledge, perhaps, of the more important of the results reached by specialists? Away then with all study which looks toward a familiarity with the meaning of Hebrew words, or with the niceties of Greek syntax.

Who has not heard such thoughts expressed again and again? But have those who feel thus ever stopped to consider all that is involved in this? It would be difficult, we believe, to find a train of thought more demoralizing, or more vicious in its tendency.

No man is fair to himself, or true to the religion which he professes, who does not avail himself of all possible means to ascertain the exact meaning of the Book which he preaches, or, at least, of the particular text which is under treatment. It is no excuse to say that he has no time for the critical and exegetical study of the Bible. The clergyman who will substitute for this study, the study of science, or of literature, or of history, or who will allow the direct and pressing work of his parish, important though it be, to cause him to give up or neglect critical and thorough study of the Bible, comes far short of being a *true* minister.

The man who neglects to do for himself a fair amount of thorough Biblical study, need not attempt to satisfy himself that it is sufficient for him to accept the results of others. For he should remember that, unless he himself has conducted similar investigations, unless he has learned how to go to the root of matters, he need not expect to have any clear or accurate knowledge of results reached by this kind of work. One cannot, in fact, entirely separate "results" from methods and from the means employed to obtain them. It is only the superficial mind that is satisfied with ascertaining the mere results without endeavoring to follow out, at least in part, the means adopted to gain the results. Unless, therefore, the minister is, to some extent, able to employ the means, the results have not for him the same force. The man who is careless about means and methods is also careless about "results." The more nearly he approaches a specialist in his ability to follow or work out the results, the more clearly he will appreciate and understand results which he may not have worked out.

That there is a work for specialists to do is as certain as that ministers and laymen cannot do such work. But let us note two things: As the minister is liable to go to one extreme, the specialist is liable to go to the other. The scholar who confines himself to a single line of work, who does not have true spiritual discernment, who does not observe the practical bearing of God's word upon men and events,—such a man's decision cannot be final. Ministers are unable to bring to the study of the Word, an exhaustive acquaintance with all the departments which throw light upon it; but they *can* bring that practical knowledge, that common sense which is invaluable, and without which learning is worthless. And again: there will be found specialists in no department of study in which there are not many students. It is not possible for every man who wills, to be a specialist. The specialist in a given field is one man in a thousand, engaged in work in the same field. Unless a large number manifest an interest, and a disposition to work, there is no hope that men will be led to devote themselves especially to a single line. Out of many, there will rise up a few, who have for such work a fondness and an aptitude.

In order that ministers may be true to the profession which they have chosen or to which they have been called, in order that they may be able to avail themselves of the results reached by specialists, in order that they may counteract the often dangerous tendencies of the specialist, and, on the other hand, make it possible for specialists to be raised up, let them do the largest possible amount of honest critical and exegetical study of the Word they preach; let them show their esteem for this divine revelation, by treating it as it deserves to be treated; let them *not* suppose that there is any work for which this work ought to be substituted, or any study which should push aside the study of God's Word.

The Old Testament Student and the "New Criticism."—The editor has received many letters, called forth by recent criticism of the position taken by the *STUDENT* in reference to the discussion of questions relating to "Higher Criticism." Of these he ventures to publish the following, which represents, it is believed, the opinion of a very large number of those who have given the matter careful consideration.

The position taken by *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* in respect to the so-called "new" or "higher" criticism would not seem to need any justification, had it not in several instances been misunderstood. As one of its earliest, and still deeply

interested readers, I would not see it take a different course from that which its editor has so clearly outlined. This "newer" criticism presents itself not to a few scholars simply, but through cheap literature, crude newspaper discussions, and still more ill-advised sermons, it obtrudes itself on the attention of almost every man who reads at all. Our religious weeklies are not proper vehicles for the free discussion of these views. These papers enter almost every Christian home, and should serve, as indeed they do, to counteract the evil effects of a popular presentation of these views elsewhere. But surely *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* is just the place for such discussion. It reaches only a class of readers who are already acquainted with the "results" of recent criticism: who have already in a large majority of instances read more of its literature than *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* will publish in many a year; and who, moreover, are in a position to judge somewhat for themselves as to the validity of these "results." Or, if not able to do this, they are with few exceptions readers who have sense enough to suspend judgment until the critics themselves show some unmistakable signs of arriving at harmonious conclusions. I may not agree with the results set forth in a "radical" article. Indeed, I would probably disagree with them *in toto*, and yet be much interested in reading the views set forth. We have no reason to shrink from the discussion of these views, where such discussion is proper. God's word is abundantly able to take care of itself. We have seen similar attacks, conceived in the same spirit, made on the integrity of the New Testament. There has been a great flourish of trumpets, and many a man's heart has "trembled for the ark:" but the result has always been the same. The theories have been hopelessly exploded before their authors died, and the integrity of God's word has stood out clearer than ever before. To make *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* a journal for free discussion, and to make it an "organ" for rationalistic and destructive criticism are two things entirely distinct. The former I welcome; the latter I should deplore.

P. A. NORDELL,

New London, Conn.

→BOOK NOTICES←

KAMPHAUSEN'S HEBREW CHRONOLOGY.*

Wellhausen, Stade and W. Robertson Smith agree in finding the Chronology of the book of Kings an artificial system and so generally untrustworthy. According to their theory the endeavor was made to divide the history of Israel from the Exodus to the return from the Captivity into two periods of 480 years each, the dividing line being the building of the Temple (1 Kgs. vi. 1). Each of these periods would naturally fall into twelve generations of 40 years each. It is assumed, therefore, that the years assigned to each king are modified so as to conform to this scheme. And in fact the importance of the number 40 in biblical history is obvious to the most superficial reader. That its frequent recurrence is not necessarily a proof that it rests only on artificial composition or on arbitrary alteration by the editors, is proved by Kamphausen in his recent essay on the subject.

Kamphausen carries out the process of playing with numbers in order to show that we may discover "artificial schemes" in any series of dates. The Hohenzollern family, for example, have special reason to remember the years 1640, 1740, 1840—evidently the number 40 has influenced German annalists! French history

* *DIE CHRONOLOGIE DER HEBRAEISCHEN KOENIGE*. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung von ADOLF KAMPHAUSEN, Dr. und ordentl. Prof. der Theologie in Bonn. Bonn, 1883. 104 pages octavo. A summary is to be found in Stade's *Zeitschrift fuer die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, pp. 193-202.

is equally artificial. The first five Bourbons reigned 203 years ($2+3=5$, the number of monarchs)—here also we have in round numbers five periods of 40 years. The number 12, however, is more prominent in the later chronology.

The Republic.....	1792-1804.....	(12 years).
The Empire.....	1804-1814.....	(10 years).
Louis XVIII.....	1814-1824.....	(10 years).
Charles X.....	1824-1830.....	(6 years).
Louis Philippe.....	1830-1848.....	(18 years).
The Republic.....	1848-1852.....	(4 years).
Napoleon III.....	1852-1870.....	(18 years).

Here we notice one 12, two 18 (= one and a half times 12), one 6 (half 12) one 4 (third of 12) and the other two were made 10 (nearly 12) so as not to awaken suspicion by too great regularity! These two irregular numbers taken together with the irregular number (4) make 24 or twice twelve. Who can doubt if we had such a series in the Bible it would have been characterized as the result of an artificial system?

The evident result of this showing must be to discredit the ingenious discoverers of schemes of chronology. If a series of numbers which stand in the full light of history submit readily to such play, we shall hardly have much faith in the play as an argument against any other series. This sort of refutation does not, however, directly prove anything regarding the biblical dates, or remove the difficulties in Hebrew chronology. That there are difficulties as yet unsolved and that they are increased rather than diminished by the Assyrian Eponym lists may be taken as pretty well known. After his preliminary computation of the theory of schematization therefore Kamphausen addresses himself to the serious problem. He begins by noting the following fact: the author of our book of Kings refers his readers often to the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. It follows that he knew his data might be compared by any reader with the data of these official Chronicles. It is hardly probable, therefore, that he would have changed the dates he gives and so have laid himself open to the charge of falsification.

We cannot go over in detail Kamphausen's examination of the numbers in the book of Kings, but will append his table of dates.

Saul Reigned B. C.....	1037-1018.		
David in Judah.....	1017-1011.		
David over all Israel.....	1010- 978.		
Rehoboam.....	937-921.	Jeroboam I.....	937-916.
Abia.....	920-918.	Nadab.....	915-914.
Asa.....	917-877.	Baasha.....	914-891.
		Ela.....	891-890.
		Zimri.....	890.
		Omri.....	890-879.
Jehoshaphat.....	876-852.	Ahab.....	878-857.
Jehoram.....	851-844.	Ahaziah.....	856-855.
Ahaziah.....	843.	Jehoram.....	854-843.
Athaliah.....	842-837.	Jehu.....	842-815.
Jehoash.....	836-797.	Jehoahaz.....	814-798.
Amaziah.....	796-778.	Joash.....	797-782.
Uzziah.....	777-736.	Jeroboam II.....	781-741.
Jotham (regent).....	750-736.	Zachariah.....	741.
Jotham.....	735.	Menahem.....	740-738.
		Pekahiah.....	737-736.

Ahaz.....	734-715.	Pekah.....	736-730.
Hezekiah	714-686.	Hoshea.....	730-722.
Manasseh.....	685-641.		
Amon.....	640-639.		
Josiah.....	638-608.		
Jehoahaz.....	608.		
Jehoiakim.....	607-597.		
Jechoniah.....	597.		
Zedekiah.....	596-586.		

This table assumes six errors in the Massoretic text, to wit: Amaziah's 29 years are to be reduced to 19. Uzziel's 52 to 42; Ahaz receives 20 instead of 16, Manasseh 45 for 55. Menahem 3 instead of 10, Pekah 6 instead of 20. When we consider how liable figures are to corruption in manuscript propagation, we shall not find this a large number, especially when we consider the hypotheses of other writers. Duncker, for example, in his *History of Antiquity* makes thirteen alterations. Others go so far (as already seen) as to make out that so far as chronology goes, we are in the Old Testament on entirely uncertain ground.

It is a matter for rejoicing that a cautious and at the same time impartial scholar has administered this decisive check to the hasty generalizations of the Wellhausen school. While all the suggestions of Kamphausen may not commend themselves to others (he himself asks that the sharpest scrutiny be given his work), it is yet certain that he has contributed to the final solution of the problem.

H. P. SMITH.

GUYOT'S CREATION.*

This valuable little book is a result of the studies and research of a lifetime, by one who was at the same time an eminent scientist, a clear thinker, and a devout Christian. It is refreshing amid all the skepticism of the present day, even within the church itself, to see a statement so learned and so positive, of the perfect agreement between science and the Mosaic account of creation. Prof. Guyot says of the Bible-account: "By its sublime grandeur, by its symmetrical plan, by the profoundly philosophical disposition of its parts, and, perhaps, quite as much by its wonderful caution in the statement of facts, which leave room for all scientific discoveries, it betrays the Supreme guidance which directed the pen of the writer and kept it throughout within the limits of truth." Thus the first three days are believed to refer to the "era of matter," and the last three days to the "era of life." First we have creation of the material substructure, then the vegetable kingdom from the lower to the higher orders of plants, then the animal kingdom from the lower orders of the marine fauna to the higher orders of mammals, and finally man who is the introduction of a spiritual kingdom. This arrangement is philosophical and agrees perfectly with the well established leading facts of geology. Even in smaller details there are marked correspondences. The progress from the lower to the higher is not by natural evolution but by creation. בְּרָא is used

* CREATION, OR THE BIBLICAL COSMOGONY IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE. By *Arnold Guyot, LL. D.*, Blair Professor of Geology in the College of New Jersey. Author of "Earth and Man." Member of the National Academy of Sciences of America. Associate member of the Royal Academy of Turin, etc., etc. New York: *Chas. Scribner's Sons*. Chicago: *W. S. M. Silber, agent*. Pp. 136. Price \$1.50.

with marked discrimination, for the origination of matter, of animal life, and of spirit-life. The idea of creation enters also elsewhere.

Prof. Guyot carries the Nebular theory all the way up to the latter part of the third day, which is unusual, and introduces some marked peculiarities in the interpretation of details. His conceptions are grand, yet, perhaps, another interpretation of the three first days, referring them to the condition and development of the earth, after it had assumed its globular form, will in the end be found preferable. Whatever shall be at last the detailed interpretation of Gen. 1., it is a matter of greatest interest to find already with certainty its perfect agreement with the leading and well established facts of geology.

J. A. EDGREN.

HERODOTUS AND ANCIENT HISTORY.*

Dr. Sayce stands among the leading philological and oriental scholars of the times. He has laid many obligations upon the common literary world by his numerous efforts to popularize the results of learned investigation. This work is a fruit of these efforts. Its existence is justified, as he remarks, on three grounds.

"First of all, it tries to place before the public the results of the researches made up to the present time in the monumental records of the ancient civilized world. Dislocated and hidden away as most of the materials are in numerous learned periodicals.....the task of bringing them together.....becomes a duty of those who have especially devoted themselves to Oriental matters. In the second place, I can speak at first hand about a good deal of the material worked up in the present volume and can claim to have contributed some portion of it myself to science; while both in the notes and appendices new facts will be found which have not hitherto made their way into print elsewhere. Then, thirdly, I have traveled over a considerable part of the ground on which the history described by Herodotus was enacted. Indeed, with the exception of Babylonia and Persia, there is hardly a country or site mentioned by him in these first three books which I have not visited."

The work consists of (1) an Introduction on the Historical Credibility of Herodotus; (2) The Greek Text of the three first books with notes; (3) Appendices on Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, the Phœnicians, Lydia, the Persian Empire. The latter cover one hundred seventy-five pages and are simply invaluable to the student of Oriental History. We wish that they could be printed separately as a manual of early Oriental history. As it is, few persons will desire to buy the Greek of Herodotus for the sake of the Appendices. They treat of the race, history, religion, manners and customs of the great nations of the ancient world. Dr. Sayce has a low opinion of the historical credibility of Herodotus. It may be feared lest his zeal for the monumental and other original sources of history has made him quite willing to disparage Herodotus. "The net result of Oriental research in its bearing upon Herodotus is to show that the greater part of what he professes to tell us of the history of Egypt, Babylonia and Persia, is really a collection of 'Märchen,' or popular stories, current among the Greek loungers and half-caste dragomen on the skirts of the Persian Empire."

The book is printed and bound in the superb style of MacMillan and Company. It is a positive pleasure to look into it.

*THE ANCIENT EMPIRES OF THE EAST. HERODOTUS I.—III., by A. H. Sayce, LL.D., Deputy-Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford. 1 vol., 9x6, pp. XL 492. New York: MacMillan and Company. Price \$4.00.

GROUNDS OF THEISTIC AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF.*

What more can be said even by Prof. Fisher on the well worn themes of apologetical theology which has not already been given out? What is there in this book which may be called the reason of its existence? Does it bring forward new and strong defences, powerful enough to beat back modern assailants or is it simply a re-statement in new forms of that which is somewhat familiar? Necessarily the latter. The author is especially blessed with a power of vigorous and simple expression. Puzzling objections are here clearly stated and as clearly answered. Most books on the Evidences are painfully dry reading. The student of this argument will find his interest and attention excited as well as his mind aroused. Prof. Fisher permits no drowsiness.

The book is valuable, too, because of its comprehensiveness. The first few chapters deal with the philosophical grounds of Theism. The middle chapters contain the biblical argument. The closing ones present the historical and general considerations in favor of Christianity. Few questions can be stated which are not considered directly or indirectly in these pages. The arguments for them and the opposing theories, the possibility and function of miracles, the trustworthiness of the Gospels, the argument from Prophecy, from Christian Doctrine, from Christianity in the world, from its comparison with other religions, Biblical Criticism, the Canon, Christianity and Science, are a few of the topics which are treated. Dr. Fisher is sound, liberal, progressive and yet eminently judicious in his views of Christianity. The clergyman who reads and digests this book will find it full of the best kind of tonic.

TRANSCAUCASIA AND ARARAT.†

In the autumn of 1876, Professor Bryce and a companion started from England for a tour through Russia, the countries of the Caucasus and the Turkish empire. Foremost among the purposes of their journey was the ascent of Ararat. It is of course a question whether the real Ararat is in Armenia as the Biblical statements seem to imply, or according to the Chaldean legend in the land of Gordyene. Full liberty, at present, is allowed the student to identify it with either mountain. It was the Armenian Ararat which Mr. Bryce succeeded with much difficulty in scaling, being the third who ever accomplished that feat. Little indeed was gained for Biblical study in the expedition. The ark itself still remains to be discovered. The narrative of travel through these little-known lands is very pleasantly told by the author, whose ability in historical investigation makes his political observations and reflections of much value.

* **THE GROUNDS OF THEISTIC AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF.** By Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. One vol., 8x5, pp. xviii., 488. New York: *Chas. Scribner's Sons*, 1883. Price \$2.50.

† **TRANSCAUCASIA AND ARARAT,** being Notes of a vacation tour in the autumn of 1876. By James Bryce. Pp. 420. London and New York: *MacMillan & Co.*, 1878. Price, \$2.00.

➤REVIEW NOTICES.◀

If the first four numbers (Jan.-April) of *The Andover Review** be taken as a promise of its future, it is bound to occupy a very high position among religious and theological periodicals. Our space permits merely a notice of contributions to Old Testament Study. Prof. J. P. Taylor in his *Archæological Notes* (Jan. No.) touches on many facts interesting to the student of ancient history and sacred literature. Equally valuable to the minister are the very carefully prepared notices of books in this department by Profs. Harris, Moore, Taylor and others. In the April No. Prof. Francis Brown discusses "The Books of Chronicles, with especial reference to those of Samuel," in a very temperate, careful and scholarly article. His conclusions are stated as follows: "1) That the chronicler should have his particular standpoint is not to his discredit. 2) The point, or points of view which he is thought to have had are natural and justifiable. 3) The question whether he has warped facts to favor his theory should be distinguished from the question whether he has made any mistakes. 4) As far as appears from a comparison of those parts of the books of Chronicles and Samuel which run parallel to each other, there is no sufficient ground to charge the chronicler with such warping of facts. Hence it is entirely wrong to deny to the books of Chronicles a genuine and great value for the history of the times of which they treat."

In *The Modern Review* for January, Professor Sayce furnishes a brief but suggestive article on "The Names of the First Three Kings of Israel." It is thought that the names Saul, David, and Solomon were really popular designations, "nicknames." The name *Saul*, "the demanded one," says the Professor, "when taken in connection with the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Israelitish monarchy, gives rise to suspicions." Israel was in a peculiar situation politically, "threatened on all sides by enemies;" Samuel, "who seems to have had no military capacities," was forced to yield to the cry of the people and give them the leader "that was asked for." Hence, although the conjecture has no other basis, we may suppose, according to the writer, that the name Saul was merely a "nickname," his real name being nowhere mentioned. In David's case, there is a better basis. No one else in ancient Jewish history bore this name. It is not a personal name. "It was a divine title applied to the youthful Sun-god, who was worshipped under the manifold names of Tammuz, Adonai, Hadad, and by the side of whom stood his female double and reflection Dido." This divine title, says Sayce, was given by his followers and people to the beloved founder of the Hebrew Empire. He endeavors to show that this is true, (1) from the fact that this appellation "beloved," was given to God by the Israelites, Isa. v., 1, the term "city of David" signifying not "the city which David captured, but the city of the God who was worshiped on the spot and whose title, 'the beloved one,' had become a sort of proper name"; (2) from the fact that the origin of the name is easily explained, since David was a favorite, "loved" by all, the idol of outlaws

* THE ANDOVER REVIEW. A Religious and Theological Monthly. Vol. 1., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Edited by E. C. Smyth, J. W. Churchill, W. J. Tucker, G. Harris, E. Y. Hincks. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Yearly subscription, \$3.00.

and desperadoes, the beloved of God, etc.: (3) from 2 Sam. XXI., 19, the best interpretation of which goes to show that the real name of David was El-hanan. From 2 Sam. XII., 24 we learn that the proper name of Solomon was Jedidiah, "the beloved of the Lord." Solomon, "peaceful," was only his popular name. While this name is used of no other person in the O. T., we find a king of Moab called Solomon, as well as a king of Assyria. Like David it may have been a name for the Deity, and so, as in the case of David, not have been used as a personal name.

The article closes with some remarks upon the length of these first three reigns. Saul's is placed at five years, Solomon's at twenty-five; the Biblical account assigning to each forty years. The length of David's reign as indicated in the Biblical record (2 Sam. v., 5) is accepted.

There is much that is interesting in this conjecture, but is there really any ground for accepting it? Is it not largely a fancy? What is implied in all this as to Prof. Sayce's views of the reliability of the Scripture record so far as concerns historical details?

The Alpha, published monthly at the University (of Boston) offices, 12 Somerset St. (Vol. II. No. 1) contains a paper by Rev. E. C. Ferguson, Ph. D., on *Why should young ministers keep up their Hebrew?* The reasons assigned and discussed are these: (1) It is a comparatively easy and simple language; (2) The student of Hebrew finds ready to his hand the most perfect tools to work with in the shape of Grammars and Lexicons; (3) The literature is all contained in one volume—the Old Testament; (4) The Hebrew literature, small as it is, is of immeasurable interest and importance; (5) The chief claim of Hebrew upon the minister is its direct bearing upon his own profession. All these points are well presented, except the second; the fact is that in the study of no language are really *practical* text-books so scarce. It is an evidence of increased interest in this department, to find such a topic as this discussed in such a place. This paper was read before the Alpha Chapter of the Alumni of Boston University.

It is pleasant to note that this subject has been discussed in a College Paper, *The Roanoke (Va.) Collegian*. Rev. J. E. Bushnell, of Prosperity, S. C., urges forcibly "The Value of Oriental Culture." Mr. Bushnell will find it hard to prove that the Hebrew "is the oldest form of human speech known to us" or that it has "preserved the purest form of the Semitic family of languages." He allows himself to become quite eloquent sometimes, in presenting the claims of this much neglected department of study. He is most correct in saying that "the value of Oriental culture must be rightly esteemed by our American Colleges, if we are to have a deep and broad religious life." The article is vigorous, and the writer shows a scholarly interest in the subject.

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No. 9.

THE DATE OF OBADIAH.

BY CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D.,

London, Ontario.

The time of the prophet is a matter of dispute. The following dates have their respective advocates :

1. Hofmann, Delitzsch, Keil and Kleinert place him in the reign of Jehoram, between B. C. 889-884.

2. Caspari, Jaeger, Hengstenberg, Haevernick and others place him in the reign of Uzziah.

3. Vitringa, Carpzov, and Kueper, in the time of Ahaz.

4. Aben Ezra, Luther, Calovius, Michaelis, Schurrer, Bertheau, Holzapfel, and very many moderns place the date of the prophecy immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

5. Hitzig and Eichhorn place it soon after 312 B. C.

The two elements available in solving the problem of its date are :

(1) The allusions to the assault and capture of Jerusalem, and the maltreatment of its inhabitants; and (2) the verbal coincidences with Joel, Amos, and Jeremiah.

The allusions to the capture of Jerusalem and the wicked conduct of the Edomites are found in vv. 10-14 of the book.

But Jerusalem was several times taken and plundered by its enemies, viz. : (1) by Shishak King of Egypt, in the fifth year of Rehoboam (1 Kings XIV., 25, 26; 2 Chron. XII., 2 sq.); (2) by the Philistines and Arabians in the time of Jehoram (2 Chron. XXI., 16, 17); (3) by Joash King of Israel in the reign of Amaziah (2 Kings, XIV., 13, 14; 2 Chron., XXV., 23, 24); (4) by the Chaldæans under Nebuchadnezzar, in the time of Jehoiakim, O. R. Hertwig's Tabellen, p. 54, (2 Kings XXIV., 1 sqq.; 2 Chron. XXXVI., 6, 7); (5) by the Chaldæans again, in the reign of Jehoiachin (2 Kings XXIV., 10 sqq.; 2 Chron. XXXVI., 10, (6) and finally destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, in the reign of Zedekiah (2 Kings XXV., sqq.; 2 Chron. XXXVI., 17-19).

Of these different assaults and captures, the first can have no bearing upon the question before us, inasmuch as in the time of Rehoboam the Edomites were subject to the Kingdom of Judah, and could not have done what Obadiah says they did. It cannot be the conquest of Jerusalem by Jehoash, King of Israel, in the reign of Amaziah, King of Judah; for the prophet describes the enemies as *sarim* and *nokhrim* (strangers and foreigners), terms, which point to gentile nations (compare Joel III., 17; Lam. v., 2; Deut. XVII., 15), and cannot apply to the people of the ten tribes. There remain the captures of Jerusalem by the Philistines and Arabians, in the time of Jehoram, and by the Chaldæans, in the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. To which of these does the prophet allude? The elements available, in solving the problem, as already stated, are (1) the allusions to the capture of the city; and (2) the verbal coincidences with Joel, Amos, and Jeremiah.

1. The allusions to the capture of Jerusalem (vv. 10-14), show that the Edomites took a malicious part in it; and that it was past, yet fresh in men's memories, when the prophet wrote. The expression, "for thy violence against thy brother Jacob" (v. 10), seems to refer to what was already past; so also the resolution of the infinitive construction into the preterite in the following instances: "In the day that thou stoodest; in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered his gate, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, * * * * in the day that he became a stranger, in the day of their destruction (vv. 11, 12)."

These infinitive constructions do not determine the question; for they may refer, so far as grammar is concerned, to a future act, or event, as well as to one past (Lev. XXIII., 22). Yet the whole frame and texture of verses 10-14 indicate that the event was past; and in v. 15 the prophet uses the preterite and says: "As thou has done, it shall be done unto thee." In these verses he employs the language of detailed description, which is more appropriate to the past than to the future.

An objection to this view is found in the words אֵל-תִּרְיָא, "look not," which, in our version, are rendered, "thou shouldst not have looked." Nordheimer (Heb. Gram. vol. II., sec. 1,065, 1) says: "Now as a dependent proposition of this sort can relate only to an action not yet performed, this particle (אֵל) appears with no tense but the absolute future [in 1 Sam. XXVII., 10, it is found with the absolute past form], either in its full form, or as apocopated; and then it expresses an earnest deprecation." This is grammatically true. But we must not

forget the nature of prophetic speech, which depicts from eyesight. The scene is before the Seer, but whether in vision of the future, or in imagination of the past, there is nothing in the mere words to determine.

2. The verbal coincidences with Jeremiah, Joel, and Amos.

Bleek holds that Obadiah follows Jeremiah, and of course Joel.

Caspari and Haevernick maintain that Jeremiah follows Obadiah, and Obadiah Joel.

Ewald holds that Jeremiah and Obadiah follow and embody a former prophecy, probably posterior to Joel.

Hofmann, Delitzsch, and Kleinert assign him to the first period of written prophecy, and are of the opinion that Jeremiah and Joel both imitate Obadiah.

On comparing Jeremiah XLIX., 7-22 with Obadiah, it does not appear that the latter made use of the former. Whatever be the relation of the two prophets, Obadiah is the original. The verses common to the two form in Obadiah one compact, consecutive progressive passage. In Jeremiah they are scattered and disjointed. We may conclude, therefore, that Obadiah preceded Jeremiah, and that his prophecy referred to a tragedy already past, which, consequently, could not have been the Chaldean conquest.

We have already seen that it could not have been the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak in the time of Rehoboam; nor the capture by Jehoash, King of Israel, in the reign of Amaziah, King of Judah: it remains, therefore, that it must have been the capture by the Philistines and Arabians, in the time of Jehoram. This calamity forms a historic epoch both to Joel III., 19, and to Amos I., 6, 11. The relation of Obadiah to these two prophets, so clearly perceived by those who arranged the Canon, inclines us to regard him as belonging to the same prophetic era and circle of thought. Whether he was before Joel, or after Amos, cannot be easily determined.

This conclusion seems to agree best with the inner relationship of this prophecy, which places it entirely within the circle of view of those prophecies, among which the collectors of the Canon have placed it, that is, the oldest. This will appear from an examination of the book.

(1). It does not mention the great monarchs of the world.

(2). The enemies who captured Jerusalem, were strangers and foreigners (v. 11).

(3). Besides the Edomites, the author names none except the Philistines (v. 19), and the Phœnicians (Zarephath, v. 20), both of whom appear in Joel III., 4, as enemies of the Kingdom.

(4). Aram is not mentioned, so that the horizon of Obadiah is narrower than that of Amos (Am. I., 5 ; IX., 7).

(5). The two kingdoms are in existence. The southern one consists of the tribes of Judah (which inhabits the Negeb and the lowland), and Benjamin (v. 19) ; the northern (Ephraim and Gilead) must yet be possessed, that a united kingdom may arise, one army of the children of Israel (vv. 19, 20).

(6). The captives of Jerusalem are not carried away to the east, but are sold as slaves into the west, precisely as in Joel ; to the Javan, (Ionia) of Joel III., 6 corresponds the Sepharad of Obadiah (v. 20).

(7). The middlemen, who made traffic of the captives, are doubtless the same as those named in Am. I., 9 and Joel III., 6, the Phœnicians, whom Obadiah also (v. 20) expressly mentions.

(8). Of a destruction not a word is said, but only of capture and ravage.

(9). The hostile attitude of Edom is by no means a state of things first produced by the Babylonian destruction, and before unheard of. In Joel III., 19, and Amos I., 11 ff. ; IX., 12, precisely as here, Edom appears as an enemy of Judah, deserving double chastisement on account of his original relation to Israel. The Israelites and Edomites were descended from brothers.

It would be incongruous to refer all these predictions just cited, which, for the most part, wear a very distinctly historical aspect, to the incidental position, which Edom occupied two centuries later in the Chaldæan catastrophe ; the more incongruous, because from the time of Moses onward (Num. XX., 14 ff.), the attitude of this neighboring nation toward Israel was, according to the historical books also, hostile in a high degree (1 Sam XIV., 47 ; 2 Sam. VIII., 14 ; 1 Kings XI., 14 ff. ; 2 Kings VIII., 20, etc).

These considerations render it probable that Obadiah prophesied before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians ; and that he should be placed among the earlier prophets. Hofmann, Delitzsch, Keil, and Kleinert are probably not far astray in placing him in the reign of Jehoram, B. C. 889-884.

THE SCRIPTURAL CONCEPTION OF THE GLORY OF GOD.

BY PROFESSOR H. P. SMITH,

Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

My attention was called to this subject by a recent series of articles and letters in the London *Spectator*. A Roman Catholic writer had emphasized the duty of doing all things to the glory of God, calling attention to the fact that while to be self-centred is in man a vice, it is a necessary attribute of God, who must be moved in all he does by a desire for his own glory. This view was criticized as implying that man could in some way add to or diminish the divine glory. In reply the Romanist distinguished between the intrinsic and the extrinsic glory of God; man cannot, of course, add to what God is in himself, but he can further the *manifestation* of God. This is undoubtedly true. The only question is whether it is proper or scriptural to speak of an intrinsic glory of God—whether it is not always true in Scripture that God's Glory is the external manifestation of something within, which must be called by some other name. The prominence of the idea of God's glory and of man's glorifying Him in the Calvinistic system justifies such study of Bible usage as shall give us clear conceptions of what is meant.

The word glory in our version of the Old Testament is used to render nine different Hebrew words, not all of them, however, referring to God. In the New Testament we have *δόξα* uniformly used except in one instance. *Δόξα* is the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew כְּבוֹד, and as this is the word generally used of the divine glory I will examine it at some length.

The Hebrew word כְּבוֹד is from a root meaning *to be heavy*, first in the physical sense, Qal and adj.; of a yoke, 1 Kgs. XII., 11, of a cloud, Ex. XIX., 16, of Absalom's hair, 2 Sam. XIV., 26; then *to be severe* or *grievous*, as hard service, Neh. V., 18, a distressing war, 1 Sam. XXXI., 3, of the *oppressive* hand of a ruler or of the hand of Jehovah in affliction, 1 Sam. v., 11 (on the Philistines who had the Ark). Then it means to be heavy in the sense of *sluggish*, as the ears Is. LIX., 1 or the eyes Gen. XLVIII., 10 (Jacob). The adjective is used to describe the heart of Pharaoh where we say his heart was *hard* (Ex. VII., 14). Closely connected with this meaning is the next, *to be numerous* or *great*, as children Job XIV., 21, cattle, Ex. XII., 28, a people, Num. XI., 14, an army, 1 K. X., 2. We may notice here Ps. XXXVIII., 5, where the Psalmist confesses that his sins are *too heavy* for him. The adjective is used (as we say, a heavy misfortune) to describe a famine, a pesti-

lence or a mourning for the dead. Gen. L., 11 (Hiph. causative of above).

Slightly different is the use in connection with affairs or business, where it denotes *importance*, as we speak of affairs of weight, weighty business—the work that devolved on Moses is called כָּבֵד (burdensome) Ex. XVIII., 18. Only a little remove further is to speak of a man of *weight* who is generally a man of wealth as Abraham is said to be (Gen. XIII., 2) “exceedingly weighty in cattle and in silver and gold.” So Tyre is spoken of as a wealthy city, Ezek. XXVII., 25.

Here we find the point at which the noun כְּבוֹד makes its start. It denotes generally *wealth* or *splendor*. So it is to be translated Is. X., 3:

What will ye do in the day of visitation
And in the destruction which cometh from afar?
To whom will ye flee for help
And where will ye leave your *treasures*?

The allusion is to the ill-gotten gains. So Is. LXI., 6.

The strength of the heathen shall ye eat
And of their wealth [LXX. ἐν τῷ πλοῦτι] shall ye make boast.

The word is used to describe the pomp of Ahasuerus and of Haman (Esth. I., 4 and V., 11), of Jacob's wealth Gen. XXXI., 3, Joseph's state, Gen. XLV., 23, cf. Ps. XLIX., 17, 18.

“Fear not when a man grows rich,
When the treasure [כֶּסֶף] of his house is great.
For in his death he shall not take any of it.
His treasure [כֶּסֶף] shall not descend with him.”

The word is used of sepulchral pomp, Is. XIV., 18. “All the kings of the nations, all of them, lie in pomp [כֶּסֶף] each in his own house (tomb).” Further of the beauty of Lebanon, Is. X., 18, and of the Temple, Haggai II., 3, of a throne, I Sam. I., 8 and of a chariot, Is. XXII., 18 (in the last two cases the noun in the genitive instead of an adjective). The inhabitants of a country are its כֶּסֶף, Is. X., 16.

One of a man's most precious possessions is the esteem of his fellows, which is therefore sometimes called his כֶּסֶף—at least in those passages where it is contrasted with contempt or light esteem (קִלְיוֹן) as Hos. IV., 7. More precious still is one's own soul which is also called כֶּסֶף usually in poetry and parallel with נֶפֶשׁ as Gen. XLIX., 6, Ps. VII., 6, XVI., 9. The soul is so called probably as being man's highest ornament—that which makes him better than the brutes. Finally God himself is the crowning ornament [כֶּסֶף] of the believer (Ps. III., 4) or of his people (Jer. II., 11).

Coming now to the passages in which כֶּסֶף is ascribed to God, it is evident that we should expect it to refer to some manifestation of Him

rather than to His *being* in itself. This expectation is fulfilled in a number of passages in which this glory is said to be *seen*, some of them in the proper sense. Thus it is said, Ex. XL., 34: "And the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the *glory of Jehovah* filled the Tabernacle;" Num. XIV., 10: "The glory of Jehovah appeared in [or on] the tent of meeting to all the children of Israel;" Deut. v., 21: "And ye said behold Jehovah our God hath showed us [caused us to see] His glory and His greatness, and we have heard his voice from the midst of the fire." The glory of Jehovah in all these cases is the visible appearance of cloud or fire which rested on Sinai or on the Tabernacle. Ezekiel uses the same word; after describing his vision he adds; "This was the appearance of the likeness of the *glory of Jehovah*, and I saw and fell on my face" (ch. 1., 28). "And I rose and went out into the plain and beheld the *glory of Jehovah* was standing there, like the *glory* which I saw at the river Chebar" (III., 23). Those passages which speak of the glory of God as manifest in creation also imply that it is something visible—as the glory of God on the heavens or recounted by them, Ps. XIX., 2, or filling the earth, Is. VI., 3.

The glory of God then is something made known by outward appearance. It is evident that his character may be made known in other ways than this. It may be seen by the spiritual vision, Is. XL., 5, "The *glory of Jehovah* shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together"—in the redemption of his people, that is. The earth is described as filled with the *knowledge of the glory of Jehovah* (Hab. II., 14). This knowledge may be spread by man, Ps. XCVI., 3. "*Recount* among the heathen his glory (cf. Is. XLII., 8, 12), among all nations his wonderful works." One of the most instructive passages bearing on this subject is Ex. XXXIV., 5, sq. In the preceding chapter Moses has said: I beseech thee show me thy glory; and in answer God has promised to show him such part of it as Moses could bear. The fulfilment of the promise is our passage, "And Jehovah came down in the cloud and stood with him there and called the name of Jehovah. And Jehovah passed before him and cried, Jehovah, Jehovah, a God merciful and compassionate, slow of anger and abounding in love and faithfulness; preserving [his] grace to thousands, taking away iniquity and transgression and sin, but who will not always leave unpunished, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children upon the third generation and upon the fourth." According to this the glory of Jehovah is the *manifestation* of his love and his justice in his dealings with his creatures. Ezekiel also speaks of the divine glory as manifest in the divine judgments (ch. XXXIX., 21). We give glory to him

by confession of sin (Josh. VII., 19) inasmuch as we make his justice manifest.

To *glorify* God can only be one of two things, either to recognize his glory (to acknowledge it) or to make it known to others. The Hebrew uses the same word for honoring man and glorifying God. "A son honors [כבוד] his father and a servant his master; if I be a father where is my honor [כבוד]?" Mal. I., 6. Evidently the honor here claimed is filial respect and obedience—such respect and obedience glorify the recipient. God promises to honor them that honor him (1 Sam. II., 30) where the same verb is used. He glorifies his footstool by showing his glory there (Is. LX., 13). He shows forth his own glory in his destruction of Pharaoh (Ex. XIV., 4) and in his judgments on Sidon (Ezek. XXVIII., 22). One man honors another by courteous or deferential attention—as Samuel did Saul even after he was rejected from the kingship (1 Sam. XV., 30) or as David did to Hanun when he sent him an embassy of condolence. The princes of Ammon at that time said to Hanun: Is David *honoring* thy father in that he sends thee comforters? (2 Sam. X., 3). A false god is in one place spoken of as honored by offerings (Dan. XI., 38). Jehovah also is [glorified] honored by the gifts of his people (Prov. III., 9), by sacrifices (Is. XLIII., 23), by the offering of thanksgiving (Ps. L., 23, תודה), by having a house built for him (Hag. I., 8); it is possible to glorify him with the lips while the heart is far away (Is. XXIX., 13).

The space proper to a paper of this kind will allow only a brief examination of New Testament usage. The word there used is *δόξα*, and it was adopted by the New Testament writers because it is generally in the LXX. the equivalent of כבוד. It is derived from a root meaning *to appear* and is in the first instance simply *the appearance* of a thing, hence also in a good sense *reputation, honor*. Passages might be quoted from the New Testament similar in meaning to those already noted. A number refer to the visible splendor which surrounds the throne of God as in the appearance to the shepherds at Bethlehem when the "*glory* of the Lord shone round about them" (Luke II., 9); so of Christ's radiant appearance at the transfiguration (Luke IX., 31). As we might expect, the spiritual side of the divine glory is prominent in the New Testament. John speaks of the disciples as seeing a *glory* as of the only begotten of the Father, in Christ when he became flesh and dwelt among us (I., 14). Christ's *glory* was seen in the miracle at Cana (II., 11) and in the raising of Lazarus (XI., 4). He himself declares that his father is glorified in the fruitfulness of his disciples (John XV., 8), and Paul describes us as reflecting the glory of God (1 Cor. III., 18). All these passages show that the glory of God is a

moral glory, a manifestation of the moral attributes in the divine character.

One word in conclusion. The writer spoken of above urges that to be self-centred is in God an excellence, and the ordinary view of such passages as the one which speaks of God as creating all things for his own glory, makes them assert this same truth. It is possible to overlook the other truth, however, that God regards his own glory as most enhanced in his beneficence towards his creatures. He desires that his character should be known to them because it is to them the greatest of all blessings, to know and love and honor him—and because they will find it a privilege to make him known to their fellows.



THE DOCTRINE OF FUTURE LIFE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY REV. H. O. ROWLANDS,

Elgin, Ill.

It is proposed to consider the doctrine of the immortality of the soul in the Old Testament, as it is defined in the New. It is not *indestructibility of substance*; the grossest materialist holds to that. Nor endless existence; the pantheist holds that man does not cease to exist at his death any more than does the wave perish when it subsides on the water; but that soul and wave return into their original states. It is into a like conclusion the Light (?) of Asia leads man. Nirvana is a *kind* of immortality, an eternity of essence; but compared with Christ's teaching of the doctrine, Gautama's definition is little better than annihilation; conscious personality, individuality, and identity are ended forever when the soul reaches perfection.

The Christian definition of immortality is that *death is the ascent of the person into a higher condition of life*.

This definition implies,—(a) that in the change of death nothing is lost to personality; the change is that of conditions and environments. The “shuffling off of the mortal coil” does not affect the identity of the person any more than does a change of garment. (b) That in the new state, as in the former, spirit cannot be conceived of as personal unless conditioned by some environment; this we name *body*. The New Testament speaks of the future environment as the person “putting on incorruption and immortality,”—as “being clothed upon,”—and as a “spiritual body.” All this shows that the spirit-life of man will be there as here conditioned; it will be personal and tangible,—“known” as it now “knoweth.” (c) That the future state of the soul is higher than the present one. Life in it is intenser. Whether the

person moves in the enjoyment of his rewards, or in a penal, or purgatorial state, the soul has a larger scope for its faculties, and greater advantages with which to attain to its capabilities. It will be unclogged by clay, unhampered by the limitations of mortality; the bars of flesh and blood will no longer imprison it,—but it will enjoy, or suffer forever its natural liberty in its native clime.

Does the Old Testament teach this conscious, personal immortality? Did the heroes and saints of its history apprehend the truth in this light? The popular belief of Bible readers is that the future life is directly and plainly taught in the Old Testament, and that the proofs of it are as convenient and abundant as in the New. In this, popular belief is certainly in error; for, while *all* regard the New Testament the authoritative text-book of the subject, there is a great learning that fails to see anything bearing upon the faith in the Old, or at most, but dim hopes and aspirations with respect to it. Therefore, in examining the subject, and seeking reasonable and right conclusions, evidences that are disputed by great learning must not be admitted without at least questioning them.

The Old Testament writings reflect the intellectual life and religious beliefs of the Hebrews, and where their interpretation is doubtful, it would be a great help in understanding them if from other sources we discover what was the *probable* attitude of the Hebrew mind with respect to such questions. This knowledge we must seek in the records of the times and nations that environed the beginnings of the Hebrew nation in both its patriarchal and national life. The ancestors of the Hebrews, from among whom Abraham was called,—the Chaldæans—were believers in a future existence for the soul. The mythology of the Babylonians as made known in their great epic, and particularly in the sixth lay, gives a good idea of the Chaldæan conception of the future life. Certain favored persons were encouraged to look forward to a life immortal and blessed in a land where the gods feast and know no evil. The Chaldaic Hades is much like the Hebrew Sheol and the Homeric Hades. From among such people the “Father of the faithful” came, and he could not have migrated from them without carrying with him, not only their sublime monotheistic faith, but the doctrine that is second only in importance to that, viz.:—the belief in a future state.

At the inception of the *national life* of the Hebrews we find them in Egypt, the slaves of a great, intellectual, and religious people. They must have been permeated by the thoughts, faith and religion of their masters. This we see in the record that when they had escaped the thralldom of the brick-yard in which for 400 years they had suffer-

ed, still they were not able to shake off from their minds the religious customs and beliefs of the Egyptians; they worshipped a calf after the manner of their late masters; they indulged in divinations, necromancies, and witchcraft,—superstitions so prevalent in Egypt. A prohibition of these customs under the penalty of death was not enough to eradicate them from the life of the Hebrew. But, no faith so permeated and molded the life and character of the Egyptians as their belief in the immortality of the soul. They embalmed their dead, and while the exact purpose of this custom is not assured, the trend of testimony is that it rose from the faith that the spirit would again occupy the preserved body. Indeed, any system or scheme for the *preservation* of the body, rather than its destruction, has arisen from the hope of its resurrection. Cremation is a custom materialistic in its origin and prevalence. It must not be concluded, however, that the Egyptian idea of immortality was identical with the Christian; for although the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the future life was rigidly held, still, while all the dead went down to *Kerneret* (the Egyptian Sheol), the resurrection was the portion only of those who had committed no mortal sin. The reprobate and lost, after a long course of torments and agonies is condemned to annihilation; he is beheaded on the infernal scaffold, and is at last devoured. The good, after cycles of time spent in purifications, combats, victories, at last comes out triumphant and his whole being is absorbed into the god Osiris. The First Giver of life becomes at last its eternal home.

Such were the faiths of the two great nations that environed the fountal existence of the Hebrews; the Chaldæans being at the head of their family descent, and the Egyptians at the beginning of their national life; and we cannot escape the conclusion that these nations impressed their belief in immortality upon the first pupils of the Old Testament writings, and on the writers themselves. From those facts it is assured that the doctrine of existence beyond death was known to the Hebrews. But, could they from these sources have cherished such a faith in the truth as Christianity unfolds? The Greek mind was certainly no less acute than was the Hebrew, and if the Greeks did not receive their faith directly from Egypt, their scholars, poets, and philosophers were greatly influenced by Egyptian thought and learning. Indeed, it may not be proper to aver that any one nation received the *conception*, the *idea* of immortality from another nation; the faith, like the one in the existence of God, or in the ideas of good and evil, is innate, intuitive to the soul; but we readily trace the coloring, modifications, phases, *species*, as it were, of the doctrine transmitted from one country, or nation to another. And if it be objected that

Greece received this faith from Egypt, it is certain that either both nations received it from common Oriental sources, or that Egypt was the religious teacher of the Greek. The ideas of future rewards and punishments, of gradations in the unseen world, and the doctrine of transmigration cherished in Egypt and Greece, all point to a close kinship of thought on eschatology. In my judgment this similarity is due to the fact that Greece was the pupil of Egypt, as the Hebrews had been, although not to the same extent.

Consider this faith as it appears in the mold of the Greek mind, and see if it bear any kinship to the Christian conception of it. Surveying the field from Homer to Plato, covering over six centuries, we discover the following conception of the future life: The very bad after death were banished into Tartarus; the very good entered Elysium; but both these regions were of a dreamy and unsubstantial character. As to Elysium, Homer in his Dantean visions represents Achilles wandering among the shades and declaring the meanest life on earth to be preferable to the unsubstantial glory of Elysium. In the mind of this poet death was the destruction of personality; for in the first lines of the Iliad, he sings of the heroes slain in battle before Troy, that their souls were dispatched to Hades [Plato would have said that the *pure essence* had gone to exist independent of the material], and *they themselves* were left a prey to dogs and birds. Indeed, in the Greek mind immortality—such as it was—was not for a man, but for the gods, and the few they made divine; and the names Tartarus, Hades and Elysium were attached to the locations of disembodied life-forces. Gods alone were immortal. Whatever may have been Socrates' ideas of immortality [the *Phaedo*, the most direct in its bearing upon the subject, is confessedly more Platonic than Socratic], it is certain that Plato's ideas were far from being identical with those of the New Testament. He floundered amid speculations of pre-existence, transmigration, and the incorporeality of the soul. In the last he seems to occupy a middle position between Brahminical absorption and the Christian "incorruption" and "immortality," with which the soul will be "clothed upon" at the resurrection. The conception that death is an enlargement of the personality, an intensification of life, is certainly not found in Greek eschatology. The oration on Mars Hill on the resurrection of the dead would have fallen on unbelieving ears in the palmy days of Athens, as it did when it was delivered by the Apostle of the Great Revelation. And when the Greek theology and religion came in contact with the more precise and exacting analysis of the Romans, both vanished into fancies and fictions in the agnosticism of the Stoic, and materialism of the Epicurean.

Remembering that Abraham received his teachings on the Future Life from the Chaldæans, and Moses from the Egyptians, almost identical sources, and observing what those doctrines were, as they seed out in the religion of the Greeks and Romans, we have a basis to *theorize*, at least, as to what were the Hebrew conceptions of the Great Truth, so far as they received it from their teachers in religion and masters in politics and thought. From these data we conclude that the conception was crude, imperfect and uninspirational. Another source of education on this doctrine open to the Hebrews, was the early records of creation—records that did not concern their national life, but were known to them. They read, as we do, that man was formed out of the dust—but that was only a *form*, a lifeless statue; afterwards God breathed into him the “breath of life,” and the “living soul” was the result.

The thoughtful Hebrew must have noticed that all creations were caused to evolve out of the earth, and had an earthly life,—i. e., they bore the nature of the source; so also when he read that the living soul was an impartation of God—His breathing—His *living*—this creation also must bear the character of its source; hence a personality, and personality is an underlying fact of immortality. It is from this record of man’s origin—a record that has ever in some shape or another, been the common heritage of the race of man—that all nations of the East, particularly the Chaldæans and Egyptians, primarily reasoned the truth of immortality. They saw the Divine Decree verified that every herb yielded fruit “after its kind whose seed was in itself”—the growth partaking of the nature of the seed. It was an easy step from that to the conclusion that what was born of spirit is a spirit, and that an immortal person would endow His offspring with personal immortality, since they were born in his likeness and image.

This root-record of the divine birth of man must ever have thrilled its possessor with the dream, the hope of immortality of some kind, together with a faith in it, but, as we have already seen, a *crude* faith.

Having considered some of the great sources from which the intellectual and religious life of the Hebrews unfolded, we are better able to understand their peculiar scriptures without calling to our aid the assumption that God had revealed to them this truth, for this assumption is begging the very question at issue. It should be remembered that the poverty of direct, emphatic declarations on the subject is not a presumption against the view that the Old Testament teaches the doctrine; for the Old Testament is a political history rather than a treatise on religion. The Hebrew authors were in the main statesmen and politicians and not deep thinkers, like Plato, Gautama, Zoroas-

ter, or the Egyptian sages. They wrote for the benefit, and in the interest of the state. The hymns of Miriam, Moses, Deborah, Asaph, and David were national songs of thanksgiving, sorrow or supplication, and not theological hymns, such as we write and sing. They were certainly religious; so was the state religious. The Old Testament was to the Hebrews what Bancroft's History is to Americans; theology was but an *incident* to it. The account of creation is given only that the origin of the Hebrew race may be seen. If there had been a great Hebrew thinker, a religious philosopher (the one that came nearest to such a character was for a large part of his life an agnostic on this subject), we should now possess a treatise containing the views, hopes and beliefs of Palestine on this great question. Hence, the meagreness of Old Testament teaching in respect to this doctrine must not be construed as a sure proof that the writers were ignorant concerning it. In a few passages in the Old Testament the doctrine by all fair interpretation is declared; as in Psalm XVI., 10; Ps. XVII., 15. Isa. XXVI., 19, Dan. XII., 2. In many more it is fairly implied. Without doubt many passages are quoted as teaching the faith which have no bearing upon it. To claim that a future existence was an unknown faith to the Hebrews seems to me an emasculation of the first and plainest sense of those passages; without that supposition a far-fetched and unwarranted interpretation must be given to them. No portions of the Old Testament indicate the popular belief of the Hebrews on the subject more than do some of its narratives. It is immaterial what construction, or interpretation we give to these; for it is not for the truth of the narratives we are now seeking, but for the popular faith they reflect. The translation of Enoch and Elijah; the story of the recall of Samuel by the Witch of Endor; the resuscitation of the widow's child where it is recorded that his "*soul came back to him*,"—these records, with others similar to them, go to show that the belief prevailed that death was not the end of existence. As to what *kind* of an existence, its condition and duration, nothing is explained, but an after-death existence is certainly acknowledged. In the light of the foregoing statements may we conclude that the Future Life is taught in the Old Testament with the fulness it is in the New? Did the poets and prophets of the Old Dispensation understand its import, as did the authors of the Gospels and Letters? *No*. There are other facts that qualify such claims; facts that go to show that the Old Testament conception of this faith was less clear, and had in it far less power and influence than the conception revealed in the New.

1. In the dispensation of the Gospel so bright has been the light, so

potent the sentiment, so clear the conditions of the future life that humanity has been guided, shaped and swayed by it. Souls receive inspiration from it, as flowers receive their odor and color from sky and sun. Its resplendent beams strike through the darkness of solitude, lighting it with the presence of Heaven and of the "cloud of witnesses" that press around the Gates of Pearl. The weary and heartsick are cheered by it as the midnight traveler is inspired by the gleams of light from his home-window. By faith in it men and women in sickness and in death have beheld the City of Light born out of the mists in the glory of its becking joys. The old Hebrews needed the same consolations; but nowhere do we find a weeping Rachel or bereaved Rispah receiving help from this faith. The truth is cherished and mentioned by only a few, and that in poetic flights. Admitting that the passages usually quoted as referring to it are correctly interpreted, even then only the tips of the high mountain peaks are colored by this holy light. In no place is the truth of immortal existence named as a warning to eschew sin, or an inspiration to live holy. Rewards and retributions, hopes and fears are limited by the horizon of this life. A brief life, material judgments, temporal retribution were the threats for a life of sin. Canaan, a long life, and material prosperity were the rewards of virtue.

2. Consider the one prominent term used in speaking of the future state—*Sheol*. The word refers to the place in which the departed dead exist. It is found sixty-five times in the Old Testament. But the word betokened no comfort. Its very origin had a gloomy association (probably) from a verb meaning to *ask*, to *inquire*, implying that the netherworld always *demand*ed, with no hint of its ever returning a life that had been taken. The *location* of Sheol was in the depths, a land of darkness, Job x., 22. It was to the best of men never a place of desire, except when they were overwhelmed with afflictions, Job III., 13-22. The Psalms are full of aversion to it, as LXXXVIII., 10-13 and many other instances. Hezekiah, in his matchless poem of gratitude, rejoices that he has escaped it for a season, Isa., XXXVIII., 9-20. There was no difference in the lot of those who existed there, Job III., 17-19. The realm is marked as one in which consciousness and personality are limited, a land of shadow, of silence, of dreamless sleep. Passions were paralyzed, and the spiritual energies benumbed. And here men were gathered to sleep.

3. A further evidence that the Old Testament's revelation of immortality was faint is the fact that while the most spiritual alone were able to profit by it, yet *they* were not satisfied except in a few of their inspirational hours. Often in times of depres-

sion they were given over to uncertainty, and even to a positive hopelessness of a life after death. Job moans: "But man dieth and wasteth away, yea, man giveth up the ghost—[Heb. breathes out, expires] and where is he? As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up, so man lieth down and riseth not, till the heavens be no more they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep" (XIV., 10-13). He calls the change into which death leads him "the land of darkness, of the shadow of death, without any order, where the light is as darkness (X., 22). My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and are spent without hope. My life is wind; mine eye shall see no more good (marginal reading—"shall not return to enjoy"). David prays: "O spare me that I may recover strength before I go hence, and be no more." Again: "What profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee?" (xxx., 9). Isaiah says: "The grave cannot praise thee; death can not celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth" (XXXVIII., 18).

These passages—and there are many others similar to them—go to show how weak was the faith of the Old Testament saints in immortality, and hence how limited was the revelation of it. Indeed, it can hardly be called a settled faith; rather a hope kindled in moments of great inspiration. It was a poetry, and true poetry is intuitive with respect to the highest truths, and prophetic of their revelation. The true relation of the Old Testament to the Future Life is that of *gradual development*. In the earliest writing of that volume it is exceedingly dim—so much so that the learned Sadducee—who rejected the later scriptures—could not find it there; and when Christ quoted from them to prove it, it was such an evidence that the saints of the patriarchal times could not possibly have enjoyed. In the story of the creation of man it must be reasoned from inferences, and not accepted as a declaration. We come to the translation of Enoch, and while that event *hints* at the fact, it is not conclusive. He walked with God, "and God took him," but suppose he had been a less worthy man, would he then have been taken? Moreover, his immortality is but a continued life—he did not die—he passed the king of shadows without a battle; suppose that death had come to him, would he have survived? Jacob saw a ladder reaching into heaven; it was the highway of celestial immortals, but there is no hint that he saw a disembodied spirit of man moving on the strange path. There were other truths that must be taught the race before this great spiritual one could be appreciated or apprehended. Standing as we do, in the spiritual glow of the Christian faith,

we are not able to realize the preparation of heart and mind required to conceive of and accept the doctrine of Life Everlasting. Our missionaries, who come in contact with those whose education is in the line of soul annihilation, or absorption, have realized the difficulty of getting men even to *appreciate* the gift of an eternal personal existence.

In the age following the deluge the sacredness of human life was impressed upon the race. The *present life* must be made "worth living" before the value of life in the future could be understood. In the patriarchal age the great idea of GOD was unfolded; His personality and communion with men. Hence Abraham was called "The Friend" [of God] and the "Father of the Faithful." When the patriarchal system passed into the national life of the Jewish people, there were impressed upon men the authority of God, and His government over men; His right to their service and love; the holiness of His laws, the wickedness of sin, with a constant pointing to the doctrine of forgiveness. "The future life was not denied," as Mr. Stanley says in his *History of the Jewish Church*; "but it was overlooked, set aside, overshadowed by the consciousness of the living, actual presence of God himself." Axioms, definitions, must be learned before entering on the problems whose solution is eternity. The divine plan of education was what Paul has so philosophically expressed: "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual." The personality of God, His companionship and government, were the stalk on which this truth must unfold; the worth of life, of the home, of the family, of a land long promised, were the outward husks, the chaff that were to ensheath and protect this richer spiritual faith. The earthly, temporal blessings, coming in the name of God and religion, were the heralds of the old Dispensation crying out to the soul of man that something grander, worthier, and more enduring was coming. But a full revelation of it could not then have been appreciated. Passing onward to the age of Hebrew poetry we find expressions and experiences that are quivering with the stirring of the great Truth. Strokes of great calamity struck from the poet-king sparks of the divine hope, and in its gleams we read such words: "I shall be satisfied when I awake in Thy likeness." And: "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward receive me into glory." "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave; for he shall receive me." As the nation was, by ages of disappointments and sorrows, trained to consider God's providence from a more spiritual standpoint, still more of the great Truth was unfolded, and the seraph-prophet

declares that there was a kingdom in which "the dead men" should again live and righteousness receive a fitting reward. At last, after the Hebrews had received the training of Mosaism; after psalmists and prophets had for centuries taught and inspired them; after they had lost their Canaan, and were captives and slaves in a foreign land, they became spiritualized. They had read change and mortality in all earthly things; and longings were generated in them for the incorruptible and eternal. Then arose one of the divinest of the Hebrew poets, and speaking when the sacred language was passing away, and his own years on earth were closing, and his faith clearly discerning the borderland of joys that were fadeless, he says: "They that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt; and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever." Dan XII., 2, 3.

During the inter-Testament ages,—ages of terrible storms that beat upon the Chosen People, the great hope was so intensified as to become a living *faith*. Doubtless then it was that the philosophy, or rather the *gospel* of the Phaedo had reached the Jewish mind by the way of Alexandria. In the Book of Daniel we see what appear to be traces of contact between the Zendavesta and the Jew,—but no matter as to the means by which came greater light, we are able to read from the Book of Wisdom such glowing passages as: "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God: in the sight of the unwise they seem to die, but they are in peace." "God created man to be immortal, and made him an image of his own eternity, &c." So Miltonic in its views of the past, so Dantean in its vision of the future is the Book of Enoch, that the writers of the New Testament have borrowed figures, and similitudes from it,—and it throbs with the hope of immortality as the heavens throb forth the starbeams. We see realized in the life of a nation what is true in the life of man: while earth was enjoyable to the Hebrews, and the Syrian Canaan fast in their possession, they thought little of a brighter home. But when providence withdrew her favors, and great calamities overwhelmed them, they longingly turned their eyes toward a hope and faith that held before them a realm rich in joys everlasting; and immortality shed its fadeless bloom on all the fields. In sailing between two shores—in the measure that one shore is removed and its landscapes become mere outlines, and even these last become dim,—in that measure does the shore beyond reveal its outlines and life. And so, as men and nations are removed from earthliness and mortality they are brought into communion with

the spiritual, the unseen, and the immortal. As earth recedes, heaven approaches. Notwithstanding the fact that a belief in a future existence was cherished by all nations, as well as by the Hebrews, all evidences go to show that the faith was often weak and always little better than a caricature of the sublime Christian doctrine. Those who confidently claim that the Jews held it are not so clear that they considered the resurrection to be the portion of the wicked and the gentile. Heaven seemed to be like the first Canaan,—something in keeping for the pious child of Abraham. Transmigration, absorption, annihilation were the phases of the future world to the heathen. The Pharisaic conception of it was sensuous and selfish. The resurrection was something that would glorify the Jews and enlarge the kingdom of the coming earthly Messiah. At the beginning of the Christian era the civilized world had become faithless with respect to the doctrine. The sensuality and worldliness of Rome—which she radiated on all her provinces—were like mists from icebergs completely shadowing the faith. The pantheistic Stoic and godless Epicurean united at least in one thing, viz., that the resurrection of the dead was visionary, unworthy of the philosophy of the Stoic and repugnant to the sensual Epicurean. The Judæan phase of the resurrection was at this time a hideous spiritualism, and while the Saviour condemns the unbelief of the Sadducee, he never commends the belief of Pharisee or Herodian. And though the Jews had the Old Testament writings as we have, the doctrine of the Future Life they deduced from it as it prevailed at the appearance of Christ was sensuous, crude and monstrous. They, like Plato, needed something stronger than a “raft” on which they might sail to the land afar off; a “firmer vessel” of a “divine word” must find the sea-tossed voyagers.

CONCLUSION.

The relations of the Old Testament to this faith are like unto its relations to other revealed truths,—from its beginning to the close there is a constant unfolding. The light increases as the spiritual eye of man is able to receive it. Indeed, here, as elsewhere, the law of revelation of all truth, political, social, moral, scientific and spiritual, is the same; by inquiries, hints, inspirational prophecies, there is a gradual unfolding until at last comes the perfect day. For thousands of years the Gospel doctrine of the Future Life struggled for a place in the heart and faith of the world; it was tortured, caricatured or banished; at last there came from the dominion of death the RISEN CHRIST, clothed in the habiliments of a spiritual body, possessing the

flexibilities and attributes of a spiritual life, and in this glorious, mysterious environment He ascended into heaven ; there for the first time was death abolished and life and immortality brought into a full and resplendent light.

STUDIES IN ARCHÆOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

J. A. SMITH, D. D.,

Editor of *The Standard*, Chicago.

II.

Tradition, in its Relation to History; (1) To History in General.

I.

This subject seems germane to the principal topic of these studies, because of the fact that alike in archaeological inquiry and in dealing with comparative religion, we look so often for the archaeological record or for the material of comparison, *both* to history and to tradition. This is more especially the case when what is being compared is that inspired record which we have in the Bible with those belonging to pre-historic and other ancient literatures. We claim that in the Bible we have history, even a reliable history of the world's first origin. Those other memorials of the same early time are confessedly in form, and to a great degree in substance, legendary, and no one thinks of accepting them as history, in any proper sense of that word. The nature of the distinction here implied, its bearing and value in connection with questions in archæology and in religion, are points which seem deserving of some study.

THE QUESTION STATED.

The nature of the question, and its bearing upon matters belonging to the present inquiry, may be illustrated by taking a passage from the introduction to Prof. Lenormant's "Beginnings of History." The work itself is one of great value, and its author, who was, as readers know, Professor of Archæology at the National Library in Paris, shows himself in this very introduction to be as sincerely Christian in his convictions as he is by consent of scholars everywhere learned and competent. Now, speaking of the first chapters in the Book of Genesis, Prof. Lenormant says :

"That which we read in the first chapters of Genesis is not an account dictated by God himself, the possession of which was the exclusive privilege of the chosen people. It is a tradition, whose origin is lost in the night of the remotest ages, and which all great nations of Western Asia possessed in common, with some variations. The very form given it in the Bible is so closely related to that which has been lately discovered in Babylon and Chaldea, it follows so exactly the same course, that it is quite impossible for one to doubt any longer that it has the same origin. The family of Abraham carried this tradition with it in the migration which brought it from Ur of the Chaldees into Palestine, and even then it was undoubtedly fixed, either in written or in oral form : for beneath the expressions of the Hebrew text in more than one place there appear certain things, which can be explained only as expressions peculiar to the Assyrian language. * * * The first chapters of Genesis," he adds, "constitute a 'Book of the Beginnings,' in accordance with the stories handed down in Israel from generation to generation, ever since the times of the Patriarchs, which in all its essential affirmations is parallel with the statements of the sacred books from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris."

Now, it is a fair question whether the word "tradition," most properly applied to Chaldaean and Assyrian legends, ought not to be at least very much qualified when applied to the narrative in Genesis, either in itself or in its sources. Prof. Lenormant's language might seem to imply that the narrative in Genesis is a tradition, in the same sense and to the same extent as the Chaldaean legend. Of this he appears to be aware, and so he adds what it is a real pleasure to quote :

"If this is so," are his words. "I shall, perhaps, be asked: Where, then, do you find the divine inspiration of the writers who made this archæology—that supernatural help by which, as a Christian, you must believe them to be guided? Where? In the absolutely new spirit which animates their narrative even though the form of it may have remained in almost every respect the same as among the neighboring nations."

He does full justice, in this connection, to the monotheism, the elevated moral tone, and the value in general of the Genesis record, and he declares, with emphasis, that "between the Bible and the books of Chaldæa there is all the distance of one of the most tremendous revolutions which have ever been effected in human beliefs." There will be occasion in a subsequent article to consider the question whether what he speaks of as a "revolution" can properly be so characterized. For the present, the question seems to be whether, after all, he might not have condensed what was last quoted in a single sentence, by saying that the difference between the Bible and the Chaldaean books is simply this—that while the Chaldaean books are *tradition*, worked up into legend, the Bible is *history*. But this suggests a further question—What are some of the distinctions between tradition and history, in themselves and in their sources, and how do we find them related to one another in the primitive annals of our race, and in subsequent periods? A few suggestions touching this general inquiry may have a measure of interest and profit in the present study, and be a help in estimating the value of such teaching as this of Prof. Lenormant, when it comes in our way.

I. AN HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN TRADITION.

Now, first of all, there is a sense in which we may say that tradition *is* history. Of course, not in any adequate sense, but in a way that must be recognized and taken along with us in any such study as the present one. Tradition, of the kind now in question, like history, owes its origin to what we may term *the historical impulse* in man, and in the intellectual life of the world. We should much mistake, if we were to look upon historical production, of whatever age, as a mere literary incident,—that in the beginning of such production some person chanced upon this sort of narrative, and finding that it gave him readers continued in it, while others, impelled by his success, copied his example. No one of the permanent forms of intellectual production originates in this way. Scientific production is due to the fact that it is natural for men to observe nature, to be moved by the amazing phenomena of the physical world, to note physical *facts*; and that it is no less natural for them to put these facts in a certain relation with each other—the relation of cause and effect, of use and adaptation, of resemblance and difference—and classify them accordingly. Philosophy is due to a tendency in man, inborn and imperative—especially in some men—to look below the facts for underlying principles, and above them, in search of that which is higher than they, and which may supply a higher *raison* for them than simply the circumstance of their existence. Poetry is the song-spirit, as-

suming for itself form and utterance; while the whole literature of the imagination, the fancy, and the taste, grows out of inherent tendencies of the intellect as really as trees spring out of the soil. To observe, to inquire, to reason, to sing, to invent, and weave, and expatiate—these belong to the very nature of man: they are manifestations of the intellectual life. The same in its essential character is that which we may term the historical impulse. It is the operation of an instinct in man, prompting him to value and to cherish that which belongs to his past, whether as an individual, a nation, or a race. It is the prompting of that interest which all men feel in knowing, not only, what is, but in preserving as a treasure of knowledge scarcely less valued, that which has been; an interest in events of the past, the same in kind, essentially, as that which they feel in things of the present. Such a being as man, living in such a world, having such experiences, could not be conceived of *without* a history, in some more or less perfect sense.

Now, it is obvious that what form the operation of this historical impulse will take must depend very much upon the conditions under which it acts. The history of a primitive people will be only such as a primitive people are capable of; but to them it will be history. Whether they themselves believe the whole of it, or not, whether or not they are conscious of the poetical and mythical accessories which may in time so enwrap the original germ of fact as to make its discovery by after ages a matter of such difficulty,—this which they produce is, for them, history. It is for those who produce it the historical impulse strong within them; that same which, in a later, more mature and more cultivated age will insist upon historical *fact* as the essential part of history, and upon the *dress* in which it is clothed as properly intended only to set forth the fact more vividly and to heighten its effect.

Thus it comes about that among all primitive peoples of whom we have any clear information, we find what, in distinction from history proper, we call tradition. I imagine that we rather undervalue these traditions, as to what they were to those for whom they were thus in the place of history. Perhaps we do not realize what a large element they must have supplied in the intellectual life of the age when they so much abounded. There have been, however, even in modern times—some are found nearly or quite at the present time—examples which may help us conceive this part of our subject in some measure correctly. It is quite within the memory of living men—I am not sure but it is the case at present—that in the Highlands of Scotland persons could be found who held in memory, and who could recite, at great length, that which to the primitive Celt, or Gael, was the history of the heroic age of his own fervid race. Principal Shairp in one of his lectures at the University of Oxford, gives some interesting facts upon this subject. He quotes a writer, a Mr. Skene, who had devoted many years to personal visitations in the remoter parts of the Highlands, where the manners and habits of the primitive race most survived, as telling how “the mountains and lakes are everywhere redolent of names connected with the heroes and actions” of that Fenian race in whom Celt and Gael alike recognize their ancestry; and as showing how “a body of popular legends, whether in poetry or prose, arising out of these, and preserved by oral recitation, must have existed [and it would seem still exists] in the country where this topography sprang up.” Mr. Skene cites also another witness as telling how it was, until quite recently, “the constant amusement or occupation

of the Highlanders in the winter time to go by turns to each other's houses in every village either to recite, or hear recited, the poems of Ossian, and other songs and poems." Principal Shairp then adds on his own part: "Almost all the native Gaels could recite some parts of these, but there were professed seannachies, or persons of unusual power of memory, who could go on repeating Fenian poems for two or three whole nights continuously. I have myself," he adds, "known men who have often heard five hundred lines of continuous Fenian poetry recited at one time."

We can readily see how one of us, seated by the turf fire, some winter night, in a Highland shealing, and hearing some white-haired patriarch reciting to a circle of eager and excited listeners some legend of Fingal, or Cuthullin, or Oscar, the war of Inis-Thona or the siege of Carrie-Thura—how in such circumstances we could well imagine what the traditions of a primitive race might be to them;—in the measure of fact which might be included, large or small, a history, and in the fervid poetical strain, the enthusiasm of patriotic eulogy, and the stirring words which told of the battles and deaths of heroes, an inspiration handed on from father to son; breathing and living in the whole life of the people;—how such traditions, with others different in origin but like in spirit might become to them a history, in ultimate mythical forms a religion, and, in the sense possible to primitive peoples, a philosophy.

It would seem, again, that it must be the germ of history which such legends enclose that gives them their chief vitality, and prolongs their life from century to century. Do we not, ourselves, find a large part of our interest in the legends of King Arthur, for example, whether in the quaint narrative of old Geoffrey, or in the fascinating rhymes of Tennyson, in the more or less sure conviction we may have that back of all the fiction there is a history? "The story of Arthur and his knights," says Principal Shairp, "sprang from the Cymri, and had its root, probably, in some vicissitudes of their early history, when the Saxons invaded their country and drove them to the western shores of Britain. Latin chroniclers and French minstrels, at a later day, took up the story of their doings, and handed it on, transformed in character and invested with all the hues of mediæval chivalry. It is, in fact, an old Cymric legend, seen by us through the haze which centuries of chivalric sentiment have interposed. But, however transfigured, vestiges of the Arthurian story linger to this day in all lands where descendants of the Cymri dwell—in Brittany, in Cornwall, in Wales, in the old Cymric kingdom of Strath-Clyde. Merlin lies buried at Drummelzier-on-Tweed; Gueneverre at Meigle, close to the foot of the so-called Grampians; Arthur's most northern battle was fought, according to Mr. Skene, near the foot of Loch Lomond." We may also recall the passage in Hume where he speaks of Arthur as a Prince of the Silures in Northern Britain, called to their help by his countrymen in the southern part of the island, in a moment of dire extremity in their struggle against the invading Saxons. "This," says Hume, "is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of Thaliessin and the other British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But poets," he adds, with much reason, "though they disfigure the most certain history with their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth where they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations." Whoever may have visited the city and castle of Warwick, in England, previous to the burning of the castle,

might have found, and may possibly still, traces of another hero, whose exploits, real or fictitious, belong to the period when Saxon and Dane fought for the possession of the island to which neither of them had any other right than that of conquest—giant Guy of Warwick, the reputed founder of the earldom. His tremendous helmet and spear, and his mighty punch-bowl—at least these are assigned to him in the legend—are shown in the porter's lodge at the castle gate; while at Guy's Cliff, a beautiful and romantic spot two miles from the city, is seen the cave in which, as a voluntary hermit, he is said to have passed the closing years of his life.

It is a long step backward, no doubt, from instances such as these to those traditions which at the dawn of history preserved all that, apart from inspiration, could be known of the primitive life of the world. But primitive man is much the same sort of being in every age and in both hemispheres. The matter of those traditions which are now found inscribed in libraries of baked-brick amidst the ruins of Chaldean and Assyrian cities, was very different from that of those to which reference has just been made. They belong, not to the later, but to the very earliest period of man's career on the earth; and they relate themselves, not alone to the secular history of races and nations, but also and especially to that inspired history in which is told us all we can now know of the very beginnings of the world and of man. And still these which have been cited may illustrate to us general features of tradition in its relation to history, which will become of use to us further along in this inquiry.

2. IT IS STILL NOT HISTORY.

But it should be especially observed, in the second place, that after all, in that which most essentially characterizes the historical, tradition is *not* history. This may seem almost like a truism; but there are points involved in it which are essential to the main purpose here, and so we may put what is very much like an axiom in the form of a proposition.

We are speaking still, let it be observed, of tradition as found among primitive peoples and races. There may be a certain kind of local tradition, in an historical age, which is as truly historical as most of what we find in the written history. In an historical age, however, there exists, even amongst the people, what Mr. Grote, the historian of Greece, terms "the historical sense." There may be in local traditions of the kind just noticed occasional accretions not strictly according to fact, and variations in the form of the narrative such as that the son will not tell the story exactly as the father told it to him. But the story never becomes mythical. We do not find the supernatural introduced in order to enhance the element of the marvelous, nor is the invention of the narrator allowed to run riot in transforming the story into whatever guise of wonder and prodigy his imagination will suggest. Should this be attempted by him he would be reproved, at once, by lack of faith in his hearers, or by the testimony of those who knew the story in its correct form. And he, himself, would so feel the absurdity of such an attempt, were it to occur to him, as perhaps to keep him from taxing the credulity of his hearers in this way, at all. The most unlettered mind, in an age like our own, has this sense of what is, and what is not, probable as history, and arraigns the improbable at once at the bar of judgment.

These conditions, however, do not exist amongst a primitive people. Least of all can they have existed in an age when the world was new: when, as yet, history

cannot have been written at all, and when the historical impulse had no guidance from the historical sense. In fact, even in comparatively late periods, we can trace the operation of unregulated impulses of this nature, in ways which illustrate what must have been the case in the primitive times of the race. We find some rather suggestive examples, for instance, in mediæval literature. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were produced, in France, what are called the "Chansons de Geste"—songs of the achievements of heroes. In many of these songs Charlemagne holds much the same place as Arthur in the literature founded upon the old British legend. The writers of them are well nigh as reckless in their dealings with history as the creator of some old Grecian or Roman myth might be. They make Charlemagne the leader of a crusade to the Holy Land two or three centuries before any such crusade had even been undertaken. They make him, though he never set foot outside of Europe, a conqueror of Jerusalem from the Saracen, and tell how he obtained possession of precious relics, like the crown of thorns and other such; how he carried these relics to Rome, whence they were taken to Spain by a Saracen emir in command of an army: while to recover these relics was the object of that expedition into Spain by Charlemagne against the Saracens, in the return of which the heroic Roland fell amidst the heights of Roncesvalles. That Charlemagne never saw Jerusalem; that he was no such superstitious devotee as this story represents; that such an one as he would no more lead an army into Spain for the recovery of supposed relics than he would organize an expedition against the inhabitants of the moon, everybody now knows. But in the time when these songs were written anachronisms and improbabilities, even impossibilities, were matters of slight concern with writers, while those who should read or sing their songs cared as little for such, as they, and perhaps if they had been so disposed would have been quite unable to detect the fault. Those songs, accordingly, bristled with the unhistorical, even while, in a sort, they pretended to be history; as did the legends of King Arthur himself under mediæval handling. Those Knights of the Round Table, in Sir John Mallory's version, for example, are made to figure in the legend centuries before any order of knighthood had been instituted, while in the exploits described the rude garniture of a British chief is changed into the complete iron panoply of a mediæval warrior, and he challenges his enemy in the pompous phrases of the tilt-yard.

With such instances before us we understand readily how in primitive times the original germ of fact in the heart of a tradition would become hidden away under fold after fold of mere invention. The mediæval tradition exhibits utter recklessness as to historical consistency; the primitive tradition reveals a lack of consciousness that such consistency has any existence, and a complete confusion of ideas as to truth and fable. It deals with what belongs to the realm of the supernatural in the same way, bringing deities upon the scene wherever they are needed in the exigencies of the story, or to intensify its elements of wonder and surprise.

An instance of the kind now in question is furnished in the fourth chapter of Prof. Lenormant's work before mentioned. That the first great crime in the annals of the human race should make a deep impression, and leave its traces in the traditions of the centuries following, was eminently natural. It was, indeed, a terrific incident, the death of innocent, unoffending Abel by the hand

of his own brother, an amazing fact, occurring when it could not fail to be seen in vivid contrast with the peaceful, holy and happy life of the lost Eden. Subsequent like deeds, however familiar and common in the growing degeneracy of the race they might have become, would never lessen the criminal pre-eminence of this, and the first murder would be remembered and rehearsed even when other and equally brutal ones would be forgotten.

Associated in a certain way with this, as Lenormant shows, was the building of the first city; since of Cain the record is first made that he "buildded a city, and called it after the name of his son." The fourth chapter in Lenormant's book traces what he claims as the survival of traditions of these two associated events in subsequent centuries,—traditions among various races, Accadian, Chaldean, Phœnician, Greek and Roman down to the familiar story of the slaying of Remus by his brother Romulus, as the foundations of the Roman city were being laid. There may be critics who will pronounce some things in the chapter fanciful; but upon the whole the theory seems to be fairly well made out, that in the various myths noticed, the tradition of that first great crime, associated with the first achievement in the building of cities, appears and reappears, under strange guises often, yet always capable of decipherment. It is tradition, and myth, *founded on history*, or on fact, but still by no means history.

This branch of the question as to the relation of tradition to history will be resumed and concluded in a second article.

THE CHARACTER OF PATRIARCHAL HISTORY.

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ DELITZSCH.

Translated from "Commentar Ueber Genesis" by Rev. L. D. Temple, B. A.,
Morgan Park, Ill.

Gen. XI., 26-32 is the threshold of patriarchal history. Did this account lie before us portrayed by the pencil of a profane writer, its tone would appear entirely different. The Migration with which it begins was not merely a family event,—it was the beginning and perhaps already a period of a race movement which has made a deep impression upon the lands of the Mediterranean Sea. But the Sacred Scripture has only a subordinate interest in the ethnographical background of this history,—her chief aim is the progressive realization of the divine plan of redemption. Hence it happens that the significance of the narrative for the history of races and nations retires from the foreground though it is never veiled in complete obscurity; and that the narrative appears individualized and limited to families rather more than in reality it was, since with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob an increasingly wide stream of human kind begins an onward movement.

A new epoch in redemptive history is now begun. The call of Abraham and his immigration into the land of promise is its basis. Among epochs of redemptive history it is the third. Let us look at both of the former that we may understand the peculiarity of this. The development which God purposed for mankind was disturbed by sin, as an act of free self-determination against God. That was the first incision in the history. God now gives to man the promise of mercy

in the victory of the woman's seed over evil; but the ruin by sin becomes universal and requires a general judgment,—that was the second incision in the history. Likewise in the post-diluvian race of men which escaped the doom of the rest, sin threatened to attain again a general dominion, but God averted this by the confusion of tongues. In consequence of this there arises a multitude of races and of religions as well which darken the idea of the one spiritual, absolute being of God by national, local and sensuous limitation. Now if God do not again interfere, mankind will degenerate into paganism. Neither the recollections which were carried with them into the dispersion nor the law upon their hearts were adequate to insure a continuance of the true knowledge and government of God. If God however intend so to interfere his redemptive revelation must be united with a single race. This race is in preparation while Abraham is being isolated from his connection with the world of the time. The selection of him, his rescue from paganism (Isa. XXIX., 22) is the third incision in the history,—the beginning of its national, theocratic direction. The confusion of tongues is the crisis preparing for this new incision, since the division of races which had taken place made it essential that one race be entrusted with the saving revelation on behalf of all. Israel became this race of redemption and Abraham (Mal. II., 15; comp. Ez. XXXIII., 24; Heb. XI., 12) the one living rock from which it was hewn. While therefore in Israel, redemption is being developed toward that point where it can break through ethnic limitations, other races go their own way. But God does not leave himself to them *ἀμέριτον* (Act. XIV., 16). They were preserved and upborne by the gracious covenant made with all descendants of Noah. Even their alienation from God according to Act. XVII., 27 was a discipline leading to Christ. All that was great and glorious which paganism produced was not lost when at last, being sanctified, it entered into the service of the kingdom of God and became a consecrated gift upon the altar of the Lord.

The history of the Patriarchs is thus the early history of Israel; and not one of a group of traditions which arose in political tendency for the justification and glorifying of the Jewish (Abraham) and Ephraimitish (Jacob) kingdoms. This Bernstein proposes as a new critical discovery in his paper: "Source of the traditions of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." (1871). He deals with the early history of Israel just as Redslob with the history of Jesus wherein he sees picture-lessons of a *disciplina arceani* relative to care of souls and Church order. Nöldecke likewise applies to Abraham his statement that the derivation of families and races from individual parents is an incorrect representation. Yet he regards him as a person and not, as Dozy with reference to Isa. LI., 1, as a personified stone. We imagine ourselves as no less rational in considering him the tribal father of Israel. The early history of the redemptive race completes itself in three forward movements. In the three Patriarchs its development advances steadily. Abraham is the *πίνα ἀρχαῖα* of Israel, Isaac the son of promise,—Jacob-Israel the father of the twelve from whom the people of promise spring.

The *Toledoth* of the three Patriarchs constitute three circles which lie adjacent and somewhat overlap. Since the contents of all three comprise family history, all basic relations of the ancient house are represented there. The house of the Patriarchs is in all respects the typical house of Israel. As the peculiarities of the child may be traced in the face and features of the parents and grandparents so the character and family life of the Patriarchs image forth the character and race-life of Israel. What the Patriarchs were by nature and became by grace is

repeated in the natural and spiritual life of Israel. While history advances simple family relations become evident as types of the future,—but what they teach, reaching beyond their simplest meaning, is not morals alone, but important realities in the history of redemption. That such is the case is the result of a providential connection by virtue of which the race history of Israel links itself to the family history of the Patriarchs, much as the outer and larger annual layers of a tree's trunk encase the inner and smaller.

In Israel a nation was to be established for the good of all. This nation did not have its origin in the usual way, like the others, but was derived from the ground of miracle and organized by the power and mercy of Jehovah. Therefore in patriarchal history everything proceeds contrary to human expectancy and thought. Its essential nature is the promise gainsaying the appearance of the existing. It is a divine dealing apparently entering into contradiction with itself. Morally viewed it is the period of the exercise of faith. Faith that grasps the word of promise and thereon arrays the seen against the unseen, the present against the future, and then, for the love of God, severs itself from the dearest object. This feature of faith is fundamental in the Patriarchs. In Abraham it appears in the entire and mighty fulness of all its separate tendencies. Abraham is a type of the war of faith, the victory of faith, the obedience of faith. Therefore he is *πατήρ πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων*. In Isaac Abraham's loving patience reappears,—in Jacob, Abraham's hopeful wrestling. *Ἐπ' ἐπιίδι παρ' ἐπίδα* is the motto which all three might have chosen. Abraham is already hoary, and Sara is barren; and yet she is to become a mother. Isaac is to continue Abraham's family line and yet the latter is to sacrifice him. In this way were the Patriarchs educated away from their pagan origin and their untrained disposition. In this way, not self-working, but following the lead of the divine working they become ancestors of Israel and the living basic rock of a new age. In this way promise and faith become the two correlated factors in the people of God. "In the midst of toil and resignation to things as they were their life passed away. In hope Israel is conceived and born and dressed. Therefore the true life movement of Israel is hope. Aspiration is Israel's element." In harmony with its true life Israel does not live in the hour now present being full of enigmas and contradictions, but in the hour to come made present now through faith.

If we view the time of the Patriarchs from the goal and central point of the history of redemption, which is that of God's self revelation in his Christ made in the fulness of time, the position which it assumes in the development of redemptive history is thereby determined as follows:

The first step in the history of redemption is the antediluvian period, both in and out of Eden. God is here immediately present with men in the visibility of a spiritual body. Even when through sin the fall had separated and estranged God and man, Jehovah still walked among men in solicitous and compassionate love; and the pious, like Enoch, walk with Him. His cherubim throne stands on the east side of Eden. For mankind Eden is now westward,—there where the sun sinks in evening red is the scene of the aforesaid God-communion now lost. From that point men turned westward their longing gaze which since Noah has been directed heavenwards. Since the judgment of the flood God has withdrawn into Heaven in order henceforth to reveal himself from thence in judgment and blessing. It cannot, however, remain so. All human aspiration henceforth unites in the sigh: "Oh that thou wouldest rend the Heavens and come down."

Isa. LXIII. 19. The end toward which history now strives is that God shall again make his abode among men. "The Shekina," says an old Midrash (Tanchuma 129*b* of the Vienna ed.), "abode originally here below,—after Adam's fall it withdrew ever deeper and deeper into Heaven and with Abraham began its gradual return." We know wherein this return of God to man culminated. Viewed from this elevation the post-diluvian history of redemption appears as a road, now ascending and now descending which on the whole leads ever higher and in the end reaches the summit.

The second stage in redemptive history is the time of the Patriarchs. In this period God again appears as present in a personal and even in a visible manner upon earth, yet only in a similitude. This is somewhat veiled, usually communicated through angels, only at irregular times and then only to the Patriarchs, these few holy men. They live to see manifestations of God which are similitudes of the former and types of the future. God suffers himself again to be seen here below, but only mediately and by a chosen few. By these only seldom and at points in their life significant in redemptive history and even then in the deepest mystery. From Jacob to Moses these revelations cease entirely and God makes himself known only mediately in the way of providence and blessing. In this ever-increasingly quiet interval revelation ceases more and more. But the descending roadway, which disappears at last entirely from sight, comes into view again at the end of this interval leading the more directly upward. In the time of Moses, God breaks forth anew from his long retirement and concealment. This epoch is like no other Old Testament period compared with it. It reveals God in the singularity of his name יהוה, as the eternal and, at the same time, as the historical being. It is the period of the completed origin of Israel, and of deliverance for his own people beginning,—the initial period of prophetic inspiration and of miracle wrought through human agency.

The third stage of redemptive history is the pre-exilic Jewish period. Herein God reveals himself as personal and visible; not to a few individuals as in the time of the Patriarchs, but to an entire nation; not occasionally only, but continuously. Nevertheless it was to a single nation only, and not yet to mankind. Within this stage two epochs are to be distinguished whose relation is a diverging one. In the first epoch Israel is led by the angel of Jehovah. In the cloud and fiery pillar Jehovah leads Israel forth. The token of the presence hovers above the tabernacle, standing by its entrance when it rests. This is the glorious epoch of the wilderness-presence of God, beholden not only by one here and there, but by entire Israel. It was the period when a nation began to be,—when therefore unusual proof was given of mercy. Although Israel was still of untamed disposition, it was nevertheless the period of their first love, when Jehovah followed them through the desert as though they had been a faithful bride,—the time which He has never forgotten and never will forget. (Jer. II., 2.) In the sphere of such self-revelation of God Israel did not continue, because Israel did not in-trench itself upon the love of its God, but in its own untamed disposition. If we take our stand at the end of the Solomonic period we see that in place of the wilderness-presence of God, visible to the entire nation, a limited and more mediate presence has come in. The second epoch is that of the Temple-presence and of the Word-presence in Israel. For Israel He is present in the Temple, but only through the mediation of the priests,—for Israel He is present in the Word, but only through the mediation of the prophets. The people in their entirety are now

no longer vouchsafed a view of their God as in the Mosaico-judicial period of the deliverance. God sits upon a throne above the Cherubim of the ark of the Covenant behind a double curtain and only the high priest once a year has access hither. Or He draws nigh to the lonely prophet, speaks words to him in ear and heart, reveals himself to him in visions,—all this in supernatural more than in personal self-attestation. Many indeed see in this a progress since the more invisible and mediate the communication of God with men, the more spiritual and internal it becomes. Yet according to Scripture this is of highest worth, not that God communicate himself to the spirit of man, but that the entire man gaze upon God. The progressive lapse of the second epoch confirms this view. The riper for judgment Israel become, the more numerous become the prophets. The more active and manysided the Word-presence of God in Israel appears, the more the multitude of Israel is repelled. The Temple-presence, however,—this presence of God that is promise-like, comes to an end as Israel completes the measure of its sin. Ezechiel sees the glory of Jehovah depart by degrees from the Temple,—a proof that it is now devoted to destruction, and priesthood and people to judgment. It is the second time that God withdraws his visible presence from the earth. The first time he withdrew from mankind in order to destroy them by the flood,—the second time from the Jewish race to expose Jerusalem to destruction and the people to exile. As the first stage of redemptive history closes with a judgment from the departed God,—as the second is at least lost in deep and protracted silence,—so the third ends like the first. Both times the living God enthroned upon the cherubim breaks off his residence here. The people of the exile were hereafter made to depend on the prophetic Word-presence alone. They became accustomed in the exercise of faith to hide themselves in the invisible. But they were not wont to forget that the termination of His abode in Israel was a retributive judgment.

The fourth stage of redemptive history, the post-exilic Israelitish period in its beginning is not really different from the exilic which closes the third stage. The people had prophets; and through Haggai, with reference to this presence of His, communicated through the prophets, Jehovah says (H., 5): ריחי עֲנִיָּה בְּתוֹכֶם “My spirit remaineth among you.” But in the Temple there were wanting the ark of the Covenant, the Caphoreth, the Cherubim, the Urim and Thummin, the fire from Heaven, the holy anointing oil; and that which was most important, the Shekina,—the gracious presence of Jehovah visible to the high priest who entered into the most holy place,—this was wanting also. But even the divine Word-presence and the manifold evidences of the ריחֵהּ הַקֶּדֶשׁ did not long continue. With Malachi and Daniel prophecy also became dumb. The period immediately after the exile seemed to promise a fresh blossoming of the glorious past. The Mosaic period of deliverance, semblance-like, seemed to revive. But instead of this the people had only too soon to complain: “We see not our signs,—there is no more any prophet.” (Ps. LXXIV., 9.) When the tribe of Simeon named Jonathan brother of Maccabi as ἡγούμενος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, so it continued ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν (1 Macc. xiv., 41). In abandonment like this on the part of God this fourth stage of redemptive history, the last before the fulness of the times, runs on to a conclusion. It is for them in Israel that believe a school of aspiration, away from the trivial commonplace and rambling notion play of the theology of that time toward

the re unveiling of the divine countenance. Then at last appeared the advent from on high. Jehovah visited His long abandoned people. In that mystery (*Θεός ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*) which was then unveiled became realized in for transcending glory the counterpart of Eden.

The fifth stage in redemptive history, the period of the journeyings of Christ in this world (*αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς σαρκός*) is the completer, surpassing return of the first. In the first stage God was enthroned with men and walked among them,—now it is true in a most real and eternally valid sense that *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν* for Israel alone closely beheld him that became man. It is an exception when the heathen receive streams of his glorious mercy. The hour wherein he will exhibit himself to the Greeks has not yet come. Israel is first to enjoy that mercy-visit of their God which was the theme of all their prophets. First his people will he save from their sins. But his own receive him not. They slay upon the cross him that appeared in the flesh. He that *ἔξ ἀσθενείας* died, rises *ἐκ δυνάμεως* and goes to Heaven. A signification for the Jewish race similar to that noticed by Ezechiel though enhanced has this ascension of God who had become man. He withdrew from the people that reviled him. "Ye will seek me," predicted he to them. JOHN VII., 34. "and shall not find me and where I am there ye cannot come." He goes into Heaven, whither, by the side of God his father, no persecution of the Jewish race reaches and from whence no longing on their part brings him back. But just as Jehovah after he sat down upon His throne in the Heavens at the close of the first stage, brought about the judgment of the flood; and at the close of the third stage the judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of Judah,—so God and he that sits at his right hand relegate Jerusalem to destruction and Judah to an exile that still continues. He that departed hence, comes again, but in the fire of judgment and does not stay. Abandoned of God as ever, Israel move along in blindness until they shall greet with a better hosanna than the first the reappearing Savior from whom they are still alienated. For the faithful also the ascended one has come again, not yet in personal visibility neither in the fire of judgment, but in the fire of the spirit.

The sixth stage of redemptive history, the present stage that still continues, is the period of the spiritual presence of God and his Christ. This spiritual presence in the Church is more than the visible presence of Christ in the days of his flesh, because it has the resurrection of Christ for its forerunner. But it is less than the visible presence of the resurrected one because it is a provisional compensation for it. It is a preparation for it and will find therein its completion and fulfillment. It is not to be forgotten that the spirit of God which is sent by the glorified son of man is called *παράκλητος* because it comforts us in respect to the absent one. It is not to be forgotten that the aspiration of the Christian is directed toward being at home with Christ,—that all expectation of the whole Church unites in hope for his revelation. There is a great difference between the presence of Christ in glory, visible and revealed, and invisible and hidden. This difference must be the more sensible as in this sixth stage in which we find ourselves the spiritual presence has undeniably declined. Our time is like the second half of the post-exilic. As to its present poverty in the gifts of grace, the Church finds itself in the arid wilderness and must long for a return of the wonderful intensity and gracious fulness of the spiritual presence in the early Church. This wish will end in fulfillment

also in the third epoch of this stage,—the glorified period of the Church in this world.

But first the seventh stage of redemptive history which continues forever will bring to full realization all the aspiration of all the faithful from the beginning. It will also complete the transcending return of divine Edenic fellowship to be begun with the Parusia of God the Deliverer. The new Jerusalem spoken of in Rev. XXI., 3, ἰδοὺ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μετ' ἀνθρώπων is the counterpart of Eden. The fellowship of God with the first men who were *to be redeemed* has now changed into fellowship with all mankind who at last *are redeemed*. His presence is now no longer passing, changing, disappearing, but permanent, invariable, endless: not limited to a few and locally fixed, but all embracing and all penetrating; not invisible but visible; not in the form of a servant but in glory unveiled. No more does God withdraw skyward, for sin is forever condemned and earth is changed to Heaven. No more does he descend earthward, for the work of redemption is completed. The entire creation celebrates an eternal Sabbath. In it God rests and it rests in God. Jehovah has completed his work and Elohim is now all in all (πάντα ἐν πασιν).

➤GENERAL NOTES.◀

The Library at Nineveh.—In order to understand the position to which we must assign the legends of early Chaldaea, it is necessary to give some account of the literature of the Ancient Babylonians and their copyists, the Assyrians. As has been already stated, the fragments of burnt brick on which these legends are inscribed were found in the débris which covers the palaces called the South West Palace and the North Palace at Kouyunjik; the former building being of the age of Sennacherib, the latter belonging to the time of Assur-bani-pal. The tablets, which are of all sizes, from one inch long to over a foot square, are generally in fragments, and in consequence of the changes which have taken place in the ruins, the fragments of the same tablet are sometimes scattered widely apart. They were originally deposited, it would seem, in one of the upper chambers of the palace, from which they fell on the destruction of the building. In some of the lower chambers the whole floor has been found covered with them, in other cases they lay in groups or patches on the pavement, and there are occasional clusters of fragments at various heights in the earth which covers the ruins. Other fragments are scattered singly through all the upper earth which covers the floors and walls of the palace. Different fragments of the same tablet or cylinder are found in separate chambers which have no immediate connection with each other, showing that their present distribution has nothing to do with the original position of the tablets of which they formed part.

The inscriptions show that the tablets were arranged according to their subjects. Stories or subjects were continued on other tablets of the same size and form as those on which they were commenced, in some cases the number of tablets in a series and on a single subject amounting to over one hundred.

Each subject or series of tablets had a title, the title consisting of the first phrase or part of a phrase in it. Thus, the series of Astrological tablets, num-

bering over seventy tablets, bore the title "When the gods Anu (and) Bel," this being the commencement of the first tablet. At the end of every tablet in each series was written its number in the work, thus: "the first tablet of 'When the gods Anu, Bel,'" "the second tablet of 'When the gods Anu, Bel,'" &c., &c.; and, further, to preserve the proper position of each tablet, every one except the last in a series had at the end a catch phrase, consisting of the first line of the following tablet. There were besides catalogues of these documents written like them on clay tablets and other small oval tablets with titles upon them, apparently labels for the various series of works. All these arrangements show the care taken with respect to literary matters. There were regular libraries or chambers, probably on the upper floors of the palaces, appointed for the reception of the tablets, and custodians or librarians to take charge of them. These regulations were all of great antiquity, and like the tablets had a Babylonian origin.

Judging from the fragments discovered, it appears probable that there were in the Royal Library at Nineveh over 10,000 inscribed tablets, treating of almost every branch of knowledge existing at the time.—*From Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis.*

The Seventh Day.—

"Thus the heavens were finished, and the earth, and all the host of them.

And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made and rested on the seventh day from all the work which he had made.

And God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, for in it he rested from all his work which God had created and made."

Now begins the seventh day, the day of rest, or the *Sabbath* of the earth, when the globe and its inhabitants are completed.

Since the beginning of this day no new creation has taken place. God rests as the Creator of the visible universe. The forces of nature are in that admirable equilibrium which we now behold, and which is necessary to our existence. No more mountains or continents are formed, no new species of plants or animals are created. Nature goes on steadily in its wonted path. All movement, all progress has passed into the realm of mankind, which is now accomplishing its task.

The seventh day is, then, the present age of our globe; the age in which we live; and which was prepared for the development of mankind. The narrative of Moses seems to indicate this fact; for at the end of each of the six working days of creation we find an *evening*. But the morning of the seventh is not followed by any *evening*. The day is still open. When the evening shall come the last hour of humanity will strike.

This view of the Sabbath of creation has been objected to, on account of the form of the command of the Decalogue, relating to the observance of the Sabbath. But those who object, confound God's Sabbath with man's Sabbath, and forget the words of Christ, that our Sabbath was made for man, who needs it, and not for God. God rests as a Creator of the material world only to become active, nay, Creator in the spiritual world. His Sabbath work is one of love to man—the redemption. His creation is that of the new man, born anew of the Spirit, in the heart of the natural man. So man is commanded to imitate God in

leaving once in seven days the work of this material world, to turn all his attention and devote his powers to the things of heaven.

There are, therefore, three Sabbaths :

1. God's Sabbath, after the material creation.
2. The Sabbath of humanity, the promised millennium, after the toil and struggle of the six working days of history.
3. The Sabbath of the individual, short-lived man, the day of rest of twenty-four hours, made for him according to his measure.

The length of the day in each is of no account. The plan, in all, is the same, and contains the same idea—six days of work and struggle in the material world, followed by a day of peace, of rest from the daily toil, and of activity in the higher world of the spirit. For the Sabbath is not only a day of rest, it is the day of the Lord.—*From Guyot's Creation.*

A Projected Railway in Palestine.—For a year past there have been rumors of a negotiation on the part of bankers in Beirut, probably with the aid of bankers in Constantinople, as the result of which it is finally announced that the Sultan—in consideration of a handsome royalty, equivalent to a large land tax—has leased to them the Plain of Esdraelon, with the condition that he shall protect it from the incursions of the Bedaween; and that, as a part of the agreement, they receive a concession for a railway. Accordingly they propose to turn their large acquisition to account by the construction of a railway from Acre to Damascus, which would strike directly across the Plain of Esdraelon. It is suggested that there might be a station for Nazareth (!), though it would pass twelve miles south of the town, which might be approached still nearer by a branch road to the foot of the Galilean Hills; while the main line, descending the valley of Jezreel, would “pass over the Jordan.” near an old Roman bridge, part of which is still standing and in use. Mr. Laurence Oliphant, an authority in all matters relating to the East, writing from Haifa, says: “Near this ancient Roman bridge of three arches, which is used to this day by the caravans of camels which bring the produce of the Hauran to the coast, the new railway bridge will cross the Jordan, probably the only one in the world which will have for its neighbor an actual bridge in use which was built by the Romans—thus, in this new, semi-barbarous country, bringing into close contact an ancient and a modern civilization.” From the point of crossing the Jordan, the railway would keep along its bank till it diverged farther to the East to skirt the hills that rise on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. In its route to Damascus it would traverse the Hauran, one of the richest agricultural regions in the East, the produce of which, no longer borne on the backs of camels, could now be carried, not only more swiftly, but in immensely greater bulk [one freight train would transport more than a dozen caravans] to the Mediterranean.

This would be indeed a commercial revolution in the Holy Land. But that is not the end. Still grander projects have been suggested, such as that of a canal which should rival the Suez Canal, or of a longer railroad, which should furnish another route to India besides that through Egypt. The late war awakened England to the absolute necessity, in order to preserve her Indian Empire, of a means of communication with it which cannot be interrupted or destroyed. While it is proposed to construct a second Suez Canal, the question

is asked if there may not be another water-way from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea; and engineers searching along the coast of Syria have suggested that it would be possible to make another Port Said at Haifa, just above the head of Mount Carmel, from which a canal might be carried across the Plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan, and down its valley to the Dead Sea, from which a canal could be cut across the desert to Akaba, where it would strike the other arm of the Red Sea from that reached by the Suez Canal.

Such a line it is easy to draw on the map, but to the execution of the project there is one great natural difficulty, in the depression of the Dead Sea, which is thirteen hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The same difficulty would not be experienced in constructing a railroad, which, if not as effective for commerce, would answer equally well for subduing and civilizing the country. Before the Bedaween can be civilized they must be governed: and to be governed they must be subdued: and to be subdued they must be reached. The first thing is to get at them. An army cannot be transported across the desert on camels. The Arabs would fly faster than the army could follow, only to return as soon as it was gone. But with a railroad reaching to the Gulf of Akaba, troops could easily be transported to within striking distance of the most powerful tribes. As the Pacific railroads are settling the Indian question, so railroads across the desert may yet settle the Arab question.

But the project of a canal is the more captivating to the imagination, and it is hard to say to modern engineers that anything is impossible. This is an age of the world when the wildest anticipations of the past are exceeded by the realities of the present, and when it is but in natural course of things, that young men should dream dreams and old men should see visions. It would seem indeed like a dream of prophecy fulfilled, if we could see the ships of modern commerce gathering on that coast from which the ancient Phenicians carried commerce and civilization to Greece and Italy and Spain; and passing under the shadow of Carmel, enter the calm waters of an artificial river, and unfold their sails, the white wings of peace, over a plain which has been for ages the battle-field of nations; then dropping slowly down into the Valley of the Jordan, and crossing the Plain of Jericho, (from which, but for the depression, the voyager might see the domes and towers of Jerusalem,) pass through the Dead Sea, under the shadow of the mountains of Moab, and over the buried cities of the Plain, without disturbing the dead of Sodom and Gomorrah; and moving silently as "painted ships upon a painted ocean," across the solemn stillness of the desert, come at last to Akaba, and make a port of the ancient Ezion-geber, from which sailed the fleets of Solomon! What a dream! Yet it may be, for things more wonderful have been. By some such means perhaps the Eastern question is to be solved. May we not at least hope for it, and look for it? Is it presumption to pray that this generation may not pass away until this dream shall be fulfilled?—*From Field's "Among the Holy Hills."*

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

The Tree of the Field : Deut. XX., 19.—In the English version of the Old Testament, in the middle of the verse a parenthetical sentence appears as follows: “*For the tree of the field is man’s life.*” It will be noticed that the word *life* is in italics, which indicate that it does not appear in the original. This parenthesis has occasioned great difficulty to translators and interpreters. Read literally, it seems to have but little connection with the context: *Because the man the tree of the field.* Accordingly it has been concluded either that something must be mentally supplied, or that there is some error in the Hebrew text as we now have it. Those translators who accept these positions may be named as follows :

I. The authorized version supplies *life* and translates *The tree of the field is man’s life.* The objections to this are: (1) That it supplies an idea which is not clearly suggested by the context. True the statement is made in the same verse “from it thou eatest,” and yet no small distinction lies between this thought and the one which the English translators suggest. (2) It violates the normal arrangement of the sentence by making the subject, the predicate. This would only be done when the predicate was to be made emphatic. If it were desired by the writer to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the tree of the field is a *man*, then that word would rightly have been put before the subject.

II. The marginal reading in the authorized version removes the parenthesis and, regarding the sentence as a direct address, translates “*for, O man, the tree of the field is to be employed in the siege.*” Here a distinction is recognized between the fruit tree, the tree which is good for food, the tree which grows in the vicinity of the city, mentioned in the preceding part of the same verse and in the following one,—and the tree of the field which is presumably not a fruit-bearing one. This class of trees Moses permits the Israelites to use in building their siege works. The objections to this are (1) that Moses passes too abruptly from his previous method of address into this somewhat violent form. “O man” is not in the Mosaic style certainly. (2) That it violates the Massoretic accentuation.

III. Another class of translators confess their inability to obtain any adequate sense from the passage as it now stands and hence would make a change, or changes, in the text.

1. The Septuagint, representing no small class of interpreters, changes the pointing of the article preceding the word “man,” so that the Hebrew will read *hē* (הַ) instead of *hā* (הָ) and renders accordingly, “For is the tree of the field a man to come before thee into the siege?”

2. Others infer that a negative idea is contained in the expression and render freely like the Vulgate: “*Since it is a tree and not a man, nor can it increase the number of thy enemies.*” The objections to both these translations are, (1) They convict Moses of giving utterance to a somewhat “puerile and irrelevant” sentiment. Everyone knows that a tree is not a man and such a reason would be of no value as an argument against cutting down trees. (2) This also inverts the sentence, making the predicate the subject. (3) The first rendering introduces a violent change in construction and the second has not more than a shade of reason for supplying a negation.

3. De Wette and others propose to substitute for the letter of the article *hā*

(ה) the preposition *lāmēdh* (ל) and accordingly read “*Because for man is the tree of the field.*” The distinction must here be made as before mentioned between the ordinary tree and the fruit tree or else this rendering fails to give any adequate sense. It is preferable not to make such a change in the text unless it becomes absolutely necessary.

4. Another critic would transfer to *hā`ādhām* (*man*) the *athnāh* or disjunctive accent which now, being under תִּכְרֹת (tikhrōth) “cut,” separates the sentence at that point, and make the introductory particle כִּי (*ki*) adversative. He would then read as follows: “*Thou shalt not cut them* (i. e., the trees) *but the men. The tree of the field is to come before thee in the siege.* Such a translation is ingenious but too forced to command any general assent.

In gathering up the materials for a tolerably satisfactory translation of this passage it may be inferred: (1) That some error in transcription has crept into the text, for none of the proposed renderings are really satisfactory. (2) That the difficulty lies in the words “the man,” or in Hebrew הָאָדָם. The word may have been לְאָדָם, i. e., *for man*, or הָאָדָם, i. e., *is man*, or some other similarly sounding consonants. הָאָדָם is almost incomprehensible. (3) The distinction between the trees near the city which supply fruit for food and the tree of the field seems plausible, and if it can be sustained will help greatly in the correct exegesis of the passage.

The translation which in our judgment accords best with the context, and which is open to fewer objections is this: “*When thou besiegest a city many days in making war upon it, to capture it, thou shalt not destroy the trees by bringing an ax against them, for from them thou shalt eat, and thou shalt not cut them down, but for man is the tree of the field to bring before thee in the siege.*”

G. S. GOODSPEED.

The Tenses of the Second Psalm.—In order that a clearer view of the Psalm as a whole may be gained, the Authorized Version is given, arranged however according to the Parallelism; and for the sake of comparison, there is placed side by side with it the translation of Rev. T. K. Cheyne, published in the “*Book of Psalms*,” Parchment Library.

An examination of the verbal forms, with special reference to the tenses discloses the following facts:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Why do the heathen rage,
and the people imagine a vain thing? | Wherefore do the nations throng together,
and the peoples meditate vanity? |
| 2. The kings of the earth set themselves,
and the rulers take counsel together,
against the LORD, and against his Anointed, | The kings of the earth stand forth,
and the rulers take counsel together,
against Jehovah and against his anointed: |
| 3. “Let us break their bands asunder,
and cast away their cords from us. | “Let us tear off their bonds,” (say they),
“and cast from us their cords.” |
| 4. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh:
the Lord shall have them in derision. | He who is seated in the heavens laughs,
The Lord mocks at them. |
| 5. Then shall he speak to them in his wrath,
and vex them in his sore displeasure. | Then speaks he unto them in his anger,
and in his hot wrath confounds them: |
| 6. Yet have I set my King
upon my holy hill of Zion. | “... When I have established my king
upon Zion my holy mountain.” |

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 7. I will declare the decree:
the LORD hath said unto me, Thou art my
this day have I begotten thee. | [Son; | " I will relate a decree:
Jehovah said unto me, Thou art my son,
I have this day begotten thee. |
| 8. Ask of me, and I shall give <i>thee</i>
the heathen for thine inheritance,
[thy possession.
and the uttermost parts of the earth <i>for</i> | | Ask of me and I will grant thee
nations for thine inheritance, [sion.
and the earth's utmost parts for thy posses- |
| 8. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
[ter's vessel.
thou shalt dash them in pieces like a pot- | | Thou shalt break them with a mace of iron;
[sel."
thou shalt shiver them like a potter's ves- |
| 10. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings:
be instructed, ye judges of the earth. | | Now therefore, ye kings, deal wisely; .
be admonished ye judges of the earth. |
| 11. Serve the LORD with fear,
and rejoice with trembling. | | Serve Jehovah with fear,
and testify awe with trembling. |
| 12. Kiss the Son,
lest he be angry, and ye perish from the
when his wrath is kindled but a little. [him.
Blessed <i>are</i> all they that put their trust in | [way, | Kiss the Son,
lest he be angry, and ye go to ruin,
for his anger kindles easily:
happy are those who take refuge in him! |

1. "*Do rage*" of v. 1 is a Perfect, while "*imagine*" is an Imperfect. The thought then is (1) why have they gathered together tumultuously, what has occasioned this outbreak; and (2) what is the aim, the design (referring to the future) which they have before them? In short, (1) what has caused this outbreak, and (2) what do they hope to accomplish by it? The translation of both tenses by the present obscures the sense.

2. "*Set themselves*" of v. 2 is an Imperfect, while "*take counsel together*" is a Perfect. The first verb, therefore, describes vividly the hostile array as *seen* by the writer: They are standing forth, taking a defiant position. The second verb, however, describes something which had taken place before the mustering of the forces to battle, viz., the deliberation, the conspiracy, the confederacy. The sense, then, is: Kings are taking their stand in battle, Rulers have formed a conspiracy.

3. "*Shall laugh*," "*shall have them in derision*" of v. 4 and "*shall speak*" and "*vex*" of v. 5 are Imperfects; but we have seen that the Imperfect is not necessarily *future*. The primary reference here, if the Psalm is interpreted typically, is to a rebellion already begun, against the king which God has placed on Israel's throne. In this case our *present* would better express the thought. If the Psalm is interpreted exclusively of the Messiah, the use of the *present* is more consistent with the preceding tenses. Jehovah, while the rebellion is in progress, is represented as *laughing, deriding, speaking angrily, confounding*. This is Jehovah's attitude not at some future time, but while the rebellion is in progress.

4. "*Have established*" of v. 6 is a Perfect. The king had been placed upon the throne before the outbreak of the rebellion. Cheyne's translation is good: [what impiety is this] *when I have established*, etc.

The remaining verbal forms of this Psalm are chiefly Imperfects with strictly future meaning (since at this point the king quotes a decree spoken at some earlier date by Jehovah, which, of course, had exclusive reference to the *future*), and Imperatives. Only one perfect occurs *I have begotten*, which evidently refers to the immediate past, the sense being: "This day I have declared and manifested thee to be my son."

* > EDITORIAL < NOTES. <

The Study of Biblical History.—There is, on the part of many ministers and of students preparing for the ministry, a lamentable ignorance of the most common characters and events of Bible History. That Abraham lived before Moses is generally known, but how long before, or the commonly accepted date of either of these Old Testament worthies *many*, if called upon outside of their study, would be unable to declare. The names of David and Solomon are familiar to all, but of the kings of either Israel or Judah, after the division, many are totally ignorant. Isaiah and Jeremiah may be friends, but the Minor Prophets are entire strangers to them. The Old Testament history, as related in Joshua, Judges, the Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles is far less familiar to them than the history of Rome and Greece. Some of these men read philosophy and study science, but have no time for the study of God's dealings with his chosen people, a study from which more help might be derived than from any other single source. These men do not have, and indeed cannot have, any conception of the wealth of homiletical material here to be found. Nor is this strange. The study of *Biblical History* is not sufficiently emphasized. Colleges and universities in which the history of the nations, ancient and modern, is taught even in the most minute details, pass over contemptuously the history of that race by which the world's history has been most influenced and most benefited. Theological seminaries, founded for the purpose of training men in the knowledge of God, his Word, and his dealings with men, discuss deeply the question as to whether, in fact, God is knowable, spend much time in deciding whether the Bible is, after all, the word of God, and study minutely the history and causes of every heresy that has sprung up since Christianity was established, while God, as manifested in his Word, and the Word as giving God's ideas to men, or as a text-book of Old Testament Church-history are ignored. Ministers, the sons of godly parents, trained in Bible lore from childhood, know the Bible, and Bible-history. But men converted late in life, who have not enjoyed the advantages of this early training, in many cases go through their ministry ignorant of that which is most easily obtained, and of which, when obtained, would have served them to better purpose than all else that has been gained.

Should there not be a place for the study of Old Testament History in the college? Should not a most thorough acquaintance with it be required in the Divinity School? Should not ministers, who to-day are for the most part ignorant of all this set themselves to work in this line, and, perhaps, let Darwinism, and such studies *rest* for a time?

The Collection of Facts.—That which is most needed at the present time in the science of Old Testament criticism is a faithful and patient collection of the facts. Theories without number are appearing, but a large proportion of them are easily shown to be insufficient and false, because they do not account for *all* the facts. They have been hastily deduced from a *few* facts. The history of the Natural sciences should be of great service to the Bible scientist. In the various domains of research wonderful results are at frequent intervals announced; new theories are confidently promulgated, while the old theories are

laid away, broken to pieces by some newly discovered facts. When the facts are all collected, then the theories can be confidently formulated and not before.

The science of Biblical criticism, in the department of the Old Testament, at least, has not yet passed through the period of collecting the facts.

Wide sweeping statements are made, broad generalizations are constantly indulged in; conclusions are quickly reached; but the question must ever be asked in the face of these, What are the real facts in the case? And just here is a work in which all interested in Old Testament study may engage.

It may require specialists to deduce theories, and to detect the full significance of the facts after they are gathered, but it does not necessarily require a specialist to gather them. Any one who knows a fact when he sees it may busy himself in looking them out, and his labor cannot be valueless.

Just this kind of work is now especially needed, in very many lines of investigation in Old Testament facts. It is but necessary that the investigator proceed intelligently with his work.

It is believed that THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT furnishes the best means, not only of indicating the fields of truth that should be searched, but also of making known the facts as they are discovered.

This is a mission which belongs especially to THE STUDENT. And it is not proposed to hold back the facts because they may not be such as were anticipated, or because they disprove views that have been long cherished.

Of course it is not intended that the STUDENT should contain nothing but the barest, baldest recital of facts. Various views are being gained and various theories formulated, and the truth or falseness of these cannot be more quickly nor more certainly determined than by exposing them to the light of public scrutiny.

The facts should be gathered, the truth should be known. And the pages of the STUDENT will be open to make public the results of those who are seeking to gain these. The STUDENT is a medium, not an advocate. This has been its purpose from the first. When it becomes an advocate for any special views, or theories of any man or set of men, an advocate in such a sense that it refuses to admit to its columns any arguments or facts opposing these views or theories, whether they be orthodox or heterodox, conservative or liberal, it will then, as a partial pleader, cease to be valuable to those who seek for facts, instead of arguments to substantiate a theory. Let the facts be known.

The Overestimate of Criticism.—There are those who forget that the results of Biblical Criticism are largely negative. Broad-minded scholars are not inclined to allow supremacy to any one line of Bible study. It is a danger to which specialists in any department are liable that they overestimate their own methods and results. Criticism has done much to broaden our minds, prune away manifest errors in our conceptions of Bible truth and to put the facts in a new light. But its results are not to pass unchallenged simply because in this line they may seem to be unassailable. The whole structure reared by the critics must stand also the tests of historical, philosophical and theological investigation. This idea was most admirably put in the recent article in these pages from the hand of Prof. Schodde, who made a strong plea for the theological study of the Old Testament. Biblical Criticism is a means. Care should be taken lest it become an end in itself. It seems to be the serious conclusion of some of these able investigators—

judging from their point of view—that almost the sole reason for the existence of the Bible is that the critics may exercise their wits upon it. Beware of setting your pyramid upon its apex.

➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.◀

KADESH-BARNEA.*

If on taking up this book the reader is surprised that so large a volume should be written on such a subject he has no such feeling on laying it down. Kadesh-Barnea is the key to the Israelitish wanderings. "To settle its whereabouts," says the author, "is to aid in settling the boundary stretch of Edom, or Seir; the locality of the wilderness of Paran; of the wilderness of Zin; of the Negeb or South Country; and to fix more definitely one of the homes of Abraham; the dwelling-place of rejected Hagar; the sites of mounts Hor and Halak; the site of Tamar; and the route of Kedor-la'omer." After examining all the Bible references to the place, he concludes that without exception they point directly to the heart of the 'Azâzimeh mountain tract or are conformable to it; and while there are no conclusive evidences of the precise location found in the Egyptian records, the Apocrypha, the rabbinical writings, or the early Christian name-lists—extra-Biblical sources of information which he has carefully examined—there is nothing in them which conflicts with the indications found in the Scriptures, but, on the contrary, there is more or less in confirmation of the same.

Dr. Trumbull next reviews later attempts at its identification, giving prominence to the discoveries and conclusions of Robinson and Rowlands. Then follows the author's interesting story of his own hunt for it. The obstacles in the way of visiting 'Ayn Qadees, the site for which Rowlands contended, were formidable. It was situated in the midst of the 'Azâzimeh Bed ween, a violent tribe—"the most Ishmaelitish of Ishmaelites;" and this tribe greatly hated and were watchfully suspicious of the Teeyâhah, from whom our author must take his escort. But the Doctor had a combination of circumstances in his favor. The two shaykhs who were at the head of the mid-desert tribes, and who would have baffled the design of the travelers, had they accompanied them, were prevented from going, so that two young and more pliable shaykhs were obtained. At this time also some kinsmen of one of the old shaykhs were imprisoned at Jerusalem, and he was anxious for their release. The dragoman of Doctor T. skillfully took advantage of this by giving the Arab a flattering account of the influence his master had, and by showing the desirability of securing it on behalf of the prisoners. He also told the shaykh that this gentleman was editor of a paper in America which had a large circulation among the class most likely to make journeys to Sinai and Palestine, and that if he were well treated on the desert, he would speak favorably of the route on his return home, and so turn the current of pilgrimage in that direction. Thus it came about that Dr. Trumbull was permitted to take the route of his choice. In the person of his drago-

* KADESH-BARNEA. Its importance and probable site with the story of a hunt for it, including studies on the route of the Exodus and the southern boundary of the Holy Land. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D. Pp. 478. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884. Price \$5.00.

man he had an excellent helper. He was one eager for reputation, and upon the promise that his name should be put into the book that would be written, he used every effort to reach 'Ayn Qadees.

In the face of dangers, real and imaginary, they went from the main track, March 30, 1881; and early in the afternoon Dr. Trumbull claims to have come upon the site of Kadesh-Barnea. "Out from the barren and desolate stretch of the burning desert-waste we had come with magical suddenness into an oasis of verdure and beauty. . . . We seated ourselves in the delightful shades of one of the hills not far from the wells, and enjoyed our lunch, with the music of brook and bees and birds sounding pleasantly in our ears. Our Arabs seemed to feel the soothing influence of the place; and to have lost all fear of the 'Azâzimeh. . . . One thing was sure: all that Rowlands had said of this oasis was abundantly justified by the facts. . . . The sneers which other travelers had indulged in, over the creation of his heated fancies, were the result of their own lack of knowledge—and charity. And as to the name of the oasis, about which Robinson and others were so incredulous, it is Qadees (قَدَيْس), as it was written for me in Arabic by my intelligent Arabic dragoman, a similar name to that of Jerusalem, El-Quds, the Holy; the equivalent of the Hebrew Kadesh."

The author next makes a comparison of sites, part of which are in or near the 'Arabah; and part on or a little north of the upper desert. 'Ayn El-Waybeh, near the upper end of the 'Arabah, and 'Ayn Qadees, on the level of the upper desert, and northward of the desert proper, are representative sites. He concludes that the claims for the former are baseless, and that the objections increase at every step. The most prominent objections to the latter he attributes to a misunderstanding, and hence a misrepresenting of the report of its earliest modern discoverer. In support of the claim that the site of Kadesh-Barnea is identified in 'Ayn Qadees it is urged that the region is a strategic stronghold on the southern border of Canaan; that it is the southernmost and central point of the obvious natural boundary line along that border; that it secures the identification of every other landmark along that dividing line; that it renders clear the movements of the Israelites toward, and away from, the southern limit of Canaan; and that its features and name correspond more nearly with the Bible references to Kadesh-Barnea than those of any other proposed site.

Following the treatment of the subject which gives the book its name there is a special study upon the route of the Exodus. As Kadesh-Barnea is the sanctuary stronghold that marks the boundary line between Canaan and Arabia, Shur is the wall that separates Arabia from Egypt. As the former is the key to the wanderings, the latter is the key to the Exodus. In the summing up several points are named as points now made clear. (1) This wall, known also by the names of Khetam and Etham, stood as a border barrier between the Delta and the desert, from the Mediterranean to the modern Gulf of Suez. The desert eastward was known as the Desert of Shur and the Desert of Etham. (2) Leading out of Egypt there was the Road of the Land of the Philistines, the Road of the Wall, and the Road of the Red Sea. (3) No city or town could have been a starting-point or stopping-place in the route of the Exodus; "hence the hope of determining that route by any discovery of the ruins of one town or another in Lower Egypt, is based on a misconception of both the letter and the general tenor of the Bible narrative. The Israelites started out from their scattered homes in the district of Rameses-Goshen, and made their general rendezvous at

Succoth, in an extensive camping-field along the line of lakes of which Lake Timsáh is the centre. Thence they moved forward toward the Great Wall, and encamped within it, at some point near the northernmost of the three roads desertward. From that camping-place they were turned southward nearly the entire length of the Isthmus, and made their final camp, before the Exodus, at a region bounded eastward by the western arm of the Red Sea, westward by a prominent watch-tower such as guarded each of the three roadways out of Egypt, northward by Habiroth, and southward by an image or shrine of the Semitic Egyptian dualistic divinity Ba'al-Set." (4) After leaving Succoth there was no haste until the crossing of the sea. There is nothing in the text indicating but a day's journey between any two stations named as the great landmark camping-places. (5) The northernmost stretch of the western arm of the Red Sea was then practically at the present head of the Gulf of Suez. The last camping-field of the Israelites must have been near the northern shore of the Gulf, and the crossing of the sea must have been from that starting-point.

A careful reading of this volume, in connection with the accompanying maps, will give good returns for the time expended upon it. Dr. Trumbull has made a most wide and careful investigation of literature bearing upon the matters in hand. His points are well established as he advances, and the conclusions seem irresistible. The foot-notes and references to authorities are numerous, and serve as a guide to extensive research on the part of those disposed to make it. This volume forms a most valuable contribution to the literature of Biblical geography.

A. C. CHUTE.

QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

This book, though having some valuable features, is, on the whole, decidedly disappointing. In the preface the author states the aim of the work to be: "to discuss all the quotations in the New Testament from the Old Testament and from other sources, to give the original texts with English translation, and as exact an explanation as possible of the various passages, so that the precise thought of the Old Testament may be set alongside of the use made of it in the New Testament, and the reader thus have all the material before him, and be able to draw his own conclusions." If the work had simply given us the texts collected together, as they are, in a simple and orderly way, and pointed out the existing differences, omitting the explanatory part altogether, its value would have been enhanced.

In the introduction, Prof. Toy claims that all the New Testament quotations are taken from the Septuagint, or from an oral Aramaic version, the existence of which he assumes rather than endeavors to establish.

The principle thought to underlie the exegetical method of the New Testament writers is stated in brief to be, that they were governed and controlled by the rabbinical methods of the times, "which allowed one to bring out of the Scripture text any meaning that the words could possibly be made to bear." That the New Testament writers were influenced by the age in which they lived, and that their mode of thought was governed in some degree by their education, must be admitted; but to say that they followed the rabbins into all their vagaries and put

* QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Crawford Howell Toy. Pp. xliii., 321. 6½x9¾. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884. \$3.50.

into the Old Testament any meaning not intended by the Divine mind, is not only to ignore the facts, but also to deny that the apostles and evangelists were inspired in *any true sense* of the word. In all the treatment the human element is brought forward prominently while so far as any expression is given we might think that the divine element was wholly unrecognized by the author.

Where he comes to speak of Jesus' references to the Old Testament, he assumes a modest and reverential bearing, but in reality he deprives Christ's teaching of all authority and weight, for he makes the principles of modern hermeneutical science the ultimate standard of judgment, and thus convicts Christ himself of errors of interpretation. Much more correct to our mind is the position as laid down in *Briggs' Biblical Study*, p. 314: "Christ uses all that was appropriate in the rabbinical method; but never employs any of the casuistry or hair-splitting Halacha of the scribes. * * * The rabbins interpreted the Scriptures to accord with the traditions of the elders; Jesus interpreted them to accord with the mind of God, their author."

In the body of the work, where the quotations are discussed, special pleading is frequently indulged in; the author seems to be trying to prove a point rather than to ascertain the facts (see pp. 73, 79, 175). The predictive element of the Old Testament is largely lost sight of, and the conclusions reached at times seem hardly the legitimate outcome from the facts presented.

The book gives evidence of hard study and the high critical scholarship for which Prof. Toy is so deservedly noted. The differences between the Hebrew, Septuagint and New Testament texts are pointed out with great clearness and exactness, and in this respect the book is highly to be commended. Its great and fatal errors, as we think and have already indicated, are (1) the pressing to the extreme of a theory, and (2) the entire ignoring of the divine agency.

The Greek and Hebrew type used in the book is indistinct, difficult to read; and there are few verses in which some error in accents, vowel-points, sh'vâs, or dāghêshes cannot be found.

At the close of the book are very complete and valuable indices of all the Old Testament passages cited in the New; from these we gather the following facts:

Matthew quotes Gen. 4 times, Exod. 12, Levit. 6, Num. 2, Deut. 18, Ps. 13, Prov. 2, Eccles. 1, Is. 15, Jer. 2, Dan. 6, Hos. 3, Joel, Micah and Malachi 1 each, Zech. 3; in all 90 quotations.

Mark quotes Gen. 4 times, Exod. 6, Lev. 1, Deut. 7, Ps. 6, Eccles. 1, Is. 7, Jer. 1, Dan. 6, Joel, Micah, Zechariah and Malachi 1 each; in all 43.

Luke quotes Gen. 1, Exod. 5, Lev. 2, Deut. 9, 1 Sam. 7, 2 Sam. 2, Ps. 13, Eccles. 1, Is. 15, Jer. 1, Dan. 6, Joel and Micah 1 each, Mal. 6; in all 70.

John quotes Gen. 4, Exod. 1, Num. 1, Deut. 1, 2 Sam. 1, Ps. 9, Prov. 1, Is. 7, Jer. 2, Ezek. 1, Micah 1, Zech. 2; in all 31.

Acts quotes Gen. 16 times, Exod. 14, Deut. 6, Josh. 1, 1 Sam. 1, 2 Sam. 2, 1 Kings 1, Ps. 12, Is. 6, Joel and Hab. 1 each, Amos 2; in all 63.

Romans quotes Gen. 6, Exod. 6, Lev. 3, Deut. 9, 2 Sam. 1, 1 Kings 1, Job 1, Ps. 15, Prov. 5, Eccles. 1, Is. 20, Jer. 1, Hosea, Joel, Hab. and Mal. 1 each; in all 73.

Hebrews quotes Gen. 13, Exod. 6, Lev. 1, Num. 1, Deut. 6, 2 Sam. 1, Ps. 20, Prov. 2, Is. 2, Jer. 2, Hab. and Haggai 1 each: 56 in all.

The Pentateuch is quoted 216 times; Historical Books, 20; Poetical Books, 138; The Prophets, 141; Minor Prophets, 44; so in all, exclusive of the Revelation,

there are 559 quotations from the Old Testament. Of individual books Is. is quoted 106 times; Ps. 104, Deut. 70; Gen. 62, Exod. 61, and Prov. 24 times. These are the ones to which most frequent reference is made.

There are no proper quotations, it is said, in the Book of Revelation. The indices, however, give 265 Old Testament passages alluded to in that book and discussed in the body of the work, mostly from Is., Ps., Dan. and Ezek. The line is not clearly drawn between allusions and quotations, and the book apparently includes both classes, for certainly many passages classed as quotations are in reality but the merest allusions. Including the Revelation, however, there are in all 824 Old Testament passages quoted or alluded to in the New Testament.

STEARNS' SYLLABUS OF MESSIANIC PASSAGES.*

In this admirably conceived, and excellently wrought out *brochure*, we have, in a tangible form, the whole subject of Messianic prophecy. The method adopted is, to our mind, the correct one. Abstract discussions, with scarcely an allusion to a particular prophecy, may do for those who have exhaustively studied the subject; but for teaching men what the Old Testament has to say about a coming Messiah, it is necessary to examine exegetically in their order the texts which are supposed to contain Messianic references. This is what Dr. Stearns has done. Having explained what he understands to be a *Messianic text*, and having given a General Division of these texts, he begins (1) with the Pentateuchal texts: (a) Gen. iii., 14, 15; (b) Gen. ix., 25-27; (c) Gen. xii., 3; (d) Gen. xxvii., 27-29; (e) Gen. xlix., 8-12; (f) Num. xxiv., 14-17; (g) Deut. xviii., 15-19. Next come the Messianic passages in the Psalms, under which are treated Ps. ii., cx., lxxii., xlv., xxii., xvi. Finally the Messianic passages in the Prophets are considered. The specific passages are here omitted for lack of space. The method of treatment includes (1) the best literature upon the subject; (2) brief exegetical notes; (3) the history of the interpretation to some extent. The gradual development of the Messianic ideas is clearly traced. Students will find in this little manual, the material with suggestions, for independent work on their part in the study of this most important feature of the Old Testament.

The standpoint of the author is conservative, yet liberal. There is to be noticed a strong, firm faith in the authenticity of Scripture. Dr. Stearns is not one whose interpretations are characterized by fancies, of either a spiritualizing or a rationalistic character. We understand that this pamphlet is intended chiefly for the use of his students. It is to be hoped that he will soon formally publish it.

BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE.†

This is a Christian work; perhaps of some pious Egyptian of the fifth or sixth century. The story is told in a simple, childish way. The author evidently believes all that he says, and shows an inclination to believe as much more as circum-

* A SYLLABUS OF THE MESSIANIC PASSAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By O. S. Stearns. Pp. 79. Boston: *Percival P. Bartlett*, 105 Summer street.

† THE BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE, also called the Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan; a Book of the Early Eastern Church. Translated from the Ethiopic, with notes from the Kufale, Talmud, Midrash, and other Eastern works. By the Rev. C. C. Malan, D. D., Vicar of Broadwindsor. Pp. 255. London: *Williams & Norgate*.

stances might ask. The object is to "connect the first Adam with the coming of the second, Christ. 'Adam holds frequent intercourse with the 'Word of God,' who tells him of His coming in the flesh in order to save him; a promise Adam charges his children to remember and to hand down to their own children. Then, when dead, his body is embalmed, and laid in the Cave of Treasures, where he and Eve had spent their life; and is thence taken by Noah, with the gold, the incense and the myrrh brought from Eden, and laid in the ark; whence it is taken out by Melchizedec after the flood; and brought by him, together with Shem and an angel sent to show the way, to "the middle of the earth," to the hill 'cranium,' or Golgotha. There, the rock opens of its own accord to receive the body of Adam, and then closes in again. It is on the very spot on which the Saviour's cross was raised, when He was crucified.'" The history is divided into four Books, the *first* of which includes the whole life of Adam and Eve; the *second* gives the history of the patriarchs who lived before the Flood; the *third* gives the history of the building of the Ark, of the Flood, and of the history of the earth until the call of Abraham; the *fourth* gives a very brief history of patriarchs, judges and kings, from Abraham to Christ. As a specimen of what an Oriental writer can accomplish, when he sets himself to the task, this book is an excellent example. There is some benefit to be gained from its perusal.

THE PSALTER: A WITNESS TO THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE.*

We have here five lectures delivered on the Vedder Foundation, Rutgers College, in 1876. They are the results of scholarly study presented in a popular and interesting way. The design of the book is to show that the Psalms, viewed as to their subject, aims, spirit and teaching, in comparison with other sacred hymns, are clearly of divine origin.

The first lecture is introductory; the others present the doctrine of God; the doctrine of man; the Messiah and the future life, and the ethical teachings, as found in the Psalter. In each the prominent features in the conceptions of the Psalmists are clearly and forcibly set forth. The marked superiority of these conceptions is distinctly shown by comparison with similar representations in the sacred hymns and literature of other races. The lecturer, perhaps, seems hardly disposed to grant to other religions their full due. The book is scholarly, suggestive, and eminently religious in tone. It is a valuable contribution to Psalm-literature.

BEDOUI N TRIBES OF THE EUPHRATES.†

If one can accept as trustworthy Dean Stanley's picturesque and vivid description of Abraham as a nomad of the desert, he will in this book get a clearer and more detailed conception of the historical surroundings of the Patriarch's life than is to be found in any other work with which we are acquainted. The author, Lady Blunt, with her husband spent a winter in wandering in the desert with the

* THE PSALTER: A Witness to the Divine Origin of the Bible. (Vedder Lectures, 1876) *T. W. Chambers, D.D.* New York: *A. D. F. Randolph & Co.*, 1876.

† THE BEDOUI N TRIBES OF THE EUPHRATES. By Lady Anne Blunt. New York: *Harper & Bros.* 1 vol. 8½x5½, pp. 445. Price \$2.50.

Bedouin tribes whose haunts are in that vast region extending from the upper waters of the Euphrates to Arabia. They assumed their dress, their customs; they entered into their political world; they adopted the very life of these tribes, whose habits have suffered but little or no change since Abraham and his sister's son went forth to go into the land of Canaan. Besides all this the book is an entertaining account of life among a little known and very interesting people.

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NO. 10.

THE NAMES AND DOCTRINE OF GOD.

BY PROFESSOR R. V. FOSTER,

Cumberland University, Theological School, Lebanon, Tennessee.

I. אֵל.

This is the oldest Semitic name of the Divine Being of which we have any knowledge. It is allied to the verb אָל, *to be strong*; and hence among the Semitic nations אֵל, the Mighty One, is the name designating the Semitic conception of deity, or, rather, the gods; the polytheistic notion being if not the primitive, at least a very early, one, and *power* the dominant idea. It is applied for this purpose in no otherwise than in respect to *strength, dominion, power*. It was not an abstract notion of existence, nor of immortality, nor love, nor justice, which was apotheosized, but power, and the authority which power implies. It need not be inquired here whence the notion came. It is sufficient to say that the Semitic nations considered it the type or manifestation of a being beyond themselves, and accordingly they named it אֵל, and worshipped it. Or it may have been a mutilated and distorted form of the doctrine of the Divine Being transmitted to them from the beginning.

אֱלֹהִים is supposed to be only an etymological development of אֵל, the original sense, therefore, being that of *power*. Thus, Gesenius, Ewald, Fuerst, and others. Another view regards it as a distinct word, and makes its root meaning to be *terror*; in which case אֱלֹהִים is the Being who inspires terror. But as this may be most easily conceived to be done by a manifestation of power, it may be said that the idea of power still subjectively inheres in אֱלֹהִים. It is found both inside and outside of the sphere of revelation. אֱלֹהִים also denotes might or power. It is found in none of the Semitic languages except the Hebrew. It is generally believed to have been invented by the Hebrews to express the *infinite fullness* of the might and power which

lies in the Divine Being. Hence the plural form. The Deity so called was conceived of as the aggregate of many infinite forces, or powers. It hints at the mystery of the Trinity only so far as to furnish a foundation for that doctrine. From the Israelite point of view it is singular in sense, and is so construed grammatically; but it is also not infrequently applied from the polytheistic standpoint to the gods of the Semites and other peoples, being usually followed in such cases by an adjunct, as the name of the nation whose gods are meant; as "the gods of the nations," "the gods of the peoples," the "gods of silver." As the name of the true and most high Divine Being אֱלֹהִים is commonly, though incorrectly, rendered *God*. But the two words are by no means lexical equivalents; they designate the same Being, but do not signify the same thing. Nations name their deity according to the attribute to which they attach most prominence. With one it is force or power, and then the deity is the Mighty One; with another it may be goodness; and then the deity is the Good One. The primitive significations of the names may, however, in process of time, entirely disappear, and altogether new ones attach themselves thereto. So it has to come to pass that God has practically ceased to signify the Good Being; nor is it safe to suppose that אֱלֹהִים awakened in the latter and more enlightened Hebrew mind precisely the same idea as in the case of the early. Hence the original, or root, meanings of words are not always the ones to be sought after.

The antediluvian and pre-Abrahamic doctrine of God was probably a decay; the Hebrew doctrine of Him was a growth. Qualified by various other words, אֱלֹהִים was used in the pre-Mosaic period to designate the Hebrew conception of God.

Confining ourselves in the selection of such qualifying words, to the ground form of the Pentateuch, wherein must be found, if at all, the theology of the patriarch, as contradistinguished from the latter theology of Moses, we may make out the early Hebrew doctrine of God, and its progressive development. Thus (1), God appeared unto Abraham and said, "I am *Almighty El*," אֱלֹהֵי שָׂרֵי. In Gen. XLVIII., 3, Jacob said unto Joseph, אֱלֹהֵי שָׂרֵי appeared unto me, etc. "This name," says Oehler, "characterizes God as *revealing Himself in His* might"; equivalent to the Greek παντοκράτωρ, with which word the expression is commonly rendered in the Septuagint Book of Job, though not generally in the Pentateuch. "It is no longer the powerful Divinity ruling the world in general that is El Shaddai, but the God who testifies of Himself in *special deeds* of power"; not merely the God who, by his power rules nature, but the God who, to use the words of Delitzsch, "compels nature to do what is contrary to itself, and sub-

dues it to bow and minister to grace." God subsequently revealed Himself as Jehovah, but in some sense at least, not so to Abraham ; as in Ex. VI., 3 : "I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai ; as Jehovah I was not known unto them." According to Taylor's Hebrew Concordance El Shaddai occurs in Genesis fifteen times, and, according to Fuerst, in the pre-Mosaic book of Job, thirty-one times.

(2). **עֹלָם**. "And Abraham called there upon the name of Jehovah"; viz. **אֵל עֹלָם**, the Everlasting El (Gen. XXI., 33). The patriarchs knew Him, therefore, as the Almighty and Everlasting El, though possibly not yet as the only one. He is in some sense rather a tutelary El. "Jehovah, thy God, is one God," and the only one was a truth subsequently to be impressed, and a hard lesson to learn it proved to be. In Gen. XVI., 13 He is called **אֵל רֹאֶי**, not the El who has become visible to me, but the El to whom I am visible, the All-seeing El. To Isaac He appeared as the El of Abraham ; to Jacob as the El of Abraham and Isaac, thereby contradistinguishing Himself from the god of the Canaanites, Phœnicians, Arameans, and other nations among whom, or contiguous to whom, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lived. The name was afterwards nationalized as El Israel, the El ruling over, and recognized by the descendants of Jacob. So, therefore, the identity of the idea is preserved and transmitted, and God—so nearly the *true* God only as is represented by these attributes—is known to all pre-Mosaic Hebrews as the almighty, all-seeing and everlasting El, though still, perhaps, not yet as the only one. They are yet not far from polytheism, and El is still tutelary. Thus far he has to them no moral qualities, so far as the names employed to describe Him are concerned. He does not become **אֵל קַנָּא** the jealous El, the El jealous in the defense of his own honor, until Ex. XX., 5, He so announces Himself to Moses, and asserts it again and again in the peculiarity, and oftentimes the severity, of His educational dealings with Israel. He does not become **אֵל רַחוּם**, the tender, the compassionate, the merciful El, until He so reveals Himself during the same dispensation. In Deut. XXXII., 4, He is **אֵל אֱמוּנָה**, the unchangeable, or faithful, El, on whom one may securely rely.

By the post-Mosaic writers, **אֵל** is used interchangeably with **בַּעַל**, as by the authors of the books of Samuel and Chronicles. Baal is also the Mighty one, and hence the Lord and Ruler over things in so far as he possesses them—the *nomen numinis* of a great part of the Semitic races. It is also used interchangeably with **אֱב**, as in Jeremiah II., 27, 28, the stock and stone being called **אֱבִי** in the one, and **אֱלֹהֵיהֶן**—

an after form of אֵל—in the other verse. With עֶלְיִם it is the God of Eternity, the *pater Chronou* of the early, or Orphic, Greek. It is also used interchangeably with יְהוָה, or יְהוֹה, a characteristic name of El at a very early period. In the Chaldæan religion, it is the mystic and unmentionable name of the mysterious deity enthroned above the seven heavens, representing the spiritual light principle, and also conceived as a demiurge, or world-creator. The Chaldean Yahu is the Phœnician Helios, Father of Light, with which Baal is also used interchangeably.

אֵל, according to Taylor (Heb. Con., Art. אֵל), finds its Latin synonym in *deus*, according to the learned Pococke (Newton's Principia, Gen. Schol.) is derived from the Arabic *du*, Lord, one who possesses power and exercises it. Numen, I should think, is more nearly its synonym. Baal, however, though used interchangeably with El, is scarcely to be regarded as synonymous with it, except in intention. Baal is always El individualized, and more or less anthropomorphic, while El is Baal at one time or place, Yahu, El-Israel, etc., at another, not in itself representing in the minds of the nations any idea of distinct personality at all. Θεός, in the Greek, was not always Zeus or Pater Chronou, though Zeus and Pater Chronou were always Θεός. So, also, Neptune, the *numen æquoris*, is always Deus though Deus is not always Neptune, but sometimes Bacchus or Jupiter as well. There was nothing in Theos to limit the Greek mind to monotheism. The Greek offered neither praise, nor prayer, nor sacrifices, to Theos as Theos, but to Theos as Zeus, or Pallas, etc. Nor was there anything in Deus thus to confine the Roman mind, nor in the Teuisco, or *rodera weard*, of our Saxon ancestors. So far as the influence of the conception of the word El, of the Semitic dialects, is concerned, neither was there anything in it to determine the Hebrew mind to monotheism. Hence the method alluded to above of preserving the identity of the idea involved in El. El said unto Jacob that he was the same El who appeared unto Abraham and Isaac. It was necessary that he should have said this, for Jacob is possibly not yet assured of his in all-comprehending unity. Joseph was high in authority and distinguished by piety, but he makes no missionary effort in behalf of the Egyptians. So far as the record states, we have no reason to believe that he was assured of the oneness of God. He worshipped the true God only as he recognized him, just as man does now. The El of Joseph, as Joseph conceived of him, seems to have been a tutelary El—the El of the Hebrews—whom *he* preferred above the El of his neighbors; and in the theistic controversy which afterwards arose between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, supremacy is the only item involved; and the supremacy so marvelously asserted and sustained in the contest by the Hebrew

El, is only one step in the process whereby the Hebrew doctrine of God is to become a more and more improved doctrine. Notice: El was identified on his second appearance to Abraham by Himself referring to the circumstances and quoting the language of His first appearance. So, also, in the subsequent revelations which He makes to Abraham. In a similar manner he is identified by Jacob, and, further, by declaring Himself "the God of thy fathers"; in Egypt, as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; while now, he may be identified *additionally* as the El, or God, "who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." If the idolatry of Aaron and the Israelites was not intended as an indirect worship of the same El, it was the worship of one whose existence they had not been called on to doubt, and whose worship they had not been called on to disown. The severity of the punishment inflicted for the idolatry illustrates the importance of the lesson to be learned. The process of unfolding the true character of God, and the character of the true God, must be carried forward. He implants the idea of his spirituality by prohibiting image worship, and the idea of his oneness by visiting upon his people severe inflictions when any other El is worshipped. That El is, they never doubted, but that El is one, and such as had been described must be declared to them by word and act again and again. It was never a contest between theism and atheism, but between polytheism and monotheism. Even at a later day in Hebrew history, Ahab did not deny that the El of Elijah was God. His sin was in asserting that Baal also was God, and in practically asserting his superiority. This was true among the Greeks and Romans; indeed, of every ancient nation of whose theology we have any knowledge at all. The Greek mind had no use for *Θεός* without the *ὁ*, expressed or understood. It was not *Θεός* did thus and so, but invariably *ὁ Θεός*, some particular one of the gods. *Θεός* was merely the the divinity in Zeus, Neptune, Pluto, etc., and the divinity in each was distinct from the divinity in all the others. The Theos in Zeus was merely a Greek conception of something above themselves, localized and labeled Zeus. So through the whole of the Greek polytheism. Among the Romans it was the same. Ovid could preserve intact his orthodoxy on the subject of Deus, and yet make the deus of Jupiter dethrone the deus of Saturn, and the deus of Mars wage war, and the deus of Bacchus get drunk. Among the Hebrews, theistic discussions in those days were as the discussions of church creeds in these days—intrinsically more important, perhaps, but illustrated by them, nevertheless. It was no more difficult on the score of conscience for an oriental, or an occidental, to substitute the worship of one El, or Theos, for that of another than it is for a modern churchman to change his

creed. A particular name is useful, of course, only in so far as it embodies a conception, thereby rendering it tangible, and enabling you to lay it away out of your consciousness and take it up again by name when you have use for it. It is right for me to worship the Divine Being, though as to whether it is right or not depends upon what sort of ideas I attach to the name by which I call him, for I can worship him only as I conceive him to be. If I should ascribe the wrong attributes, or a greater or less number of attributes, to him than he possesses, I would not be worshipping him as he is. God, in a sense, is to every man what that man conceives him to be. The advantage of a name is to unify and enable us to identify our ideas of him. I may ascribe to him too much of the merciful; you, not enough. Or I may ignore his mercifulness and regard him mainly as the Just One; while according to your conception of him he does everything arbitrarily whether it be just or unjust. One man may conceive of him as one living far back in the beginning of eternity, having wisdom and power enough to say that such and such things shall come to pass to-day. Another may conceive him as sitting wrapped in the whiteness of the ages, far up in the evening of eternity, with historical knowledge enough to know that such and such things *did* come to pass to-day. (And why would not one of these conceptions of him be as correct as the other?) Another may conceive of him as a *nunc stans*, living in the early morning, and noon, and evening of eternity at the same moment, all knowledge being with him a *present* knowledge. It matters not by what name we call him provided only our conception of him be correct; and the more incorrect our conception of him is, the more nearly does our worship of him become the worship of Jupiter, or Zeus, or Fate, etc. The God of some theists, not to say some Christians, who hold a certain theory concerning the relation of God to the world, is not very far from being the God of the ancient Epicureans.

The doctrine of God was more clearly unfolded and understood in the days of Elijah than it was in the days of Jacob and Joseph, though polytheistic views were still prevalent. The sin against which the prophet had to contend was not the denial of the existence of El, but the affirmation that there were more El's than one. Theism and not atheism is indigenious to the human mind. Man does not have to be reasoned into the belief of theism; he reaches it *per saltum*, and in spite of himself. He must go into his closet in order to reason himself out of theism, if he can. But nations have no closets, and hence nations are never atheistic. I say El is because I cannot help it, and so it is with every man. Why should it be attempted to prove the existence of One the belief in whose existence is intuitional or instinct-

ive, and in either case axiomatic? Argumentation there must be, of course, but should it not rather be in order to a definite understanding and agreement as to the character of God, and not as to his existence, otherwise I may name my conception of him Fate or Force, and you may name yours El or deitas or God, all agreeing, perhaps, in no other respect than in that of existence. The object of God in the tuition of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the race of Israel, was not to reveal his existence, for they could not deny that, but to make himself more distinctive, and to inculcate an improved knowledge of his character, as will appear from a brief consideration of his Mosaic name, to-wit:

II. יהוה

The introduction of this name is the beginning of a new era in Hebrew theology. God appears in the flaming bush to Moses and calls himself the El of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and "the El of thy fathers," thereby enabling Moses to identify him, and distinguish him from the El as conceived of and worshipped by other nations. Had he merely spoken, without thus introducing himself, what could have hindered Moses from believing that, if an El at all, he might be the tutelary El of Midian, rather than the El of his fathers? for it is not clear from the record that Moses at this period of his life was quite free from polytheism. He also gives himself the name Jehovah, which must be linked in the Hebrew mind to the old conception of the national El, by Moses' calling him, not merely Jehovah, but "Jehovah the El of thy fathers;" otherwise, the Hebrew might naturally regard him as some new and unfriendly god of whom Moses might have learned during his long absence from them. The word יהוה (היה), whence אֱהִיָּה, and thence יְהוָה, or יְהוֹה, had held, of course, all the while, a place in the Hebrew vocabulary, but to this new use it had never before been appropriated. The old conception being thus linked with the new name, Jehovah becomes henceforth a memorial name to all generations, a perpetual reminder of his identity; the name of him who both essentially and morally is always what he is, distinguishable from whomsoever else might be called El, and to attribute change to whom is to deny his being. So the Hebrews' God becomes the one changeless, continuing God, and Jehovah is his distinguishing name; and into the knowledge of whose exclusive oneness and true character the Hebrews must be indoctrinated, not in the midst of the corruptions of Egypt, nor in the midst of the polytheism of Canaan, but in the long, hard, school of the wilderness, under the immediate tuition of Jehovah, who instils and establishes conceptions of himself as the Mighty One, the Merciful, the Holy, the Only One, the Independent, the Un-

changeable, the Faithful, etc. The Hebrew mind must of necessity have undergone two difficult processes, which could not have been wrought upon it elsewhere than in the isolation of the wilderness. It must be relieved of its polytheistic tendencies, and correct conceptions of the true character of the one universal God must be introduced. Hence, the new distinctive name, Jehovah, and the complex, rigid, and peculiar institutions of Moses.

OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH. D.,

Columbus, Ohio.

Old Testament criticism in its present phase has a somewhat peculiar history in the American church. What seemed but a short time ago as a cloud the size of a man's hand in the far distance, has in a remarkably short period increased and covered the theological heavens; in which aspect some, pessimistically inclined, see only the threatening blackness and thickness, while others know that behind these clouds is the shining sun. Without exaggeration it can be fairly said that no purely theological question has for many decades, if ever, succeeded in attracting such general attention and in drawing forth such widespread sympathy and antipathy in so many circles as the pentateuchal problem has done. It has become a "burning question" in the study of the professor, in the lecture room of the theological seminaries, and in the pages of scientific journals. It at once sprang into prominence also in the editorial and literary columns of the religious periodical press, and even found its way into the leading literary and political papers. In short, its agitation showed that it was decidedly a popular question, on which the general reader, and not only the student and specialist, wished to be informed. Even in Germany, the land of critics and of criticism, no problems of Biblical science, not even the agitation attending the publication of Strauss' popular "Life of Christ," provoked such a general and animated discussion as have the claims of advanced criticism in the American church. It is true that this discussion has been on both sides more dogmatical than critical, but this fact has rather added to the interest taken in the problem than detracted from it.

And peculiar, too, has been the origin and source of this agitation. Only a few years have passed since the appearance of such articles as "Bible," and "Deuteronomy" in the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, from the pen of Professor W. Robertson Smith furnished

the outward occasion of a discussion for which a number of circumstances had been making the inward preparation for quite a while. The new views that there found their expression and the innovations that were there proposed, immediately became the themes for lively debates. The two trials of Professor Smith before the ecclesiastical courts, which ended in his condemnation and retirement from his professorship, were followed by the whole English-speaking theological world, especially in America, with a remarkable keenness and interest, which was awakened not so much by sympathy for the man, but rather by interest in the views of which he was properly regarded as the representative. The points of Biblical criticism that were involved in the trials were at once taken up for discussion; attack and defence, condemnation and approval showed themselves in strong proportions; neutrality was deemed inconsistent with honesty.

Thoughtful men could not fail to notice the great difference between the public treatment of this case and of a somewhat similar one scarcely a generation earlier. When Colenso, the bishop of Natal, drank deep draughts of negative criticism and by his analysis and dissection of the Pentateuch gave great offence to the traditional views of the church, he could find sympathizers enough in Germany, but not in England or America. Beside a passing interest in his trial for heresy, but little notice was taken of his new departure even by professional theologians, and among these there are probably not many who have read or studied his ponderous volumes. The English church took it for granted that his teachings were dangerous to the purity of doctrine, and found ample encouragement in this judgment in the conservatism, or, perhaps, lethargy of the church.

In the Smith case, however, matters took an entirely different turn. Although his methods are more radical and his results more revolutionary than were Colenso's, yet his case did not prove to be a contest in which the combatants were all on one side. He has found firm friends as well as bitter foes, and the struggle is raging all along the line. For certainly those who already dream of peace and think the struggle over, are sadly mistaken; the discussion has scarcely begun. The peculiar popularity and intensity of this agitation in the American church and the remarkable rapidity with which it found a home in our midst, must certainly, especially when compared with similar episodes in past decades, suggest the question as to what produced this change, and why American theological soil was so much better prepared for the seeds of criticism now than was the case earlier. It seems to us that the answer is not hard to discover. The seed was furnished and to a great extent the soil was prepared by hands other than American.

In these days of cosmopolitanism and rapid exchange of ideas in every department of human activity and thought, theology, too, has to a considerable degree broken down geographical and national boundaries. Especially has Germany, the land of scholars, succeeded in making a powerful impression upon American theological thought and literature. Hundreds of American students sit at the feet of German professors; the theological lore of Germany is made accessible in many ways to the scholars of this country, and the ups and downs of theological thought in that country are followed with a lively interest here at home. From these sources our theology has learned many things old and new, good and bad; we have listened to the radical and rationalistic as well as to the conservative and biblical German scholar. In this manner German models have been quite a factor in forming leading American theological thought, and in this manner the way has been prepared for the reception and consideration of methods and views that otherwise could probably have found no sympathetic chord in our systems. But German theology, both in its good and its bad features, has through various channels been absorbed in our land, and has succeeded in many points in modifying our conservative ways of thinking.

It is from this source, too, that the critical problems of the Old Testament have found their way into our midst. That they came *via* Scotland makes no difference; Robertson Smith can lay no claims to originality whatever; his works are simply a reproduction of continental, chiefly German, views. Modern biblical criticism, both in its positive and in its negative features, is essentially a German product. Whatever work other countries have done, France, Italy, Holland and especially the British Isles and America, has consisted chiefly in following the German advance line. As far as thorough independence in the various phases of the problem is concerned, this is found almost exclusively among the Germans. They are and have ever been the pioneers in the work, and are yet far in advance of their rivals and imitators.

Nor must the form in which this discussion has made its appearance in our theological journals and assemblies be forgotten. It is really incorrect to say that we have been discussing the problems of Old Testament criticism; we have been debating merely on Wellhausenism. We have become acquainted only, or mostly, with the views of extreme radical criticism, and in no way or manner with the whole field of critical discussion, both as to its extent and as to the manner of its cultivation. Wellhausen's views are not identical with Old Testament criticism; they present this theological discipline only in an

extreme and erratic outgrowth. A beginning has been made only lately by such works as Briggs' *Biblical Study* to bring before us the whole scope and extent of Biblical criticism and study; but the greatest portion of all the discussions going on during the past few years has been not on Biblical criticism properly so called, nor have these discussions tended to recommend this most important study in all its attractive and important features to the earnest study of American scholars; on the contrary one school of pentateuchal analysts has succeeded in monopolizing all attention and debate.

These facts are undoubtedly all known to students who have been following the interesting discussions on the Pentateuch. But we mention them with a purpose. They explain to us the peculiar condition in which Biblical study, or rather the pentateuchal problem and its discussion, are found among us, and thus prepare the way for the consideration of how this discussion can be put on such a basis that it can be worked out systematically and correctly. We doubt whether the discussion as carried on so far has been satisfactory to any thoughtful member of the advanced or of the conservative party. It certainly has been neither scientific nor thorough. Coming over to us, as it did, in the shape of a well-developed and attractive hypothesis, which, however, was the result of long and patient discussion and analysis, American theology was called upon to sit in judgment upon results of whose processes it had scarcely an idea. And just herein lay the germ of all the superficiality and unsatisfactory nature of this whole discussion. America began where Germany had arrived only after decades of continued research, and she was unacquainted with the conditions and antecedents of these results. Not having gone through the critical history and experience of Germany, she suddenly found herself unprepared in the labyrinth of the pentateuchal problem, and not having gone through the processes of analysis and the philological disciplines preparatory to reaching these results she could not find the Ariadne thread to guide her out of this labyrinth. The friend of advanced thought argued from the standpoint that the analysis of the Pentateuch into various documents was a sure result and settled fact of criticism; the conservative hesitated to acknowledge this analysis both as a theological principle and as a fact. In this way both parties wanted to debate the same question, but stood on entirely different ground. Both thus began by a *petitio principii*, disregarding and neglecting what must necessarily precede a thorough and satisfactory discussion of the question. In Germany, where all the problems as to method and principles of the analysis of the Pentateuch have been discussed over and over again, and where there is a virtual unanimity as to the

fact that an analysis of these books is not only allowed but is necessary, men can start out presupposing these important points as proved, as e. g. Dillmann does in the *Vorbemerkungen* to his Genesis; but such is not the case in America. It is never well to erect a building before a foundation has been laid; and if the discussion of not only the pentateuchal problem but of the whole field of Old Testament criticism is to be thorough and not superficial, is to be a blessing to the church and not an injury, is to bring forth the whole truth and not half truth or error, then it would be well to heed a *festina lente* and to have a thorough understanding as to aim and object, method and manner of the discussion. The problems the debate involves are of too great importance to be judged hastily. Theoretically they may involve the character of the Old Testament as the revelation of God, and are practically a question of conscience and rule of life.

But how to remedy the matter? This is not an easy question to decide. It is always easier to detect the presence of a disease than to find the proper remedy. But of one thing we can be assured, namely that for us a proper analysis of the Pentateuch is the first desideratum. This is the basis of all discussions as to the Pentateuch, and a thorough investigation must begin here. In Germany these investigations have been going on ever since the days of Astruc, and there they have a history; with us they have yet to make their history. As yet English theology has produced no independent analysis of the Pentateuch, much less an exhaustive one, such as are found in the larger German Isagogics and especially such as Wellhausen has made. In the English version of Lange's Commentary on Genesis the Elohist and Jehovistic sections are indeed marked; but this is result and not process. And yet no one is competent to discuss intelligently and thoroughly the pentateuchal problem unless he has made the investigation as to whether this analysis, the *origo et fons* of all pentateuchal theories, is fact or fiction. The problem which is purely a philological one and one that must be decided with the aid of grammar and dictionary alone, is as interesting as it is important. To go through one or all of the five books, verse for verse and chapter for chapter, with the best critical aids at our disposal is full of surprises, not all of which, however, are in favor of the advanced views. And to this piece of patient toil every thorough student of the Pentateuch must subject himself; here least of all will it do to adopt views at second hand; nowhere is tradition more injurious than in the domain of biblical study and divine truth. A careful analysis based on proper principles and lawful hermeneutics, is assuredly a *sine qua non* of critical accuracy, and this is a work for every one who would in the best

sense of the word be a critic of the Pentateuch, and this is a phase through which the American discussion must pass if it intends to reach tangible results and lawful conclusions.

Not that all the work is to be done in the private study. Magazines devoted to biblical research, such as the *Hebraica*, could from time to time bring from the pen of competent men a proposed analysis of this or that section as a sample, or of especially difficult sections for special assistance. But even here the student must follow step by step the work of the writer. Of course the work would have to be begun by those who are convinced that the Pentateuch is a composition from various documents; on them lies the *onus probandi*. For the present it will suffice to have drawn attention to the character of the Old Testament discussions and to have stated what, in our view, is the only thorough and satisfactory foundation for its further prosecution and development.

STUDIES IN ARCHÆOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

III.

Tradition, in its Relation to History; (1) To History in General.

II.

So far we have noticed some of the ways in which tradition on the one hand and history on the other originate and grow. The chief question remains—How do these two, history and tradition, stand related, one to the other?

I. THE HISTORICAL BORDER-LAND.

There is a point in the secular life of the world where we find history and tradition meeting in a kind of border-land. This point of contact is, perhaps, best represented in Herodotus, born in the year B. C. 484. His birth-place, the city of Halicarnassus, in Caria, a province of Asia Minor, was at the time under Persian rule. How he collected his materials for history is illustrated in these few sentences by Prof. Jebb, of Glasgow: "Favored by his two-fold quality as a Persian subject and a Greek citizen, he traversed almost the whole of the known world, from Ecbatana, Susa and Babylon in the east, to South Italy in the west, from the northern shores of the Black Sea to the first cataract of the Nile, an area of about 1,700 square miles. No Greek before him had explored foreign lands so widely and so intelligently." The purpose of these travels, as we know, was to gather materials for his history. He is often called "the Father of History;" one might with equal propriety call him "the Father of the Interviewers." The newspaper reporter of our time is not more omnipresent and persistent than this insatiable querist, penetrating everywhere and questioning everybody. Of course, he heard and wrote down many an extraordinary story, and many a childish one. Prof. Jebb speaks justly of his "child-like simplicity," and yet says, truly, that "he is one of the most delightful of story-tellers." "Often," it is added, "he stops to tell some quaint little story by the way—like that of Hippo-

cleides, a noble suitor for the daughter of the great prince, Cleisthenes, who pained his intended father-in-law by dancing before the company, and finally stood upon his head. Cleisthenes, who had hitherto restrained himself, exclaimed, 'Son of Tisandrus, you have danced off the marriage,' but Hippocleides replied, 'Hippocleides does not care.' Hence, says Herodotus, our proverb. All which is very much as if some future historian were to set himself, seriously, to study up the origin of the expression, "Barkis is willin'." It is good interviewer's gossip, but queer history.

But the important thing is that in the pages of Herodotus history and tradition are face to face. Readers of him have long since given up all idea of absolutely depending upon him; and still, few writers of ancient history, perhaps no writer, is quoted more often than Herodotus, while to deny that his work is of immense value as history, is to do him great injustice. Even that in it which is tradition rather than history is of value; for in the tradition one sees that there is usually, perhaps always, an historical germ. To find this is often an interesting inquiry, and not always, by any means, without some satisfaction in the result. It has been a question amongst writers almost from his day to our own, how much of what we find in him is real history; but his interesting narratives, like that of the visit of Solon of Athens to Croesus, king of Lydia, and incidents and conversations between Croesus and Cyrus, when the latter had taken his capital, Sardis, first condemning him to be burnt upon a funeral-pile, then releasing him and making him his friend and counsellor ever after; and what he tells of Tartessus, the Scriptural Tarshish, in the far West, by the Straits of Gibraltar;—these with marvellous legends of primitive ages, related to him by the Egyptian priests; such as these in the form they have in his book cannot, perhaps, be received, and still, applying to them just principles of historical criticism, it has been found possible to get out the kernel of history and turn it to good account, whatever may be done with the shell.

The poems of Homer afford another interesting example. Some remarks of Mr. Gladstone, one of the most accomplished Homeric students of our time, are very interesting in dealing with this subject. He states his point in this way: After declaring his belief in "the truth of the Trojan war as history," he says: "The historical character of the poems, in the inner sense of the term, is independent of what may be called their technical or formal truth. Even if the facts were exaggerated, or otherwise altered for the purpose of poetical effect, nay, even if invented for that purpose, the poems might still be historical in the most material respects. All those glimpses of the prior and general history of the race which they permit rather than promise, might still be correct to the letter. The portraiture of religion, manners, institutions, arts, might be entirely trustworthy. The psychology of the poems in the largest sense might be true: the state and scale of the human mind, thought, language and character, might be the same; just as in the Carolingian and Arthurian romances, we never regard the truth of the manners as dependent upon the truth of the facts." In his development of the subject, Mr. Gladstone justifies this view in details which make it quite clear that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with all their evidences of supreme inventive power on the part of the poet, and the fact, also, that the story is strung, all through, upon a thread of tradition, he sees really a vast amount of primitive history.

A book has recently been published, some parts of which are of interest in this connection. It is Dr. Schliemann's second and final book, "*Troja*," giving an

account of his labors in excavating on the supposed site of Troy, on and near the hill Hisarlik, in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor. I believe that the opinion of competent persons is steadily growing that Dr. Schliemann has really brought to light what remains of that ancient city of Priam. And it is quite noticeable how his discoveries invest with reality the incidents of Homer's great epic. He locates gates named in the poem, remnants of the walls and towers from which citizens and warriors watched the fortunes of the fight in the plain below; the temples to which votive offerings were borne, with supplications for the favor of the gods, the famed Scamander flowing near, and even the springs, with their outlet into the river, where Hector and Achilles fought the deadly duel so fatal to Troy: while, perhaps most interesting of all, is the fact that this city, whose remains he finds deep down under the ruins of four or five other cities which have been rebuilt and have perished since that old city of Priam on the site of the real Troy, itself perished in just such a tremendous conflagration as that from the midst of which, according to Virgil, Aeneas bore his old father Anchises, leading his little boy Ascanius by the hand. A rich treasure is found, including some 10,000 different objects of value, many of them in the precious metals, yet all showing the action of intense heat. "Of the weapons," he says, "found in the largest gold-treasure, one bronze dagger has been completely curled up in the conflagration; a mass of lance-heads, daggers, and battle-axes, have been fused in the intense heat; there are further lance-heads fused to battle-axes, and a lance and battle-ax firmly fused to a copper caldron." All over this hill of Hisarlik at the depth where these things are found, are signs of the terrible flame whose intensity and fury those of us who saw Chicago burning a few years since can perfectly well understand. It may be not unlikely that in some future time, visitors will flock to this site of old Troy, Iliad and Æneid in hand, and trace out incidents of the great story, some of them at least historically identified, under all the fiction of the poems.

Tradition is in its way almost a more fascinating study than history itself, and it has its value, and its valuable results for the historical student.

2. MUST BE SHARPLY DISCRIMINATED.

But then, in the next place, history and tradition must be sharply discriminated. Thucydides, as we well know, is a very different sort of historian from Herodotus. Though born only thirteen years later, he seems in the character of his mind, and the critical judgment displayed in his history, almost as if he might have been separated from him by centuries. That which Mr. Grote calls "the historical sense" abounds in Thucydides, but is very deficient in Herodotus. What Thucydides himself says of his work characterizes this difference very justly, while one seems to perceive in it a sly thrust at his predecessor in the same line of authorship. "The absence of romance in my History," he says, "will perhaps lose it the popular ear. But it will be enough if it is judged useful by those who may desire an accurate knowledge of the past as a clue to that future which, in all human probability, must repeat or resemble the past. It has been composed not as the exploit of an hour, but as a possession for all time."

That is what history is, "a possession for all time." It is more than an interesting story. It is not *fable*, but *truth*. I cannot go very fully into the various rules of historical criticism by which this needed distinction is made. To a certain extent, a narrative of real events bears its truthfulness upon its face, while a traditional one may be detected by its own evident character, as legend. When, in

the Chaldæan account of the Flood, we are told how while men and their works were destroyed on the earth, "in heaven the gods became afraid of the water-spout and sought a refuge: how they ascended even to the heaven of Ann"—that is to the highest heaven; how they "were stretched motionless, pressed against each other like dogs"; how "the gods on their chairs were seated in tears—and they kept their lips closed, meditating on future things",—such an element as this in the story makes it impossible to receive it as history. Still, even as tradition, we treat it otherwise than as a pure invention. In the Genesis narrative we have the history; and this traditional account of the same general event becomes of value not for its own sake, but because it shows that there were legends of the Flood as well as a history of the Flood. So the tradition, in a certain way, testifies to the history. And this is, in one aspect of it, the relation between the two.

Then, history is self-consistent. Of this the Bible history is a very remarkable example. Has it ever occurred to the reader how absolutely true to itself the Bible is, as respects its historical element, as well as in other respects? Not laboriously so. Not as if all the while on its guard. Nothing is more conspicuous in it than its freedom of movement, the dignity of its attitude, so to speak its defiance of misconstruction and assault. It is, in its literary form, never out of keeping with the age that produced it. From the simplicity of an utterance often singularly primitive, it ranges all along the line of various expression and style, to that which is most sublime in the poetical, most severe in the logical, most plain and mere matter-of-fact in the historical. We are sometimes at a loss how to interpret it; but whenever we do reach a solution we find "the harmony of Scripture" still undisturbed. Wherever we come upon later allusions to the earlier history, those allusions are faithful to the original record in every particular. This is true down to the latest chapters of the New Testament. The Apocalypse is seen to be, as we study it, though with special meaning and design, almost a panoramic *resume* of the whole Old Testament story; till in its closing chapters, the twenty-first and twenty-second, you have that original picture of the original paradise reproduced, only now on its redemptive and heavenly side. What a marvel of unity and consistency is the Hebrew history! Many pens are employed upon it, in some cases at intervals of centuries. Yet the story is one. I do not believe that I run any hazard in saying that no history has ever been written, in any age, with various authors concerned in it as is the case with all history, that can deserve comparison with Bible history, as respects this element of absolute consistency and unity. How different with tradition! It changes according to the fancy or prejudice of writers or narrators; tells now one story and now another; changeful as the figures in a kaleidoscope. Now the element of truth is almost lost amidst the invention of polytheism, now dimly traceable amidst the puerilities of races scarcely advanced beyond childhood, and now transfigured by the inventions of poets and the creations of mythology. Here again we say of history and tradition in their mutual relation that you can never put one in the place of the other.

Then, there is in history a self-authenticating principle, characterizing it as history. Very ancient history, as written now, may be dependent to a considerable extent upon the reliability of other histories written long ago. But when Thucydides, or Xenophon, or Livy, or Tacitus wrote, the sources and proofs used by each of these, perhaps documentary, perhaps found in the recollections of living men, perhaps in some measure traditional, were such in their nature that what was thus writ-

ten took its place as history, and has held that place to this day. Modern history has the advantage of appealing to documents preserved in national archives, or to other sources of proof, for establishing the truth of its narrative. It goes upon record as history, and however parts of it may be criticized or doubted, as a whole it is recognized as historical. We cannot tell, at this late day, what documentary or other sources of knowledge, as to facts, apart from inspiration, Moses may have had. But his writings from the first were to the Hebrews even without reference to his character as an inspired man, all that those of Thucydides were to the Greeks, all that those of Tacitus were to the Romans, all that those of Gibbon and Bancroft are to us. The history authenticated itself at the time and in the way proper to history, and its author took his place among historians of the world. You can no more put the Chaldæan and Babylonian myths in a like position than you can do any other impossible thing. There is no reason to believe that they ever were history, in any other sense than that very imperfect one which is true of all tradition.

It may be of service to the reader if I quote, here, in brief, those laws of historical criticism which are generally recognized in questions of this nature and which Mr. Rawlinson ("*Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Record*") has formulated, as follows:

1. When the record which we possess of an event is the writing of a contemporary, supposing that he is a credible witness, and had means of observing the fact to which he testifies, the fact is to be accepted as possessing the first or highest degree of historical credibility.

2. When the event recorded is one which the writer may reasonably be supposed to have obtained directly from those who witnessed it, we should accept it as probably true, unless it be in itself very improbable. Such evidence possesses the second degree of historical credibility.

3. When the event recorded is removed considerably from the age of the recorder of it, and there is no reason to believe that he obtained it from a contemporary witness, but the probable source of his information was oral tradition; still, if the event be one of great importance, and of public notoriety, if it affected the national life, or prosperity,—especially if it be of a nature to have been at once commemorated by the establishment of any rite or practice,—then it has a claim to belief as probably true, at least in its general outline. This, however, is the third, and a comparatively low, degree of historical credibility.

4. When the traditions of one race, which, if unsupported, would have but small claim to attention, and none to belief, are corroborated by the traditions of another especially of a distant or hostile race, the event which has this double testimony obtains thereby a high amount of probability, and, if not very unlikely in itself, thoroughly deserves acceptance.

These canons of historical criticism place the relations of history and tradition in a very clear light. In view of them, and in view of all that has thus far been said upon this subject, we might summarize by saying (1) that tradition is a part, often a valuable part, of the *material* of history; (2) that tradition often serves, sometimes in a very important way, as a testimony to the *truth* of history.

3. HISTORY, NOT TRADITION, THE VEHICLE OF REVELATION.

I touch only one point more, and that briefly. It is history and not tradition, that must be the vehicle of revealed religion. This brings us to the topic of the next general study upon our main subject; but it must be noticed here, also, as the real aim of the discussion thus far. There are places in the Bible which make us see, very clearly, what importance inspiration itself attaches to its own historical element;—for example, the words with which the evangelist Luke opens his

Gospel: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed amongst us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." And in fact, unless the New Testament history is absolutely reliable, and reliable in every part, what basis of faith have we? If some portion be doubtful, that makes the whole doubtful; and *the facts* of the Gospel discredited, its doctrines are left with nothing on which to stand. Hence the emphasis with which an apostle declares that the Gospel history is not a tissue of "cunningly devised fables;" placing it thus in a position apart from all the other religions of the world.

It seems to me, too, that one reason of the frequency with which the phrase occurs, "that the Scriptures might be fulfilled," is that thus the newer record may authenticate and confirm the older one. It is not, simply, that the type and the prophecy may bear witness to him who is the Anti-type, and the Fulfillment; not alone that it may be seen how clearly the holy men of old foresaw the Coming One; but that he himself, when he had come, might be as if writing his own shining name across every page of that former Scripture, giving to it, thus, his own divine indorsement as authentic and true.

In these times, it is a very common thing to meet with the phrase, "Hebrew tradition," in allusion especially to the earlier parts of the Old Testament record. This is not always with any purpose of disparagement; yet I think the phraseology itself indicates a drift of opinion. It is a matter of profound importance that the basis on which the whole structure of revelation rests, should be received as *history*, not as tradition; as history alone, and not as history *and* tradition. We cannot recognize the latter word, in this connection, even in any modified sense of its meaning. Wherever the inspired writer obtained his material, however his facts came to him, in his hands they became historical; and they are given to us through inspired men, in order that we also may know "the *certainty* of those things wherein we have been instructed;" and in order that, thus, the religion of the Bible may, amidst the crowd of false religions, stand, in this respect as in others, apart and alone.

I have, now, in this discussion, sought to recognize in tradition all that may, with any justice, be claimed for it. There is an historical element in it; its origin, absolutely considered, is the same as that of history—that is to say, in the historical impulse in man. But, in no adequate sense is it history. Often it lends testimony to the historical, as in the case of the Chaldaean legend of the Creation, the Flood and the Confusion of Tongues. Often there is an historical germ in it, which it is both interesting and profitable to search for. But the two must be sharply discriminated. Narratives which carry truthfulness in their very face; which are self consistent, and which in the way proper to history have been duly authenticated, we have no right to speak of, in any vague way, as traditional; least of all when, in so doing, we discredit what is not only true in itself, but what divine Providence may have ordained as the record of His own dealings with the human race. This He has done in the case of revealed religion, of which the history of a chosen people was anciently made the vehicle and the witness. This one

true religion stands forever in contrast with all false religions, in this: that while *they* are mythical, traditional, deformed with monstrous or absurd inventions, *it* finds a basis of fact in a history which from beginning to end is harmonious, consistent, authentic and true; so that those who receive it can know the "certainty of those things wherein they are instructed."

THE WORD "CONSCIENCE" IN THE BIBLE.

BY REV. MAURICE G. HANSEN,

Brooklyn, New York.

It is a singular fact that the Hebrew language contains no term to designate the faculty of the soul which is called the conscience. Hence, we look in vain for the word in the historical records, the prophetic teachings, the devotional songs, or the prayerful utterances in the Old Testament. In the New Testament, however, we meet with it (*συνειδήσις*) frequently, especially in the addresses (Acts XXIII., 1; XXIV., 16) and the epistles of St. Paul, who, if the epistle to the Hebrews is also to be regarded as from his pen, employed it twenty-seven times. If the statement concerning the absence of the word conscience from the Old Testament should be confronted with the citation from Eccl. x., 20, "Curse not the king, no, not in thy conscience" (LXX. *συνειδήσις*), it may be replied that in King James' version of that text the translation "conscience" could not have been expected. The Hebrew **נִדְעָ** certainly does not express in this instance what we understand by *συνειδήσις*, *conscientia*, conscience, as used by Paul and Peter. Even the Seventy render it differently in 2 Chron. i., 10. "Give me now wisdom and knowledge (*σύνεσις*, applied in the classics, according to Liddell and Scott, even to animals), and in Dan. i., 4, "understanding *science* (*φρόνησις*). If for "conscience," in the passage in Eccl., the expression "secret thought" had been substituted, the true sense of **נִדְעָ** would have been brought out, as in the Vulgate (*cogitatio*), in the "Staten-bybel" (*Gedachte*) and in Luther's translation (*Herz*).

But now the query arises, Can the absence of the word from the Old Testament be accounted for? Certainly not upon the ground that the patriarchs, the prophets, the singers of Israel knew not what Socrates and Plato knew and named,—this intuition of right and wrong, this sense of duty, the combination of both, and beyond these, the conviction, as Principal Shairp expressed it in his "Reasonableness of Faith," that there is something behind which will ultimately uphold these verdicts, and in the long run will bring it to pass that it shall be well with the righteous and ill with the unrighteous. The "something" to the most enlightened of the Pagans, was the "Some One" to those who bowed in worship, not to an "unknown God." In that the devout Jew had the knowledge of the Holy One who is the Lord of the conscience, he was better able than the devout Pagan to recognize that point of contact in man between himself and a divine revelation of the right and the just, which the conscience in its innermost essence really is. But for the very reason that in this respect he was more favored than the Pagan, he was disposed to view the oneness of his conscience with the divine judgments, on the God-side of it. Unto this all his training tended. From without came to

him all the communications from the Lawgiver and the Judge, who has his witness in every man. He listened to angelic messengers, ambassadors from heaven. He beheld dreams and visions in which divine approval or displeasure were expressed to him. He heard the utterances of the chosen ones of his own race who addressed to him the "thus saith the Lord," a burden of weal, or woe. To all this his innermost spiritual nature responded, or, it resisted; and, conscious of responding, or resisting, he had no name for this consciousness, because he contemplated, not himself, but Jehovah whose favor he confidently looked for, or, on the other hand, whose wrath he dreaded.

And, if this position be correctly taken, we may understand why it was that our Lord never mentioned the conscience though he frequently appealed to it. The term occurs but once in the gospels. In John VIII., 9, it appears in the narrative of the Lord's dealing with the woman taken in the act of adultery: "And they which heard, being convicted by *conscience*, went out one by one." The explanation, given by the Apostle, of the conduct of the woman's accusers after the Lord had addressed them—"being convicted by conscience"—is wholly omitted from the Latin version of this gospel. The incarnate Master of the conscience addressed men in the "Amen, Amen, *I say unto you.*" In the incarnation of the second Person of the Trinity, the divine and the sovereign "Some One" came far nearer to humanity than He did previously to even the most favored Jew. But still, the authoritative communication was *from without*, and, in the very fact that it came from One who "spake as man never spake," seemed to require that the recognition of the impact of the divine upon the human in the revelation of the "ought" and "ought not" should be made in respect to the God-side of it.

But when, as the precious result of Immanuel's finished work of obedience even unto death, the Spirit of the Father and the Son descends into the human heart, then the at-one-ment between the divine and the human as regards the severance between, the discernment, and the recognition of the consequences logically following upon the right and the wrong, is completed, and the union, in the sanctified soul, between the religious and the moral, comes to be viewed also on the man-side. Conscience does not *then*, for the first time, leap into existence, but the Voice with its "Thou shalt," "Thou shalt not," "Do this and live," "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," is heard *from within*, and claims and receives a distinctive name. That Voice, which in every individual of the fallen race proclaims the heavenly origin of man, and is the evidence of the possibility of his restoration; which, in the heathen, is mostly a discord, and, in the Jew, was not fully understood, is in the Spirit-taught Christian a sound of such purity and clearness, and so in harmony with himself, born again as he is of God and under the sanctifying influence of the Word, that the name, by which it is the best designated is *συνείδησις* (a seeing together) *con-scientia* (a knowing in unison). Unto the end that every man might thus see and know the right and the wrong as God sees and knows them, Saint Paul labored among Jews and Gentiles: and hence the use by him, under the direction of the Spirit, of the word "conscience" twenty-seven times out of thirty times in which it occurs in the Bible, but in the New Testament only.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND FUTURE LIFE.

BY REV. A. A. PFANSTIEHL,

Troy, Mo.

It is proposed to inquire into the real meaning of the question as to the doctrine of the future life of the soul as taught in the Old Testament. "The position of the Old Testament on this question has been a matter of dispute. Expositors, from the older Jews and the Church Fathers down to the present day, have differed as to whether it teaches immortality or not." (Schaff-Herzog's *Ency. of Rel. Knowledge*, Art. *Eschatology*). It is, therefore, not amiss to ask: Is the doctrine of a future life taught in the Old Testament?

Some have no hesitancy in answering this question with a positive *No*; and base their answer mainly upon the fact that the doctrine is not formally stated in the Old Testament. Now, as I have said elsewhere, it is true that the Old Testament does not state the doctrine formally; but this does not imply that therefore the people did not possess the belief in it, any more than that because the doctrine of the Being of God is not formally stated in the Old Testament, they did not believe in the existence of God. (See *Reformed Quar. Rev.*, Oct. 1883, p. 510). The fact, therefore, that the doctrine is not formally stated does not argue that it is not taught.

How explain, if we must answer *no* to the question as to whether the doctrine of a future life was held by Old Testament saints, the evident implications of the belief in a future life, if not the direct statements of it, in such passages as the following: "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness." (Ps. xvii., 15). "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they rise." (Is. xxvi., 19), &c.?

And again, what mean the words of David concerning his child that died, when he said: "I can go to him, but he cannot return to me," if not a belief in a personal existence hereafter? These words were a comfort to him. Would they have been so had they meant merely that his dead body could be laid by the side of his departed child in the silent tomb, and not that he believed in a future life, where friends would meet friends, and where relationships, broken by death, would be restored?

What mean also the translations of Enoch and Elijah, if not that they continued to live? The Hebrews could not but argue from this that for Enoch and Elijah, at least, there was a "life beyond life," and if for them, is it not equally true for all God's children?

But now apart from this direct testimony, look at the subject in the light of reason. Is it reasonable to answer *no* to the question: Was the doctrine of a future life held by the Old Testament saints? Think one moment of the position which the Jewish nation occupied in the world in regard to the condition of the soul. Who were they? What was the mission of the Jewish nation as compared to the missions of the Oriental and Greek nations in the plan of salvation? They were a people specially chosen of God to receive and perpetuate and develop the revelation of Himself and the doctrine of salvation: "Salvation is of the Jews," said Jesus. In the words of Dr. Gregory their mission was "to receive directly from God, and, in due time, transmit to the whole human race the

only religion of salvation, and therefore the only true world-religion. Everything connected with the history of the Jews had reference to the completion of this one religion for mankind. Each revelation and dispensation, all discipline and punishment, every promise and threatening, their constitution, laws, and worship, every political, civil and religious institution (so far as they were legitimate and proper), tended toward this one goal." ("Why Four Gospels?" pp. 30-31). Now, if this was their mission, if they were the custodians of the *only* supernatural revelation ever given to mankind, how is it possible even to suppose that they knew not of a future life? Further still, how can anyone reasonably conceive of their not knowing more than any other nations about a future life? For other nations held to a belief in a future life. The Chaldean and Egyptian nations with which the Hebrews had close dealings held positively to the belief. And there is not a race of human beings on the face of the earth "whose convictions on such subjects are founded on their moral and religious nature, but have in all ages believed in the continued existence of the soul after death." (*Hodge Sys. Theol., Vol. III., p. 715*). The religions of all civilized races contain the doctrine; and not only is it held by those who live within the pale of Bible influence, but also by those who are utterly destitute of a revelation of it. How strange, how inexplicable would it be, therefore, to think that the Hebrew nation, God's favored people, should not have had this belief. Dr. Hodge says in this connection: "That the Hebrews, God's chosen people, the recipients and custodians of a supernatural revelation, should be the only nation on the face of the earth in whose religion the doctrine of a future state had no place, would be a solecism. It is absolutely incredible, for it supposes human nature in the case of the Hebrews to be radically different from what it is in other men."

And again, if they held not this doctrine, how explain their ideas of the destiny of man more exalted than any other nation, and their high conceptions of man; their aspirations; their hopes; their aims; their words—which all point to a belief in a future life? No other theory but that which holds that the Hebrew people held to a belief in the doctrine of a future life can satisfactorily explain these.

Continuing this *a priori* argument, how can one reasonably suppose, much less believe, that the Hebrews should be the only people who did not observe the fact that everything pertaining to man's soul, points to a continued existence after death? Did not they observe what all thinking men must, that there is such a "clear want of adequacy in the present exquisite arrangement of things to completely satisfy the longings of the spirit" that man cannot but look forward to an immortal life, and an eternity for the soul? Surely they did. For they had higher and more far-reaching longings and hopes and aspirations than any other people.—longings and hopes and aspirations which could not be satisfied with this life, and which they did not expect to be satisfied in this life. Therefore we find that throughout the Old Testament Scriptures "the possessions and enjoyments of earth are always represented as temporary and insignificant, not adapted to meet the soul's necessities; they were taught not to envy the wicked in their prosperity, but to look to God as their portion; they were led to say: 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee'; and, 'I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.' In the Old Testament, the righteous

are always represented as strangers and pilgrims upon the earth, whose home and whose reward are not in this world; that their portion is in another world, and, therefore, that it is better to be the humblest and most afflicted of God's people than to be the most prosperous of the wicked." (*Hodge Sys. Theol.*, Vol. III., pp. 716-717).

To answer *no*, therefore, to the question: Was the doctrine of a future life held by Old Testament believers, is unreasonable and unwarrantable. What must we answer then? Unqualifiedly, *Yes*? I think so, when we mean by it that the Old Testament Scriptures teach the doctrine. But hardly so, when we mean by it that it is fully and satisfactorily taught. If it had been, then what means it when it is said by Paul that Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light through the gospel? For he brought this to light first of all to the Jews, God's own people. We must therefore seek for an answer which satisfies all conditions of the case.

What is that answer? It is this: Though the doctrine of a future life was held by the Old Testament people, yet *what* that future life is, was not fully and satisfactorily known by them. In other words, though it was revealed to them, so that they could not and did not doubt it, *that* there was a future life for the soul, yet they had no clear knowledge of *what* it was until Jesus Christ came to bring it to light. Now, there is a great difference between knowing merely *that* a thing is, and knowing in addition to this also *what* it is. We cannot think that the *fact* of a future life was gradually developed in the mind of the Hebrews, but that it was held from the beginning. But a knowledge of what that future life is, the fact of which they doubted not, was gradually developed and was never fully known until the revelation of it was distinctly and blessedly given by Jesus Christ through the gospel. "The belief in immortality is elemental." "The Master of the Universe has built it in the structure of our minds," says Emerson. Joseph Cook says "The expectation of existence after death is an organic or constitutional instinct." And therefore the Hebrews must, unless they were different from other people, have had a knowledge of the fact of a future life. When Rev. Mr. Rowlands says, therefore, as he does in *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* for May, 1884, (p. 336) that "there were other truths that must be taught the race before this great spiritual one could be appreciated or apprehended," and that there was a "preparation of heart and mind required to conceive of and accept the doctrine of Life Everlasting," if he means here the mere fact of a future life, we doubt the correctness of his statement. If he means, however, that there must be other truths taught the race before the great spiritual truth as to *what* that future life shall be, could be appreciated or apprehended,—that to conceive of and accept the doctrine of Life Everlasting, as revealed by Jesus Christ through the gospel, there was to be a preparation of heart and mind, we agree with him. The belief in the mere fact of a future life being elemental, it could be easily conceived of and accepted; but before any people can have any distinct knowledge of what the future life will be they must have an objective supernatural revelation of it. For as some one has well said, before we can "behold with an unwavering confidence the radiant home on the farther side, a light 'that never shone on land or sea' must come to us. The opened heavens alone can give it. The truth must be here revealed, not argued out." That light came not suddenly,—the race was not ready for its glorious rays: before it came there was to be, by wise and strange providences, a prep-

aration of heart and mind for its appearing. When, in the "fullness of time" Jesus Christ came to make the valley luminous, the world was ready to hear of the house of God where are many mansions, and of places prepared in ever increasing blessedness and glory for the trusting, hoping, loving child of God; for "life and immortality were brought to light by Jesus Christ, through the gospel."

➤GENERAL NOTES.◀

History and the Bible.—Nothing in our days is more wonderful, not even the colossal growth of natural science, than the fresh start of history. Everywhere the structure of historic literature is rising anew on the basis of archæology, and even more than this: for as in the Church of St. Clement at Rome, deeper, more ancient, and hitherto unsuspected chambers have been brought to light, so the sagacious labors of antiquary and scholar have now recovered whole empires, such as the first kingdom of Chaldæa, and the primæval Elam, and a language, civilization, literature and polity fresh risen from the dust of four thousand years. We need not speak of Egypt, whose triumph has been already celebrated. Still Egypt is daily yielding fresh spoils: and in her records the germs even of European history are with keen delight recognized by the veterans of classic lore.

There is scarcely a study of more absorbing interest than is afforded by this new birth of history. It enlists students of many sciences, enrolling them in one guild, whose brethren learn at last duly to honor one another. In the cave geologist meets archæologist over the engraven mammoth-tusk. Hither comes the artist too, smitten with surprise at the genial freedom of some pristine Landseer's sketch. Here the zoologist recognizes with delight the shaggy fell of fur and hair and the gigantic sweep of tusk, which authenticate at once the subject and the savage artist's fidelity.

Over the prisms and tablets of Babylonia stand men of science and of literature in equal rapture. Queen Victoria's astronomer catechizes the astronomer royal of King Sargina, contemporary probably with Abraham. The scholar of Oxford, forsaking awhile his Bodleian, revels in the archives of Kouyunjik. The veteran ethnologist of London devotes himself to the life-like statuary of earliest Egypt, *spirantia signa*; and the poet of the nineteenth century honors as he best may the "noble rage" of Pentaür, and pores with wonder over the descent of Ishtar into the "place of no return." The archæologist becomes the judge, and often the vindicator, of the aspersed annalist of old time. The "father of pickaxes" avenges the quarrel of the "father of history;" Herodotus, Manetho, Berosus, even Livy, even Josephus, raise their honored brows from amidst the dust of exploration with laurels greener than ever.

But this is not our chief point. There is one venerable collection of records, one "Bibliotheca," which professes divinely to make known the "purpose of the ages." It is either historical, or else, as men euphemistically say, "unhistorical;" which means fabulous.

How do these chronicles bear the collation with independent and authentic evidence now borne by contemporary records?

Was the old isolation of Scripture better or worse for its credibility? For better for worse it is now forever past, and must give way to a manifold twining with the web of human memorial. No longer do the royal personages of Holy Writ hold their way as in another world to our imagination. Their names, their cities, friends, enemies, alliances, conquests, captivities, are read in hieroglyphic and in cuneiform. It was, after all, this very world in which they lived and died.

This former isolation of which I have spoken, this seclusion of Scripture history from almost all besides which we were learning under the epithet "profane," was a matter of secret cogitation to many minds. For our own part, every new link of true connection between Biblical and other history does not darken or desecrate the Bible, but lights and hallows that other. It is true enough, indeed, that we could not reasonably wish the inspired writers to have filled their scrolls with things more or less remote from the supreme purpose of God; but when in His benign providence these records fall into our hands, they waken up a thousand dormant questions, quicken a reverent curiosity, substantiate or else at once annihilate our dreamy conjectures, and make us feel as we read again the hallowed stories of Abraham, Joseph, David, or Daniel, how truly the divine purpose ever was, not that His servants should be taken from the world, but kept from the evil, and made "salt of the earth" to those with whom they had to do.

The test of "internal coincidence" has been applied to the Old Testament with admirable sagacity and effect by the late Professor Blunt and others, and we may well be thankful that this line of proof was enforced by the very absence of external testimony. It is the task of this day to recognize this external testimony, never seen by our fathers, but now given into our hands as fresh as it is ancient; much of it in the shape of actual parallel evidence, but far more in the scarcely less valuable form of "historical illustration," the material out of which the enlightened imagination represents the times and men that were of old; for the historian must be a seer before he can be a judge, and this historic divination (so to speak) is one of the highest achievements of literature.—*From the Preface to Tomkins' "Times of Abraham."*

The Egyptian Language.—It is in vain, I believe, that the testimony of philology has been invoked in evidence of the origin of the Egyptians. The language which has been recovered belongs to a very early stage of speech, and is not, or at least cannot be shown to be, allied to any other known language than its descendant the Coptic. It is certainly not akin to any of the known dialects either of North or South Africa, and the attempts which have hitherto been made towards establishing such a kindred must be considered as absolute failures. A certain number of Egyptian words, such as *i*, "go," *ta*, "give, place," have the same meaning as the corresponding Indo-European roots. And a few other Egyptian words sound very like Semitic words of the same meaning. But the total number of words in the Egyptian vocabulary which have the appearance of relationship either with the Aryan or with the Semitic stock turns out, after passing through the necessary process of sifting, to be extremely small. A considerable number of words have certainly passed from one language into another, but all

these have to be deducted. Those who talk of Egyptian having its root in Semitic, or say that its grammar is Semitic, must mean something quite different from what these words imply in the mouth of some one well versed in the science of language. I once heard a learned Jew compare Hebrew with Portuguese. All that he meant to say was, that it preferred the letter *m* where the kindred languages took *n*, as the Portuguese language often does in contrast with its sister languages, the Spanish, French and Italian. And those who speak of Egyptian grammar as being Semitic are clearly thinking of some peculiarities of it, in forgetfulness of very much more important ones. It would be quite easy, under such conditions, to discover Finnish or Polynesian affinities.

The Egyptian and the Semitic languages belong to quite different stages of language, the former to what Professor Max Müller calls the second or Terminational, the latter to the third or Inflectional stage. In the Terminational stage, two or more roots may coalesce to form a word, the one retaining its radical independence, the other sinking down to a mere termination. The languages belonging to this stage have generally been called agglutinative. Now the Egyptian language has indeed reached this stage as regards the pronominal and one or two other suffixes. But in all other respects it most nearly resembles the languages of the first or Radical stage, in which there is no formal distinction between a root and a word. The agglutination between an Egyptian word and its pronominal suffix is of the lightest possible kind; a particle may, and often does, intervene between them. A recent critic reviewing Rossi's Grammar a few weeks ago, preferred that of Brugsch to it in consequence of the paradigms of verbs which are to be found in the latter. He might with equal wisdom have found fault with both for omitting the declensions. My own criticism would have been very different. There is, I believe, too much paradigm in Rossi's Grammar. There are no paradigms at all in Egyptian; and those who have inserted such things into their grammars (I say it with the utmost deference to such admirable scholars as E. de Rougé and Brugsch) have been led astray by their efforts to find in Egyptian what exists in other languages. But each kind of language has its own processes. Hebrew and Arabic verbs can as little be thrown into moods and tenses corresponding to the Greek or Latin verbs, as you can find Pual or Hitlphahel forms in French or English. Personal endings are indispensable to the Indo-European and to the Semitic verbs. The Egyptian verb is unchangeable, and has no personal ending properly speaking. The suffix which is sometimes added to it is not really a personal ending. It is put instead of a subject; and when the subject is expressed, the pronominal suffix is and must be omitted. It would be impossible in Hebrew, or in any other Semitic language, to suppress the personal ending, which is an essential part of the word in which it occurs.

One of the chief differences between the Egyptian language on the one hand and the Indo-European and Semitic on the other, is, that the distinctions between roots, stems and words, can hardly be said to exist at all in the former. The bare root, which in the languages of the third stage lies, as it were, below the surface, and is only revealed by its developments to scientific inquiry, is almost invariably identical in Egyptian with the word in actual use. From one Aryan or Semitic root, which is itself no part of speech and has but an abstract existence, verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and other parts of speech, are derived. The actual Egyptian word, taken by itself, is in very many instances no part of speech,

but within the limits of the notion which it represents is potentially noun, verb, adjective, adverb, &c. The notion expressed by an Egyptian word is only determined, as that of a verb in the strict sense (*verbum finitum*), by the presence of a subject. When no subject (that is, noun or pronoun) is expressed, we may indeed have a "*verbum infinitum*," but this is grammatically a noun or an adjective. How can a language of this description be called Semitic in its grammar?

There are three different ways in which a verb may be connected with its subject, but these are wholly irrespective of time or mood, so that grammarians who have introduced these forms into their paradigms call them "Present-Past-Future," first, second or third. They might add, "Indicative-Potential-Conjunctive," and so forth. The Egyptian verb is often accompanied by an auxiliary, and is grammatically subordinate to it; and the combinations formed by these auxiliary words with the verbal notion enable the language to express meanings equivalent to those expressed by our Indo-European tenses and moods. But this is very different from what is meant by paradigm.

I have just spoken of the grammatical subordination of a verb to its auxiliary. This is almost the only kind of grammatical subordination which exists in the language, and the consequence of it is fatal to anything like beauty of construction in the form of the sentence. It seems unfair to judge of the capabilities of a language of which almost the entire literature has perished. How could we judge of the capabilities of the Greek language had all its poetry and oratory been lost, and nothing remained but its inscriptions? Yet enough remains to show what the structure of the Egyptian sentences must necessarily have been; we possess several narratives of considerable length and of different dates, a great many hymns, and the heroic poem of Pentaur, which was considered sufficiently important to be engraved on the walls of at least four temples—Abydos, Luqsor, Karnak and Ipsambul—at one of the periods of the greatest glory of Egypt. It is evident that prose sentences like those of Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero or Burke, or poetical ones like those of Sophocles, Euripides or Horace (not to mention any other names), are as impossible in Egyptian as they are in Hebrew or Arabic. Whatever beauty there is in Egyptian composition (and there often is considerable beauty) is derived either from the thought itself or from the simplicity of the expression, not from the artistic variety or structure of its periods. M. Renan has made very similar remarks upon the structure of the Semitic sentence (which, however, admits of much greater variety than the Egyptian, and does not suffer in narratives from the perpetual repetition of the same auxiliary verb), and he has inferred from it the inferiority of the Semitic mind to the European with reference to certain branches of intellectual development. I have little doubt that M. Renan is right to this extent, that certain languages as vehicles of thought are inferior to others, and that as long as men are confined to the inferior vehicle of thought, they are unable to raise themselves to the level of others who enjoy a more efficient instrument. It is difficult to conceive the Egyptians as otherwise than incapacitated by their language from profound philosophy. It is hardly possible to read a page written in an Indo-European language, from Sanskrit to Keltic, without coming across some kind of dialectic process of which I do not remember a single trace in an Egyptian text.—*From Renan's Religion of Ancient Egypt.*

The Jewish King.—The king united in his own person all the powers of the state. He alone could declare war, or make peace. Being permanent and hereditary ruler, he could be of far more service to the state than the Judge, who, being only raised up for extraordinary needs, could but *appeal* for help to his fellow-countrymen, not *demand* it. Next, the king had full command over the country by means of his standing army. Beyond this, he was the supreme judge, the arbitrator of difficult questions, and the appointer of punishment.¹ This privilege would, of course, be open to gross abuse, as when King Saul ordered the destruction of the whole city of Nob;² while the opportunities for fomenting discontent afforded by the inconveniences of this primitive mode of administering justice were so taken advantage of by Absalom, that by means of them he succeeded in raising a formidable insurrection against his father.³ This King David seems to have perceived and felt, for he afterwards appointed regular judges, though still reserving to himself the final power of condemning and acquitting.⁴

Monarchy was to be hereditary, on the condition of obedience to the Divine ordinances. This is implied in the words: "that he may prolong his days, he and his children, in the midst of Israel."⁵ By this law the rights of both king and subject were equally guarded, and the succession secured to those only who proved themselves worthy of ruling. That this actually was the case appears from the history of both Judah and Israel. Saul having proved unfit to reign, the kingdom was after his death, by Divine appointment, and with the glad assent of the tribes, taken from his family, and given to David and his descendants.⁶ Rehoboam, David's grandson, having refused to agree to proposals from ten of the tribes, made that their hardships might be alleviated, lost two-thirds of his kingdom, which was transferred by the revolted tribes to Jeroboam. But the family of the usurper did not long reign; for, having led Israel into idolatry, they had forfeited a main condition of their sovereignty, and were speedily removed from the throne, through Divine overruling of events. The later history of both kingdoms amply bears out what had been foretold—that the Divine law would be vindicated, and that the king whose heart turned away from following God should be destroyed, both he and his sons.

The heir to the throne was not necessarily the first-born, though such an one would generally be selected. Polygamy would, of course, here create much difficulty. So it did in the case of David's sons, Absalom and Adonijah, both of whom found it hard that a younger brother, son of a mother of inferior rank, should have been made heir instead of them. In after times the eldest son was generally elected,⁷ or, if he had predeceased childless, his next brother. During a minority, or sickness, a regent was appointed.⁸ When the country became tributary to Egyptian or to Assyrian power, the Kings of Israel and Judah were deposed or elevated according to the pleasure of their suzerains, though these puppet-kings were generally taken from the royal family.⁹ In the Kingdom of Israel, succession was often interrupted by revolts of chief captains, or by popular insurrections, when the whole of the deposed monarch's family might be put to the sword.¹⁰ In Judah the succession remained uninterrupted in the family of David.

¹ 1 Kings iii., 16-28. ² 1 Sam. xxii., 11-19. ³ 2 Sam. xv., 2-6. ⁴ 1 Chron. xxvi., 29. ⁵ Dent. xvii., 20. ⁶ 1 Sam. xvi., 1-12; 2 Sam. v., 1-3. ⁷ 2 Kings i., 17; iii., 1. ⁸ 2 Kings xii., 2. ⁹ 2 Kings xxiv., 17; 2 Chron. xxxvi., 3, 4, 10. ¹⁰ 2 Kings x., 1-7.

A limit to despotism also lay in the knowledge of the laws possessed by each Israelite; in the inalienable rights of property; and in the prophetic office. Even Queen Jezebel could only procure the confiscation of Naboth's vineyard by false accusation and murder. The prophets further, with their permitted freedom of speech and access to court, must, by their solemn warnings and denunciations, have proved no inconsiderable bar to the exercise of absolute power. Again, the practice seems to have existed that, on the accession of each new monarch, a covenant was entered into both by him and by his subjects.¹ It was for refusing to ratify one proposed to him after his coronation that King Rehoboam lost the Ten Tribes; whom, by Divine command given through a prophet, he was not allowed to make war against, nor punish in any way for their revolt.

Nowhere is the Israelitish King termed, or in any way regarded as "the father of his people." Rather was he their "brother;" and in accordance with this view of the relationship of sovereign to subject, King David, when receiving the assembly, rose to his feet in token of respect, and addressed them as "my brethren."² This was in accordance with the Theocratic principle, that One was their Father, even He in heaven, and that all they on earth were brethren.³

The royal revenues were considerable, and derived from various sources, chiefly no doubt from royal domains (mostly, probably, confiscated property).⁴ Another great source of income would be the herds, the camels, the asses, and the flocks, for which they had a right to a portion of the pasture in the wildernesses.⁵ Beyond this, there were King's tithes;⁶ free gifts;⁷ a certain fixed proportion of booty taken in war;⁸ dues and tribute from dependent states,⁹ and trade in special articles of foreign luxury.¹⁰ Part of these revenues, of course, went to pay the royal officers, who were very numerous, and often persons of wealth and position.

The principal court officials seem to have been:—1. The prime minister or chancellor, also called the "recorder,"¹¹ and "he that was next to the king;"¹² the "scribe," or secretary;¹³ the "captain of the host;"¹⁴ the "captain of the Cherethi and Pelethi," or royal bodyguard;¹⁵ the "counsellors;"¹⁶ "he over the tribute;"¹⁷ the chamberlain;¹⁸ the cupbearer;¹⁹ the friend of the King,²⁰ probably courtier; the head of the royal household, or steward, etc.²¹

The manner of enthroning the Israelitish king was not clearly defined, nor could there have been any fixed ceremony, the circumstances of each new accession being generally so totally different. In the early days of the monarchy, Kings were solemnly anointed with the holy oil, and being so consecrated were holy, and might not be touched with impunity.²² After the accession of Solomon, however, the only monarchs thus installed were Jehu,²³ the Israelitish King who dispossessed the family of Ahab, and in Judah Joash,²⁴ son of Ahaziah, and Jehoahaz,²⁵ son of Josiah. In each case the anointing had a special significance attaching to it, mainly by reason of the peculiar circumstances attending the accession. Hence many writers have inferred that the "anointing"—oftentimes the act of the people—was an extraordinary ceremony, only per-

¹ 2 Sam. v., 3. ² 1 Chron. xxviii., 2. ³ Matt. xxiii., 9. ⁴ Ezek. xlvi., 18; 1 Chron. xxvi., 26, 28. ⁵ 1 Chron. xxvii., 29, 31. ⁶ 1 Sam. viii., 15. ⁷ 1 Sam. x., 27. ⁸ 2 Sam. viii., 7. ⁹ 2 Kings iii., 4. ¹⁰ 1 Kings ix., 26, 28. ¹¹ 2 Sam. viii., 16. ¹² 2 Chron. xxviii., 7. ¹³ 2 Sam. viii., 17. ¹⁴ Ibid. viii., 16, 18. ¹⁵ Ibid. viii., 18. ¹⁶ 2 Sam. v., 15. ¹⁷ 2 Sam. xx., 24. ¹⁸ 2 Kings xxii., 14. ¹⁹ Neh. i., 11. ²⁰ 2 Sam. xv., 37. ²¹ 1 Kings iv., 6. ²² 2 Sam. i., 14. ²³ 2 Kings x., 1. ²⁴ Ibid. xi., 12. ²⁵ Ibid. xxiii., 30.

formed when the King required special sanction, as may be inferred from the case of Jehohaz, who was elected in preference to his elder brother Eliakim; or when a new dynasty was being founded. On ordinary accessions,¹ the King was proclaimed sovereign with popular acclamations, with blasts of trumpet, and by being mounted on the royal steed, and led in a state procession, after which the notables gave him the kiss of homage, to which reference is made in the second Psalm.²

To the Jewish King due respect and obedience were paid. Before him the Israelite dismounted, or fell on his face in token of homage.³ As he passed through the streets, or along the city walls, he was entreated for audience, or to rectify some injustice.⁴ He dwelt in a splendid palace, and was waited upon by young men of good position, who received their education together with the princes.⁵ To sit at the King's right hand was an honor only conferred on his especial favorites, a mark of the greatest esteem and regard.⁶ The pleasure-gardens and summer-palaces of royalty are often referred to,⁷ as well as the court musicians, whose duty it was to be in attendance while the King was at table, or at night to sooth his restless hours.⁸ Sumptuous was the provision made for the royal household,⁹ and splendid the King's table, at which it was an honor to be a regular guest.¹⁰ Even in death the monarch was exalted above his subjects, for in Judah the royal family only might be buried within the city of David; and frequent mention is made of the Kings' sepulchres, as well as of their splendid funerals, which were made occasions of public mourning, lasting for several days.¹¹

The insignia of royalty, though not particularly described in the Pentateuch, are frequently referred to in the historical books. Among them were the royal crown or diadem;¹² the sceptre;¹³ the throne;¹⁴ the bracelets;¹⁵ and the purple mantle.¹⁶ Probably part of the investiture was the girding on of a sword, and to this ceremony may refer the expressions, "strengthening the right hand,"¹⁷ and "girding the sword on the thigh,"¹⁸ used with reference to God's anointed ones.

Such, in some measure, was royalty in Israel in the days before the Exile. After the return from Babylon, when the country had become, first a Syrian, and finally a Roman province, a Jewish King from among his brethren ceased to be a possibility. Yet the nation still cherished the hope of an Israelitish Messiah-King, a mighty Deliverer from, and Leader against, all Israel's foes. And even the Apostles, after three years' teaching from our Lord, could not divest themselves of the idea that He would eventually, if not then speedily, restore the Kingdom—the world-kingdom—to Israel.¹⁹ So they and the Jews of old, as well as we these days, had to learn through bitter disappointment that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world, neither came with observation,²⁰ but was "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."²¹—*From Edersheim's "Laws and Polity of the Jews."*

¹ 1 Kings i., 32-40. ² Psal. ii., 12. ³ 2 Sam. ix., 6. ⁴ 2 Kings vi., 26, etc. ⁵ 1 Kings xii., 8. ⁶ *Ibid.* ii., 19. ⁷ Jer. xxxix., 4; Cant. viii., 11. ⁸ Eccl. ii., 8; Dan. vi., 18. ⁹ 1 Kings iv., 22, etc. ¹⁰ 2 Sam. ix., 7, 8. ¹¹ 2 Chron. xvi., 14. ¹² 2 Sam. xii., 30. ¹³ Esther v., 2. ¹⁴ 1 Kings x., 18. ¹⁵ 2 Sam. i., 10. ¹⁶ 1 Macc. vi., 15. ¹⁷ Isa. xlv. 1. ¹⁸ Psal. xlv., 3. ¹⁹ Acts i., 6. ²⁰ Luke xvii., 20. ²¹ Rom. xiv., 17.

→CONTRIBUTED NOTES.←

THE SEVENTY-SECOND PSALM.—

THE POEM.

I.

O God, give to the king thy judgments,
 And thy righteousness to the son of the king.
 He shall judge thy people in righteousness,
 And thy poor in rectitude.
 The mountains shall bear peace to the people,
 And the hills, in righteousness.
 He shall judge the poor of the people—
 Save the sons of the oppressed, and crush the oppressor.
 They shall fear thee with the sun,
 And before the moon, through all generations.
 He shall come down as rain upon the mown grass,
 As showers watering the earth.
 In his days shall the righteous flourish,
 And abundance of peace till there be no more moon.
 And from sea to sea shall he rule,
 And from the river to the ends of the earth.
 Before him shall the inhabitants of the desert bow,
 And his enemies shall lick the dust.
 Kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring oblations,
 Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.
 And all kings shall bow down before him,
 All nations shall serve him.

II.

For he will deliver the needy when crying,
 And the afflicted and him who has no helper.
 He will have pity on the weak and needy,
 And the souls of the needy he will save.
 From deceit and violence he will redeem their souls,
 And their blood shall be precious in his eyes.
 And he shall live and give him of the gold of Sheba,
 And pray for him always, all the day will he bless him.
 There shall be abundance of corn in the earth,
 On the top of the mountains its fruits shall wave like Lebanon.
 And spring forth from the city like the herb of the earth,
 His name shall be forever, as long as the sun his name shall flourish.
 And in him shall they bless themselves,
 All nations shall call him happy.

LATER DOXOLOGY.

Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel,
 Who alone doeth wonders.
 And blessed be his glorious name forever,
 And let all the earth be filled with his glory.
 Amen and amen.

THE PRAYER.

O God, in whom are the infinite sources of judgments, and whose righteousness is absolute, bestow of thyself upon him who succeeds to a throne in thy name. That he may judge as thou judgest, and possess and impart to thy people righteousness and peace, as thine anointed. Receiving these endowments from thee O God, then shall he minister justice in the spirit of rectitude unto the dependent and oppressed of thy people. Then shall harvests of peace spring up over the mountains and hills, as the fruit of the divinely bestowed blessing. Then shall he redress the wronged, save the oppressed, and crush the oppressor. In his righteous rule the people shall worship thee, O God, while day and night succeed each other, and the perpetual generations abide. His divine influence shall greatly nourish and strengthen his kingdom, as the rains and showers copiously descending on the earth. Then shall the result of his righteous reign be peace from sea to sea and over the bounds of the earth. Barbarous hordes of the desert shall be subdued by him, and enemies shall yield to his power. Rulers of countries eminent for wealth and commerce shall pay homage and oblation to him; all kings shall become his subjects, and all nations serve him, who is the king of kings, and sovereign of the peoples of the whole earth.

These things shall come to pass, O God, because of the divine endowments of the king, and as results of his reign, according to thine infinite purpose of righteousness, and thine acts of justice to the needy and dependent. When he shall subdue all the earth unto himself then he will deliver the needy who cry unto him, and relieve the afflicted who have no helper beside him. He will have compassion on the weak and helpless and bring salvation to needy souls; and redemption to those who are overcome by deceit and violence; their blood shall be precious in his sight, he will not suffer their lives to be destroyed.

And the saved one shall live and come before the king and deliverer, bringing his grateful offering of the gold of Sheba. And he shall offer continuous prayer, and pour forth blessings on the name of the king.

Then shall there be abundance of blessings throughout the earth, as corn waving from valley to mountain top; and in the city where the needy and helpless gather there shall be seen the fruit of the regal mercy. Thus shall his righteous name be perpetuated; in him shall all nations find their blessing, and on him invoke their benedictions, and offer to him ascriptions of praise and glory forevermore. Amen and amen.

THE GOSPEL.

The Gospel is the poem realized and the prayer answered. David foretold the king; Solomon at best typified him. The Messiah is the personality in the king's prayer. The Christ is the king's son on whom the crown of crowns rests, whose kingdom is universal and eternal.

In its present state, its promise and prospect, it contains all that is crowded into the compass of the meaning of the psalm. The very elements of the psalm appear in the gospel, as it tells of the Christ and his kingdom. The king of the poet's vision is the real king of the gospel story. He is divinely anointed and crowned; he is engaged in the affairs of his kingdom. He possesses and exercises the attributes sought of God in the prayer. He combines in himself divine justice and divine mercy. In their exercise he addresses both the wrong-doer and the wronged, the oppressor and the oppressed. He delivers the poor when he

cries, and the needy who has no helper. He pities the weak, and saves the souls of the needy. No nationality limits, no geographical lines circumscribe him. No class of men are beyond the reach of his sceptre. He finds out the universal need; and the king of this regal psalm appears in the gospel offering to meet this world-wide need. No other king but the Christ makes this offer. No answer to this inspired prayer is found except in the gospel. But as an answered prayer the gospel is a history and a reality to redeemed souls.

The divine king, the Christ, unites in himself justice and mercy, and with these he measures the need of human souls. The measure is the measure of the cross, on it is this symbol—God is just and the justifier of him who believes. Thus he delivers the poor when he cries and the afflicted who has no helper.

The Christ of the Gospel story is the just and righteous sovereign, and he is the gracious and compassionate redeemer.

The type retires before the antitype. Solomon took the kingdom of David at the height of its glory, it degenerated, and at length it broke into fragments and was destroyed. The Christ took his kingdom as a revolted province suffering under sin's misrule. The Christ is no Buddha, no maudlin prince to retire before the disheartening scene. He is the contrast and not the correlative of human kings. Before the king of whom the psalmist sings and of whom the gospel tells the story all kings shall bow down. The realized vision of the poet is the grateful experience of the willing subjects of the Christ. To them the psalm is no minstrel's song sung to beggars needing bread and not a song. The psalm fulfilled in the gospel is the word of eternal life to all believing souls. They give glad assent to his rule; they pay ready tribute to the Christ in offerings, services and devotions. They see in all renovations and progress homage to their king. They see the perpetuity of peoples for the Christ's sake. Men spring up, generation after generation, to propagate and perpetuate the name of the Christ. Here they find the answer to the mystery of being, life, humanity. The Christ is the answer. The kingdom is for the king.

This then, the refrain of the poem, the refrain of the prayer, is the refrain and chorus of the gospel:—

Blessed be his glorious name forever,
And let the whole earth be filled with his glory.

Amen and amen.

HENRY C. GRAVES.

The New Critical School.—There is a group of students of the Bible who have been called the New Critical School. We modestly take exception to the designation, and would state our objections briefly under a threefold indictment.

1. The school of destructive critics is not a *new* school. The ideas put forward were ventilated, and several times, we may say, revamped, in Germany long ago. Very little, if anything, new has been uttered. Graf gave the pith of it—all perhaps before he died, and indeed a more careful examination of the immediate post-Apostolic period may prove to us that even the German critics were long ago anticipated.

2. The critical brotherhood is not in reality a *school*. A school must have some fixed principles for guidance, something like oneness of aim, the semblance at least of harmony of belief. Nothing of this appears among the reconstructionists. Instead we have interminable and conspicuous divergence and contradiction. Is

there anything more changeful than the findings of the so-called critical school? To know the movement you must study each adherent's view, and then you dare not let him be lost to sight long.

It is not, in a strict sense, *critical*. It fails to apply all the ordinary rules of Biblical research. It employs some methods which are in their use uncritical. It is rather speculative. Its proneness to preoccupation and preconception is too often manifest. In fact it sometimes admits that as yet it is led mainly by hypothesis and conjecture. There is a prominence given to a certain class of testimony and a neglect allowed toward certain other lines of investigation into fact and authority which cannot be overlooked. As the fruits of the movement we have as yet little else than theories. What is yet to come we cannot say.

So then the name new critical school we cannot but think a case of misnomer. The same would be the new critical school, perhaps, if it were new; or if it were actually a school; or, in truth critical. But it is not new; it is not a school: it is not distinctively critical. And our tongue stumbles when we attempt to call it the new critical school. But these men are friends of ours, not enemies. They themselves would probably decline to be called by a presumptuous title. They would prefer to be known as seekers after the truth. As such we gladly acknowledge the larger part of them; and we might count ourselves happy if more of us could wield the pen as gracefully as they. Whatever the design and with whatever strength of intellect the test is applied, we may believe that in the end God's word will be more largely honored, and his truths more clearly brought to light.

J. W. WEDDELL.

Difficulties in the New Critical Views.—Accepting the rationalistic hypothesis of the New Criticism, Israel was either a religious development, an evolution; or it was a religious decadence, a failure.

If it was a development, up from low beginnings; then Moses is one difficulty. We cannot account for him.

If it was a national declension and failure; then what shall we do with Christ and his words?

Again. If the law was not of Moses, then it was one of three things: it was a later revelation sent of God to Israel, or it was a forgery of the priests invented and passed upon the tribes, or it was a new religious code framed and adopted by the people.

But the first we dare not believe it to have been, for that we cannot find in Holy Writ, in soul or in substance, the intimations of a God who would contradict himself in such a manner as the supposition would necessitate.

The second proposition we cannot accept for the simple reason that we do not find in Israel the priest who intellectually, if morally, is capable of such a fabrication.

Nor are we able to adopt the third proposition, because we do not discern in the records of Israel a people stupid enough to impose upon themselves so grievous and gratuitous a burden.

And yet again, suppose there was no pre-exilic ritual, or at least nothing more than a Deuteronomic code, if so much as that. What now shall we do with the priests of Israel or even with the Levites? There is undoubtedly some clerical succession or other. But why a priest without a priestly office, or how a Levite without a Leviticus?

And how account for the prophet? Of what was he speaking when he appealed to the law? Or indeed was there no prophet before Josiah?

What, moreover, shall we say of the people? Israel without the law? The nation had had naught else within itself which was powerful enough to avert dissolution. Or was Israel's continuance a miracle among the nations? Priests, prophets, people,—these each and all would seem to demand a Torah for their existence.

Our Bible lies before us. What do we find therein? Covenant, law, gospel; priest, prophet, Messiah. These stand in reciprocal relation. That relationship is not counter-destructive.

J. W. WEDDELL.

⇒EDITORIAL⇨NOTES.⇦

The Third Volume.—With the present number the third volume of *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* is complete. Our readers will pardon us for the feeling of satisfaction with which we refer them to the "Table of Contents," and to the "General Index" which accompany this number. The character, variety and amount of matter, furnished in the ten numbers, can scarcely be appreciated until it is seen classified. We have reason to believe that the Journal is becoming more widely known, and more highly regarded. While there has been much to discourage those who have had its affairs to administer, there has also been much to encourage them. The friends of the Journal are many, but the number is not sufficiently large. *THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT* must have *five thousand* subscribers. With a less number it cannot accomplish the end for which it was instituted. With such a constituency its worth will be largely increased. If its present subscribers were, each, to procure one additional name, the number desired would not be reached, but closely approached. Appeals for help of this kind, made in former numbers, have by many been answered. Shall not this one also be heeded?

Summer Hebrew Study.—To the following statements, together with the inferences deduced from them the attention of readers is invited:

1. The Institute of Hebrew, this year, conducts *three* Schools for the study of Hebrew. Applications from other localities were received, but declined. These Schools are held at prominent centres, Chicago, Chautauqua, and Worcester. The receipts from no one of these Schools are expected to pay its expenses. Provision for the deficit has been, or will be, made in each case by able and interested laymen. From present indications, it would seem probable that at the three Schools there will be enrolled three hundred students.
2. In the work of instruction, and in the delivery of lectures in these Schools, the following named persons will take part:

INSTRUCTORS.

Charles R. Brown,
Sylvester Burnham,
James L. Cheney, Ph. D.,
Edward L. Curtis, M. A.,

Newton Centre, Mass.
Hamilton, N. Y.
Newark, O.
Chicago, Ill.

George S. Goodspeed, M. A.,	Morgan Park, Ill.
Frederic J. Gurney,	Morgan Park, Ill.
William R. Harper, Ph. D.,	Morgan Park, Ill.
M. B. Lowrie,	Galesburg, Ill.
David G. Lyon, Ph. D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Hinckley G. Mitchell, Ph. D.,	Boston, Mass.
Ira M. Price, M. A.,	Morgan Park, Ill.
George H. Schodde, Ph. D.,	Columbus, O.

LECTURERS.

E. C. Bissell, D. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
C. A. Briggs, D. D.,	New York, N. Y.
C. R. Brown,	Newton Centre, Mass.
S. Burnham, M. A.,	Hamilton, N. Y.
E. L. Curtis, M. A.,	Chicago, Ill.
Samuel Ives Curtiss, D. D.,	Chicago, Ill.
F. B. Denio,	Bangor, Me.
Benjamin Douglass, Esq.,	Chicago, Ill.
Frederic Gardiner, D. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
B. Felsenthal, Ph. D.,	Chicago, Ill.
J. W. Haley, M. A.,	Lowell, Mass.
D. Heagle,	Jerseyville, Ill.
E. B. Hulbert, D. D.,	Morgan Park, Ill.
D. G. Lyon, Ph. D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Basil Manly, D. D.,	Louisville, Ky.
E. C. Mitchell, D. D.,	Chicago, Ill.
H. G. Mitchell, Ph. D.,	Boston, Mass.
W. G. Moorehead, D. D.,	Xenia, O.
P. A. Nordell, M. A.,	New London, Conn.
George H. Schodde, Ph. D.,	Columbus, O.
O. S. Stearns, D. D.,	Newton Centre, Mass.

3. In the work of these Schools, instruction is offered (1) in Hebrew; this being the principal study. (a) four classes, seven sections, are organized for regular work, and, in addition, (b) three classes, six sections, for translating at sight, and (c) twelve to twenty sections for exercise, each day, in pronunciation; (2) Assyrian; (3) Arabic; (4) Ethiopic; (5) Chaldee and the Targums; (6) Syriac and the Peshito; (7) Hebrew New Testament; (8) The Septuagint; (9) Old Testament Introduction; (10) Old Testament Theology.

And now what does this signify?

(1) Thinking men are convinced that, *to-day*, a knowledge of Hebrew is a thing to be desired; a thing expected of ministers; a thing to obtain, if in any manner it is possible to do so.

(2) Ministers who have worked hard during ten or eleven months of the year, in many cases, choose to spend their vacation in a manner which shall be permanently profitable to them. That some men must seek absolute rest from all mental labor during the summer vacation is undoubtedly true; that all men must do this is *not* true. A change of surroundings, of climate, of associations is attended with rest. The truth of this is evidenced by the fact that men congregate in such numbers to places where some kind of literary effort is required.

But there are many men, some of them, who need rest far less than they need study, who deary all such endeavors. They say: if *good* work is done, it is detrimental to the health of those who engage in it; if *bad* work is done, it were better not done. This is said, for the most part, by men whose health was never strained by overwork. Dr. Vincent's theory is correct: (1) Change is rest; (2) With pleasant surroundings, under favorable circumstances, with the best instructors, more and better work can be done in a few weeks than under ordinary circumstances, with average teachers, in many weeks.

3) The most eminent scholars in our country, men who occupy the highest chairs of instruction, are willing to take a portion of their vacation to assist those who desire to do this work. If teachers of such eminence can afford to offer such instruction who is there that cannot afford to accept of it?

Is not all this worthy of consideration? Is it not indeed a most interesting matter?

Our Contributors.—In this, the closing number, it is due to those who have contributed to the pages of *THE STUDENT* during the present year, that special mention be made of the service which they have rendered. From the beginning a most friendly spirit has been manifested toward the undertaking, by those whose studies have been largely in this department. Their help has been gratefully received. Without it, the work could not have been carried on. With it, and because of it, we have been encouraged to hold on, in spite of what often seemed insuperable difficulties. For the gratification of our readers, an alphabetical list of those who have thus favored them is appended:

Rev. George Anderson,	Gaines, New York.
Rev. C. V. Anthony,	Oakland, Cal.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher,	Auburn, New York.
Rev. James L. Bigger,	Lisburn, Ireland.
Prof. C. A. Briggs,	New York City.
Prof. C. R. Brown,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Prof. S. Burnham,	Hamilton, N. Y.
Rev. T. W. Chambers,	New York City.
Rev. T. K. Cheyne,	Colchester, England.
Rev. A. C. Chute,	Upper Stewiacke, N. S.
Rev. Wm. H. Cobb,	Uxbridge, Mass.
Prof. John Currie,	Halifax, Nova Scotia.
Prof. E. L. Curtis,	Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Franz Delitzsch,	Leipzig, Germany.
Prof. J. A. Edgren,	Morgan Park, Ill.
Prof. Chas. Elliott,	London, Ontario.
Rev. W. W. Everts, Jr.,	Hartford, Conn.
Rabbi B. Felsenthal,	Chicago, Ill.
Prof. R. V. Foster,	Lebanon, Tenn.
G. S. Goodspeed,	Morgan Park, Ill.
Rev. H. C. Graves,	Haverhill, Mass.
Prof. Paul Haupt,	Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Wm. N. Irish,	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Dr. M. Jastrow,	Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. J. G. Lansing,	West Troy, N. Y.
Prof. D. G. Lyon,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. H. G. Mitchell,	Boston, Mass.
Prof. W. G. Moorehead,	Xenia, O.
Rev. C. N. Patterson,	Chicago, Ill.
Rev. A. A. Pfanstiehl,	Troy, Mo.
Rev. H. O. Rowlands,	Elgin, Ill.
Prof. G. H. Schodde,	Columbus, O.
Prof. H. P. Smith,	Cincinnati, O.
Rev. J. A. Smith,	Morgan Park, Ill.
Prof. O. S. Stearns,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Rev. R. P. Stebbins,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Prof. R. F. Weidner,	Rock Island, Ill.
Rev. N. W. Wells,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. N. West,	Louisville, Ky.

Old Testament Literature.—It will hardly be necessary to call the attention of our readers to the list of American Publications and Importations in the line of Old Testament Study and kindred topics, which appears in the May and June numbers of *THE STUDENT*. There is certainly cause for congratulation in the variety and richness of the works contained in this list and large hope for the future of Old Testament Study in America, when we consider that the publication and sale of these books indicates a corresponding and increasing interest in such studies. This interest it is our desire to stimulate in every way. It cannot but be a source of encouragement to the conductors of this Society that their efforts in this direction have been received with so great favor and seem not only to have a part in supplying this demand, but, to some extent, in reviving zeal for Old Testament Study in quarters where it has been suffered to fall into neglect.

Signs of the Times.—It is a good sign of the times when a clergyman will write, and a weekly religious journal be found to print, three such articles as have recently appeared in the *United Presbyterian* from the pen of Rev. E. D. Campbell. "Hebrew, Arabic and Assyrian" have been successively dealt with in their relations to the Old Testament Scriptures. Two sources of misunderstanding of these Scriptures are mentioned and discussed, "the Massoretic pointing and the indiscriminating use of Arabic as modified by the cultivation of learning." The help given by Assyrian in Hebrew lexicography and in the interpretation of Scripture is lucidly presented, and the whole constitutes a very readable resumé of the latest investigation in these departments.

In a recent issue of the *Cumberland Presbyterian* a vigorous plea for the study of Hebrew was made by Prof. R. V. Foster. Hebrew ought to be studied (1) because it affords a fine discipline of the mind; (2) because of the value of its literature; (3) because it has been made the depository of a large portion of God's revelation; (4) a knowledge of Hebrew is absolutely necessary in many cases to clearly apprehend the meaning of the Scriptures. The writer maintains that "every Christian, and everyone who ever expects to become one, ought to be

acquainted with the language," and predicts that "ten or fifteen years from now the student who has omitted Hebrew from his list of studies will be regarded as having an unfinished education." It is a consummation devoutly to be wished, even if at present it demands an almost superhuman faith to expect its fulfillment.

➤BOOKS; NOTICES.◀

RECENT GERMAN PUBLICATIONS.

The following minor works from Germany are worthy of brief mention.

The Talmudic tract *Taanith* is translated by Straschun.* The majority of us must get our knowledge of the Talmud from translations so that every new publication of this kind is welcome. The value of the Talmud to be sure has been much exaggerated—to any one except a Jew, that is. What it has to aid the New Testament scholar has been pretty well culled out by Lightfoot and Schöttgen. It has very little real light to throw upon the Old Testament and its exegesis is mere playing with the text. There may be valuable historical information contained in it, but if so it is hidden under such a mass of trivialities as to resemble the classical "two grains of wheat in two bushels of chaff." The linguistic features are doubtless of great interest and those of course cannot be got by means of a translation.

The subject of the tract is, as indicated by the title, fasting, i. e., the correct observance of special fast days, most prominently of those appointed on account of drought. Such questions are discussed as the following:—on which day of the appointed fast shall rain be mentioned in the eighteen benedictions (Shmore esre)? Shall one also pray for wind and dew? How long shall the prayer be repeated? For what sin is scarcity of rain a punishment? On the last point we learn that Rabbi Simeon attributed it to slander and supported his opinion by Prov. xxv., 23.

"The north wind brings forth rain
And the tongue of secrecy [brings forth] angry faces."

The reasoning of the other wise men who make the cause to be immodesty, neglect of the Law or robbery is equally ingenious. Because snow is mentioned once in Job xxxvi., 6, and rain five times in the same verse Rabba concludes that snow is five times as beneficial as rain. Similar specimens of exegesis are plentiful.

In the same category is to be placed Wünsche's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*† which has already reached its twenty-ninth part although when announced it was supposed

* DER TRACTAT TAANIT DES BABYLONISCHEN TALMUD zum ersten male ins Deutsche uebertragen etc. von D. O. Straschun, mit einem Vorwort von Lic. Dr. Aug. Wuensche. Halle: Niemeyer, 1883. xx and 185 pp.

† BIBLIOTHECA RABBINICA, eine Sammlung alter Midraschim zum ersten male ins Deutsch uebertragen von Lic. Dr. Aug. Wuensche. Sieben-und-Achtundzwanzigste Lieferung; Neund-und-zwanzigste Lieferung; Der Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba. Leipzig: O. Schulze, 1884. 288 pp. 8vo.

that eighteen or twenty parts would complete the enterprise. Enough certainly has been published to give the reader an idea of what the Midrash contains. It is often said that the Talmud is mainly Halacha the Midrash mainly Haggada. The Talmud, however, has so much of the latter element that the relationship between it and the Midrash is seen at a glance. The Midrash seems to be Talmud (Gemara of course) with the Halacha left out (though it is not always left out). The difference of form is that the Midrash follows the order of the Scripture text, the Talmud is arranged by subjects. The value of one is not much greater than that of the other. The Midrash is occasionally entertaining as it is fond of fables like the following:

“A man on the way to Babylon saw two birds fighting. One was finally killed, when the other brought a plant and laid upon its bill. It revived and both flew away. The man took up the plant and preserved it so as to raise the dead. Near Tyre he found a dead lion and trying^g his new remedy, the lion revived, sprang upon him and devoured him. The proverb says—do no good to a bad man and no evil will befall you.”

Dr. Oort, the well known Professor at Leyden, has published an address delivered by him at the sixth Congress of Orientalists, on the accusation of bloodshed so often brought against the Jews both in the Middle Age and later.* He finds this charge (that the Jews killed a victim in order to use the blood in preparing Passover bread) first made in the year 1235. As to the special cause for this form of the slander he has the following to say: The Christians have shown, especially in less enlightened times, superstitious awe of the Mazzoth, and such awe easily turns to fear and hatred on the view that as a talisman it might easily become a means of injury. In magical preparations human flesh and blood seem often to have been used. The combination of these elements would easily be made by ignorant or fanatical or interested men. The author might have gone further and pointed out the emphasis laid upon blood in the Old Testament, as another factor in the same problem.

How men could have invented such a calumny in early times is not so difficult to understand as how some men can persist in believing and circulating it now. The latest *brochure* of Prof. Delitzsch† deals with the notorious Rohling one of the leaders in this work. Whether he will regard it as “checkmate” remains to be seen. It is designed to meet Rohling’s last move which was the ostensible publication from the kabbalistic *Sepher Halikkutim* of a passage commending the shedding of Christian (or Gentile) blood. As translated by Rohling or his kindred spirit Justus, the passage is made to teach that the shedding of the blood of a non-Jewish maiden is a thing pleasing to heaven. Prof. Delitzsch shows by a verbatim quotation, translation and discussion of the passage that no such thing as bloodshed is alluded to in the passage at all. A briefer discussion of a second passage (this from the *Zohar*) leads to a similar result. Prof. Delitzsch deserves our thanks for the energy and persistency with which he has used his erudition in the cause of a much wronged race.

H. P. SMITH.

* DER URSPRUNG DER BLUTBESCHULDIGUNG GEGEN DIE JUDEN. Vortrag, etc. von Dr. H. Oort. Leiden und Leipsig, 1883. 31 pp.

† SCHACHMATT den Bluthuegnern Rohling und Justus entboten von Franz Delitzsch. Erlangen, 1883. 43 pp. 8vo.

HARMONY OF THE BIBLE WITH SCIENCE.*

This work of Dr. Kinns has been carefully verified by specialists in the various sciences. It is interesting to see how closely the agreement between Geology and the Bible can justly be made out. The author does not carry the Nebular Theory quite so far as Guyot in his work on "Creation." He carries it through the first day of the Mosaic account. Yet even this is not necessary. It may not apply to more than the first verse, since the introduction of light in the Mosaic account may refer to the appearance of light at the surface of the earth, just as the introduction of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day may, as Dr. Kinns holds, refer to the becoming visible of the heavenly bodies through the scattering mists which up to the end of the carboniferous period had largely concealed them from sight on the surface of the earth. The first appearance of light might have been from the earth's own photosphere. Gradually, as this photosphere diminished and the heavy vapors became less, the sun, whose light had also more or less penetrated to the surface, became visible, and the great change of climate, of fauna and flora took place in and after the permian period, as pointed out by our author. However this may be, it does not affect the general argument. The correspondence between the Bible account of creation and science is still complete. The author is no believer in evolutionism, as he finds abundant and clear evidences against it in the facts revealed by geology. Aside from geology the book contains some interesting astronomical statements and illustrations, and addenda chapters on Assyrian Antiquities, the Signs of the Zodiac, the Scheme of Redemption and the Efficacy of Prayer. It contains also a long list of names of eminent scientists who hold to the agreement between science and religion. It professes to give the latest results of science. It is written in a spirit of Christian devotion. It is considerably popularized by story and anecdote, and perhaps on that account somewhat profuse, yet interesting and instructive to the general reader.

J. A. EDGREN.

PENTATEUCH CRITICISM FOR THE PEOPLE.†

The two books whose titles are given below differ most widely in their standpoint and aim, while they are alike in this that both seek to make their arguments and conclusions within the comprehension of the average thoughtful mind. Both are intended for the general reader of the Scriptures. Mr. Newton addresses the "intelligent and thoughtful" in our churches, and seeks to spread an "intelligent conception of the Bible" through the laity. This conception is that of "the composite structure of the Pentateuch," "the groundlessness of the traditional theory of its Mosaic origin," "the growth of the Pentateuch,"

* **THE HARMONY OF THE BIBLE WITH SCIENCE; or Moses and Geology.** By Samuel Kinns, Ph.D., Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society; Principal of the College, Highbury New Park. 508 p.

† **THE BOOK OF THE BEGINNINGS.** A study of Genesis, with an introduction to the Pentateuch. By R. Heber Newton, Rector of All Souls' Prot. Epis. Ch., N. Y. New York: *G. P. Putnam's Sons*. 12mo. Pp. xv., 311. Paper. 40 cents.

A VINDICATION OF THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE PENTATEUCH. By Charles Elliott, DD., Prof. in Lafayette College, Easton Pa. Cincinnati: *Walden & Stowe*. 12mo. Pp. 273. \$1.00.

“the primeval sagas” of the Fall, of Noah, &c., “the traditions of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, and of Joseph.”

Dr. Elliott hopes that his “treatise may prove useful to ministers and students of the Bible who have not access to strictly critical and exhaustive treatises on the Pentateuch.” He frankly and fairly states “the various theories of the composition and authorship of the Pentateuch,” “the arguments urged in favor of the various hypotheses,” “the expositions and theories which assign the Pentateuch to a later date than the time of Moses,” and finally the proofs of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch both internal and external. Two hundred pages are given to the various theories and thirty to the evidence in favor of the Mosaic authorship, so that no one can deny that he means to give a full statement of the views of his opponents.

Mr. Newton’s literary style is far more polished and elegant than that of Dr. Elliott. His book is pleasanter reading. The latter is strictly argumentative, and betrays the professorial manner. It demands study. There is a vagueness and extravagance in the statements of the former, and a slightly apologetic tone in the explanations of the latter, which are unpleasant and fairly open to criticism. The two books will act as a kind of antidote to each other, and we earnestly hope that none will take sides with Mr. Newton before they have read and mastered Dr. Elliott’s vindication of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

This volume covers the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings. In the case of each book there are furnished an Introduction, a Translation, and Notes. Each feature of the volume deserves separate notice.

In the *Introduction* one section is devoted to “the value of these books as a part of divine revelation;” a second to the “grounds for the extermination of the idolatrous races;” and five sections to the composition, authorship, sources and dates of these books.

The value of these books, as containing most excellent homiletical material, is clearly and forcibly brought out. The grounds of the extermination of the idolatrous races are “sought (1) in the purpose of God in giving this land to Abraham and his descendants; (2) in the character of the inhabitants, and in the obstacles it opposed to the attainment of that end.” A vivid description is given of the debasing, corrupt, and licentious worship which confronted the Israelites when they came to take possession of the land given to them by divine authority.

The book of Joshua was written by an eye-witness and actor in the scenes narrated, or compiled from contemporaneous documents. The most natural supposition is that Joshua himself was its author, or that it was prepared under his direction. The Book of Judges, irregular in structure, not a consecutive narrative, rather a series of chronicles, is thoroughly historical. It was compiled in the times of Samuel from contemporaneous records of the events narrated. The date of Ruth is uncertain. The Books of Samuel are authentic history, drawn

* THE BOOKS OF JOSHUA, JUDGES, RUTH, 1 AND 2 SAMUEL, 1 AND 2 KINGS. The common version, revised, with an introduction and occasional notes. By Thomas J. Conant. Pp. xxv., 328. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price \$2.00, postpaid. For sale by F. G. Thearle, 151 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

from original and contemporaneous documents. The same is true of the Books of Kings, which were probably composed by Jeremiah.

As a matter of fact, it is to be doubted whether Dr. Conant has said anything in this Introduction, which will be of any particular help to a Bible student. It contains only a statement, in the briefest possible form, of the old, traditional views; and why should the work of biblical scholars for half a century be entirely ignored? One cannot, in justice to himself or to his subject, thus pass by without a word the views of so large a proportion of modern writers. These modern views may be, and, to a large extent, doubtless are, as yet unestablished. They are, however, so important, and the principles on which they rest are so vital, that they certainly deserve some attention at the hand of one who places before himself the task of treating these subjects.

Dr. Conant's strong point is his ability as a translator. Has he his equal anywhere? It will certainly be an interesting work, when the Revised Old Testament appears, to compare with it this work, and to note in how many cases the corrections of the Revisers have been anticipated. The variations from the authorized version are not so many as might have been expected. After all, which is to be preferred, a revision, or a new translation? If Dr. Conant has erred, it has been in adhering too closely to the Authorized Version. It is to be remembered of course that in these historical books our translation is much more perfect than in the poetical and prophetic portions. One cannot compare Deborah's Song, Judges v., Hannah's Prayer, 1 Sam. II., or The Song of the Bow, 2 Sam. I., as they are rendered and printed in the volume before us, with the form in which they stand in the A. V. without noticing a marked improvement. It is in such passages that the differences are more easily seen. To many it may seem not worth while for a translation, such as this, to be published, when the Revision is so soon to appear. This is a wrong idea. Does anyone suppose that there will ever come a time, when it may be said: "It is no longer necessary to revise the Old Testament; no additional changes worthy of consideration can be suggested." So long as it is worth while to study the Old Testament, so long as there is additional information to be gained, there will be time and occasion for improvement in the translation of it. Let scholars vie with each other in this work. There is no more noble, no more important work. Let no translation, ever yet made, or ever to be made, be regarded as a final one.

The "notes" in the volume are excellent, as far as they go. But where there is *one* note, there ought to be *ten*. Dr. Conant's ability as a translator is only greater than his ability as an exegete. It is a matter of surprise and of regret that he did not throw more light upon obscure places. The note on Jephthah's daughter, while clear and plausible, presents, we believe, the wrong view. If the language of the narrative does not imply that she was offered as a sacrifice, it has no meaning. The standing still of the sun on Gibeon, and of the moon in the valley of Aijalon is, correctly, regarded as a poetical description of a plain matter of fact. The whole passage is a quotation from an ancient book. When the value of the notes given is considered, the regret becomes all the keener that the author did not choose to insert many more.

Although the Introduction is one-sided, the revision too conservative, and the notes too meagre, the work as a whole is worthy of the eminent scholar and exegete, who is its author. It may be doubted whether any one

man in our country has done more for a faithful rendering into English of God's word than Dr. Conant.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY. VOL. II*

The first volume of this "Annual Theological Review" appeared a year ago. This, the second volume, is, in many respects superior to its predecessor. The aim of the Professors of the Chicago Theological Seminary is "to furnish an annual digest of theological thought and investigation." They do not pretend to furnish exhaustive discussions of the subjects taken up; but rather to present for the information of general readers a statement of the questions at issue. Certainly there can be found nowhere a more commendable enterprise than that which has resulted in the issue of the "Annual Theological Review."

We are specially interested in that portion of the book written by Prof. S. Ives Curtiss. In Vol. I, the state of Old Testament studies in exegesis and introduction was considered. In this volume the field of Old Testament history is covered; while in Vol. III, the department of Old Testament Theology will be treated.

Old Testament History, says the writer, is not simply the vestibule to Church History. Nor on the other hand is it right to place in a separate department Old and New Testament history. So difficult are the questions which come up in both that they cannot well be combined. "None but Old Testament scholars are, in Germany, now considered competent to treat of Israel's history."

The department of the Old Testament is treated in five chapters: (1) Modern Treatment of Israel's History; (2) Place and time; (3) The Origin of the Nation; (4) The Training of the Nation; (5) Israel's Conquest of Canaan. The first chapter, being fundamental, is the most interesting of the five. Here, first, we are given a list of so-called *Critical Presuppositions*. Ultra-critics do their work on the presupposition (1) that "Israel's history in its origin is subject to the same laws as those of other nations of antiquity;" (2) that the events described in the early chapters of Genesis correspond and are similar in character to the stories of gods and heroes found in the early records of other nations; (3) that Israel's laws and institutions, like those of other nations, must have developed gradually; (4) that Oriental records must be interpreted according to the peculiarities of Oriental people.

A clear statement is made of the method adopted by these ultra-critics in the handling of the sources of information, the result of the employment of this method being to deny that Moses is the author of any part of the Pentateuch, to regard the Biblical order of the events as entirely wrong, and to endeavor to reconstruct everything on the basis of the critical discoveries *claimed* to have been made.

The character of Ewald, Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen as historians is next discussed, and a brief presentation made of their several views. The chapter closes with Prof. Curtiss' *Criticisms on the Critical Method*, in which he asserts (1) that the mythical nature of the early Hebrew records is not to be inferred, after the analogy of the early records of other nations, because in them God is represented as an immediate factor; (2) that the Mosaic system did not grow up gradually, the claim that it did so grow up resting, he says, "upon two unproved assumptions:

* CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. II. Chicago: F. H. Revell. Pp. 324. Price \$1.50.

(a) that the nation was without a supernatural beginning; (b) that it slowly emerged from barbarism;" (3) that in depending upon the internal evidence, these critics neglect external evidence; (4) that these critical theories "minimize epoch-making men"—there could be no Mosaism without a Moses; (5) that the time has by no means come, when the history of Israel may be reconstructed.

All will be interested in noting the strictly orthodox views with which Prof. Curtiss closes his work: "There are three things which we venture to maintain in closing: (1) that internal criticism cannot be decisive as to the beginning and course of Israel's history; (2) that further investigations and studies concerning the ancient people of civilization, such as the Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians and Hittites, as well as respecting the Holy Land, will shed great light on Israel's history; (3) that the traditional construction of history, as interpreted by the present state of these studies, is far more probable, than that of some of the modern critics which ignores the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua for the time which they claim to represent."

In this notice it has been the intention to give a general idea of the book, and not to criticize it. It would be a really difficult matter to find fault either with the idea of the book or its execution. In the small amount of space at their disposal the authors have condensed a large amount of most important information. One cannot think that there is a minister or an intelligent layman of any denomination, who ought not to read this most valuable and most timely book.

AMONG THE HOLY HILLS.*

This book traverses ground that has been repeatedly gone over by many able men, for it is an account of a journey from Jerusalem to Beirut by way of Samaria, Galilee, Damascus and Lebanon. The volume is not a learned treatise discussing questions of disputed sites and details of Scriptural geography. But, as Dr. Field says in the preface, he has tried to bring home a handful of wild flowers of Palestine, and he has certainly succeeded in giving his readers a most delightful bouquet.

He is decidedly a model traveler, observing closely the country, the people and their customs, while he readily uses the interesting features to photograph the whole scene most vividly and picturesquely before the reader's mind.

The account of the celebration of the Holy Week at Jerusalem, the chapter on the Samaritans at Nablous, and the description of the valley of Coele-Syria are excellent. One lays the book aside with regret, only wishing the journey might have lasted longer.

SACRED STREAMS.†

The design of this book is to provide Sunday reading for young people. The plan of the book is a good one, and its purpose and spirit admirable. Its value is very much weakened, however, by the way in which the author treats the Scripture narrative. In the description of the Garden of Eden his imagination has run wild, and he paints an impossible scene in such a vivid way as would

* **AMONG THE HOLY HILLS.** By Henry M. Field, D.D. Pp. 243. 5½x8¾. New York: *C. Scribner's Sons*, 1884. \$1.50.

† **SACRED STREAMS.** The ancient and modern history of the rivers of the Bible. By P. H. Gosse. Pp. 435. 5¼x7½. London: *Hodder & Stoughton*, 1883.

lead its readers to suppose it real; and this fault is characteristic of other parts of the work. Again, the author's interpretation of some passages is more than doubtful, and he indulges in spiritualizing to an alarming extent. In the latter part of the book there are not so many of these blemishes, and the narrative is made much more interesting. The Mission of Jonah related in connection with the river Hiddekel is very good, though not adapted to the young.

The archæological and historical matter is generally reliable and well put; and it seems a pity that there is so much to condemn. The style of the book is such, however, that it will not reach those for whom it was intended, as its language is not plain enough, and its rhetoric is too flowery to be pleasing, while the moral reflections are generally introduced in a way which repels rather than attracts.

EVENTS AND EPOCHS IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY.*

This book contains the substance of the lectures delivered in the Lowell Institute during the winter of 1880. The ground covered extends from the early beginnings of Christianity as seen in the Catacombs at Rome down to the time of John Wesley and the foundation of Methodism.

Mr. Clarke has in these lectures, as in his other works, shown his power of seizing upon the salient points of a subject and presenting them vividly to the mind. The topics discussed are the Catacombs, Buddhist Monks and Christian Monasticism (these being peculiarly good resumés of their subjects), the Mystics, the Huguenots; while the lectures include short sketches of Augustine, Anselm, Bernard, Jeanne D'Arc, Savonarola, Loyola, George Fox, and John Wesley.

The lectures are fresh, interesting, and most instructive, giving the results of the latest investigations in the respective topics studied. The book is gotten up in the best manner, and presents an attractive appearance. The fourteen plates which illustrate the work, particularly the reproductions of the Catacombs, the Buddhist Rock Temples, and the plans of the Christian Monasteries, add much to its value. It is a valuable contribution to the study of comparative religions.

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